Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

TRUTH AND TERROR: A TEXT-ORIENTED ANALYSIS OF DANIEL 8:9-14

A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Martin Pröbstle

July 2006

Volume 1

UMI Number: 3238260

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

TRUTH AND TERROR: A TEXT-ORIENTED

ANALYSIS OF DANIEL 8:9-14

A dissertation
presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Martin Pröbstle

APPROVAL BY THE COMMITTEE:

Faculty Adviser
Jacques B. Doukhan
Professor of Hebrew and
Old Testament Exegesis

Richard M. Davidson
J. N. Andrews Professor of
Old Testament Interpretation

Roy E. Gane
Professor of Hebrew Bible and
Ancient Near Eastern Languages

Niels-Erik Andreasen
Professor of Old Testament Studies

Choon-Leong Seow
Henry Snyder Gehman Professor of
Old Testament Language and Literature
Princeton Theological Seminary

Director, Ph.D./Th.D. Programs
Roy E. Gane

Dean, SDA Theological Seminary
John K. McVay

July 26, 2006
Date approved

To Marianne

את עלית על־כלנה

Joy of my life (Prov 31:29)

To Max and Jonathan

שבע שמחות את־פניכם

In your presence is fullness of joy (Ps 16:11)

ABSTRACT

TRUTH AND TERROR: A TEXT-ORIENTED

ANALYSIS OF DANIEL 8:9-14

by

Martin Pröbstle

Adviser: Jacques B. Doukhan

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Dissertation

Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

Title: TRUTH AND TERROR: A TEXT-ORIENTED ANALYSIS OF DANIEL 8:9-14

Name of researcher: Martin Pröbstle

Name and degrees of faculty adviser: Jacques B. Doukhan, D.H.L., Th.D.

Date completed: July 2006

Daniel 8:9-14 constitutes the climax of the vision report in Dan 8, and is arguably one of the most difficult Danielic passages. This dissertation investigates the Masoretic Text of Dan 8:9-14 by means of a detailed and comprehensive text-oriented analysis that utilizes linguistic, literary, and intertextual procedures.

In chapter 1, an overview of modern text-oriented approaches and the review of recent literature on Dan 8 pave the way for a description of this study's methodology, which consists of a combination of linguistic (syntax, semantics, and text-grammar), literary (style and structure), and intertextual approaches (textual relations within the book of Daniel), using them as a threefold avenue to the understanding of the text, while at the same time demonstrating their interdependence.

The linguistic analysis in chapter 2 analyzes the syntactic and semantic features of

each clause, as well as significant terms and expressions in Dan 8:9-14. A text-grammatical analysis identifies the interclausal relations in the passage.

The literary analysis in chapter 3 examines the rhetorical and stylistic devices and their function in Dan 8:9-14, and describes the literary structure and dynamics of the passage. Stylistic and structural devices include poetic-like language in vs. 11, verbal gender shifts in vss. 9-12, the use of the key word גדל in a "hubris-fall" pattern, and spatial imagery. The investigation of terminological fields and their distribution observes the interplay of military, royal, cultic, creation, and judgment terminology, showing how these themes characterize the role of the horn figure and convey the text's theological message.

The intertextual analysis in chapter 4 explores the lexical and thematic links of Dan 8:9-14 with other texts in the book of Daniel—particularly with 8:23-25 and chaps. 7, 9, and 10–12—and how these texts contribute to the interpretation of Dan 8:9-14.

The summary and conclusions in chapter 5 highlight the results of each of the three avenues of the text-oriented approach to Dan 8:9-14.

The climax of the vision report with its accompanying audition, against the general opinion, is linguistically well-composed and an extremely artistic literary piece that combines significant theological themes. The Day of Atonement serves as a macrotheme and typifies the divine reaction to the cosmic challenge created by the cultic war of the horn. By its complex textual relations, Dan 8:9-14 constitutes a central passage in the book of Daniel.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following technical abbreviations are used:

adj	adjective
adv	adverb
art	article
ArtWG	article word group
BA	Biblical Aramaic
BH	Biblical Hebrew
c	common
ConjWG	conjunction word group
cs	construct form
CsWG	construct word group
C.Sy	non-obligatory syntagmeme
du	dual
ePP	enclitic personal pronoun
f	feminine
inf	infinitive
interrog	interrogative
ipf	imperfect

iPP	independent personal pronoun
m	masculine
NP	noun phrase
num	numeral
NumWG	numeral word group
pf	perfect
pl	plural
prep	preposition
ptc	participle
PWG	prepositional word group
P.Sy	predicate
sg	singular
Sy	syntagmeme
1.Sy	subject
2.Sy	direct object
3.Sy	indirect object
4.Sy	prepositional object
6.Sy	syntagmeme of dislocation: dislocative

The following nomenclature is used for verbal forms and clause types:

wayyiqtol	*waw* consecutive + verb in imperfect form
w^{e}qatal	*waw* consecutive + verb in perfect form

w^e yiqtol	*waw* conjunctive + verb in imperfect form
x-qatal	non-verbal constituent + verb in perfect form
x-yiqtol	non-verbal constituent + verb in imperfect form
qatal-x	verb in perfect form in sentence-initial position
yiqtol-x	verb in imperfect form in sentence-initial position

Abbreviations of Sources

The abbreviations used in this dissertation follow the exhaustive abbreviation lists in *The SBL Handbook of Style.*[1] In addition, the following abbreviations not listed in *The SBL Handbook of Style* are also used:

ANES	*Ancient Near Eastern Studies*
AOTC	Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
ATSDS	Adventist Theological Society Dissertation Series
AUSDDS	Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series
BHRG	Van der Merwe, Christo H. J., Jackie A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze. *Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar.* Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BSem	The Biblical Seminar
BThSt	Biblisch-theologische Studien
BZAR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische

[1]Patrick H. Alexander et al., eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999), 68-152.

	Rechtsgeschichte
DARCOM	Daniel and Revelation Committee Series
DBSJ	*Detroit Baptist Seminary Journal*
DDD	*Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD).* Edited by Karel van der Torn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. 2d ed. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999
DUL	Del Olmo Lete, G., and J. Sanmartín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition.* Translated by W. G. E. Watson. Handbook of Oriental Studies: Section 1, The Near and Middle East, vol. 67. Leiden: Brill, 2003
Exp	*The Expositor*
FIOTL	Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature
GTJ	*Grace Theological Journal*
HAE	Renz, Johannes, and Wolfgang Röllig. *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik.* 3 vols. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995-2003
HAHAT	Gesenius, Wilhelm. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament.* Edited by Rudolf Meyer and Herbert Donner. 18th ed. Berlin: Springer, 1987-
HBS	Herders Biblische Studien
ISBL	Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature
JATS	*Journal of the Adventist Theological Society*
JBLMS	Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
JBT	Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie
König	König, Friedrich Eduard. *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache.* 3 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1881-1897. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1979.

NEchtB: AT	Die Neue Echter Bibel: Kommentar zum Alten Testament mit der Einheitsübersetzung
NSK: AT	Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar: Altes Testament
NIVAC	NIV Application Commentary
OBS	Oxford Bible Series
RGG	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft.* Edited by Hans Dieter Betz et al. 4th ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998-2005.
SBTS	Sources for Biblical and Theological Study
StBL	Studies in Biblical Literature
THLI	Textwissenschaft, Theologie, Hermeneutik, Linguistik, Literaturanalyse, Informatik

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Preliminary Remarks and Statement of the Problem

"The paradigm is changing."[1] Whether or not Kuhn's concept of "paradigm shift"[2] applies to the present state in the field of exegetical methodology, it is evident that

---

[1]Rolf Rendtorff, "The Paradigm Is Changing: Hopes—and Fears," *BibInt* 1 (1993): 52. This is Rendtorff's proclamatory statement about the new interest in the final form of the text and in text-oriented approaches after the focus in mainstream Old Testament scholarship has been to a large extent on the author(s) and the concept of exegesis was mainly diachronic, using the methods of historical criticism. At another place, Rendtorff describes this phenomenon as "a fundamental shift in priorities" ("Between Historical Criticism and Holistic Interpretation: New Trends in Old Testament Exegesis," in *Congress Volume, Jerusalem 1986*, ed. J. A. Emerton, VTSup, no. 40 [Leiden: Brill, 1988], 300). Other characteristic terms for the new text-oriented interest are not lacking; for example, Helmut Utzschneider employs the term "renaissance" ("Die Renaissance der alttestamentlichen Literaturwissenschaft und das Buch Exodus," *ZAW* 106 [1994]: 197-198); Phyllis Trible and Otto Kaiser designate it as "paradigm shift" (Phyllis Trible, *Rhetorical Criticism: Context, Method, and the Book of Jonah*, GBS [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994], 74; Otto Kaiser, "Von Stand und Zukunft der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft," in *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø, VTSup, no. 80 [Leiden: Brill, 2000], 491); and Tremper Longman III describes it as "(re)birth" ("Literary Approaches to Old Testament Study," in *The Face of Old Testament Studies: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches*, ed. D. W. Baker and B. T. Arnold [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999], 97). Of course, it has to be noted that while the study of texts as it stands is not really new (approaches to the biblical text before the rise of historical criticism are generally synchronic), the synchronic study of texts in a systematic way by means of text-oriented approaches has risen only in the twentieth century (cf. James Muilenburg, "Form Criticism and Beyond," *JBL* 88 [1969]: 8). John Barton, among others, warns to use "paradigm" language as it "implies that there are many valid ways of reading texts" and "historical criticism was never meant to be one valid option among many: it was supposed to yield truth, and truth independent of the outlook of the investigator" ("Historical Criticism and Literary Interpretation: Is There Any Common Ground?" in *Crossing the Boundaries: Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder*, ed. S. E. Porter, P. Joyce, and D. E. Orton, BIS, no. 8 [Leiden: Brill, 1994], 4).

[2]In his landmark book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), published in its first edition in 1962, Thomas S. Kuhn argued that science does

in the last decades the study of biblical texts has gained immense momentum by the new emphasis of text-oriented approaches.[1] A new interest has emerged in the study of the text itself, as it stands in its final form.[2] Narrative, poetic, and prophetic texts, both large and small corpora, are again investigated by means of various exegetical methods used in the field of text-oriented approaches.[3]

---

not progress in a gradual fashion by cumulative acquisition of knowledge, but rather remains fixated on a particular academic approach or paradigm of thought, which is only overthrown with great difficulty and replaced by a new one (e.g., the shift from the Ptolemaic to the Copernican system, or from Newtonian physics to relativity and quantum physics). The term "paradigm" stands for a collection of "intertwined theoretical and methodological belief" (17), "the entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community" (175). Kuhn's paradigm shift designates the process of acknowledging the inadequacies of a given paradigm—which are exposed by arising anomalies or inconsistencies that present insoluble difficulties within the old paradigm—that leads to a radical change of the way of perception, thought, and evaluation, resulting in the replacement of the old paradigm in whole or in part by an incompatible new paradigm that is able to solve the difficulties of the old academic approach. In the new paradigm new assumptions and expectations are taken on that will transform the existing theories, traditions, rules, and standards of practice.

[1]The term "text-oriented approach" (analysis, interpretation, etc.) is used in a technical sense and refers to an exegetical approach which focuses primarily on the written text as it stands and the linguistic and literary data it provides. Such an approach could also be qualified as text-immanent or text-centered.

[2]The terms "final form" and "final text" are used here for the written text as constituted by the Masoretic Text (MT) of the Leningrad Codex B 19 A. I chose this MT as the "final text" for it represents a text tradition that is generally accepted among scholars as a working text, although I am aware of the recent critique of such a concept (James Alfred Loader, "The Finality of the Old Testament 'Final Text,'" *OTE* 15 [2002]: 739-753; James E. Bowley and John C. Reeves, "Rethinking the Concept of 'Bible': Some Theses and Proposals," *Henoch* 25 [2003]: 3-18, esp. 10-13). By using the term "final" I neither intend to imply that there are earlier texts, or a prehistory or a history of transmission of the text, of which the "final" text would be the last or canonical text, nor do I deny any historical developments of texts per se. I also do not imply that "final" automatically means "authoritative."

[3]A constantly growing number of studies witnesses to the wide use of text-oriented approaches. See, e.g., the compilations of bibliographic material on literary approaches, which marks only one avenue of text-oriented approaches, by Mark Minor (*Literary-Critical Approaches to the Bible: An Annotated Bibliography* [West Cornwall: Locust Hill, 1992]; *Literary-Critical Approaches to the Bible: A Bibliographical Supplement* [West Cornwall: Locust Hill, 1996]). In the preface to the supplement, which appeared only four years later, Minor specifies that "the appearance of over eleven hundred items here, most of which post-date 1991, testifies dramatically to the steadily interest in

Besides deserving more attention than it has received,[1] Dan 8, especially the small unit of Dan 8:9-14, is a good choice for reconsidering text-oriented methodology in combination with the actual exegesis of a text. Reasons for this lie in the fact that the book of Daniel including chap. 8 has for the most part been approached by literary-critical or historical considerations. The task of a synchronic approach to this text as it stands has been "neglected too long."[2] Also, the MT of Dan 8:9-14 is intricate and has received a number of interpretations which differ significantly.[3] Most of these interpretations, which

---

literary criticism of the Bible" (xiii). See also the publications in the journals *JSOT* and *Biblical Interpretation*, as well as the series "Indiana Studies of Biblical Literature," the "JSOT Supplement Series," and the "Biblical Interpretation Series."

[1]In the scholarly literature of the twentieth century, Dan 8 has always stood in the shadow of its "two big brothers" which attracted much attention: Dan 7 with its gravid themes of "son of man" and the "holy ones," and Dan 9 with the seventy weeks prophecy and Daniel's intercessory prayer. In an appraisal of scholarly research on the book of Daniel published particularly from 1980 to 1996, focusing on the commentaries by J. J. Collins and by K. Koch, the material on Dan 8 (two short paragraphs) is equaled in briefness only by the review of literature on Dan 5 (Jesús Asurmendi, "El Libro de Daniel en la investigación reciente," *EstBib* 55 [1997]: 509-540). This situation is similarly reflected in earlier overviews of research on the book of Daniel: Walter Baumgartner, "Ein Viertel Jahrhundert Danielforschung," *TRu* 11 (1939): 59-83, 125-144, 201-228; Ferdinand Dexinger, *Das Buch Daniel und seine Probleme*, SBS, no. 36 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1969); Alfred Mertens, *Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer*, SBM, no. 12 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1971), 13-19; J. C. H. Lebram, "Perspektiven der gegenwärtigen Danielforschung," *JSJ* 5 (1974): 1-33; Klaus Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, EdF, no. 144 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980). More recently, the collected essays of the 40th session of the *Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense* held in 1991 on the book of Daniel "covered a wide field and gave a good impression of divergent approaches and views that still exist in regard to the interpretation of the book" (A. S. van der Woude, ed., *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, BETL, no. 106 [Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993], xiii), and yet Dan 8, if it is mentioned, is touched on only in passing. Similarly, of the 32 essays edited by J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint only one deals to some extent with Dan 8 and its redaction-critical analysis (*The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, 2 vols., VTSup, no. 83, FIOTL, no. 2 [Leiden: Brill, 2001]).

[2]Using words by R. Rendtorff when he diagnoses that the synchronic approach in OT scholarship has in general been "neglected too long and too intentionally" ("The Paradigm is Changing," 52).

[3]For the different interpretations of the little horn symbol, the temporal expression "2300 evening-morning," and three cultic expressions of Dan 8:9-14 from 1700 to 1900 see Samuel Núñez,

are often based on diachronic analysis, have not taken into careful consideration the linguistic and literary data of the text. Insufficient attention has also been given to the text of Dan 8:9-14 itself. Furthermore, the assessment of text-oriented approaches applied to Dan 8 so far (see below) seems to show that, though helpful in detecting linguistic and literary features of the text, a more comprehensive text-oriented approach is still a desideratum. As a result, syntactic, literary, and semantic questions regarding these verses still remain to be answered.

A close look at the Hebrew text and a comparison of the various studies reveals a number of intratextual[1] problems facing the exegete when analyzing Dan 8:9-14. Some of the prominent issues are:

1. The demarcation of clauses and sentences in vss. 10-13, especially the syntactic place of וְצָבָא in vs. 12a and the elements of the question in vs. 13[2]

The Vision of Daniel 8: Interpretations from 1700-1800 [*sic*], AUSDDS, no. 14 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1987); on Dan 8:14 cf. Alfred-Félix Vaucher, "Daniel 8:14 en Occident jusqu'au Cardinal Nicolas de Cusa," *AUSS* 1 (1963): 139-151. A cursory glance at various studies and commentaries on Daniel written in the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century confirms that a remarkable diversity in specific issues of the interpretation of 8:9-14 is still present.

[1]The terms "intratextual" and "intertextual" are used in a technical sense here. "Intratextual" means within one text passage, whereas "intertextual" means between different text passages. According to such a definition the literary term "intratextuality" refers to lexical, thematic, and literary interconnections within a specific text corpus and the way they cohere. The term "intertextuality" refers to lexical, thematic, and literary interconnections of a specific text with other texts.

[2]Some scholars have tried to make sense out of the traditional divisions of the MT (e.g., Bernhard Hasslberger, *Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis: Eine formkritische Untersuchung zu Dan 8 und 10–12*, ATSAT, no. 4 [St. Ottilien: EOS, 1977], 8-9). Others demarcate sentences differently from the Masoretes, leaving the consonantal text with its word divisions untouched (e.g., John E. Goldingay, *Daniel*, WBC, vol. 30 [Dallas: Word Books, 1989], 195, 197-198). The majority of scholars, however, suggest textual emendations to obtain syntactically well-formed sentences; an extreme example being George Foot Moore who in his tentative reconstruction of Dan 8:9-14 emends the MT fifteen times in these six verses ("Daniel viii. 9-14," *JBL* 15 [1896]: 193-197).

2. The shift between perfect and imperfect forms in vss. 9-12, especially the one between the *weqatal* form in vs. 11c and the *yiqtol* form in vs. 12a

3. The function of the *weqatal* form וְנִצְדַּק in vs. 14c (The difficulty of this form is twofold: the time and aspect of וְנִצְדַּק and the fact that the Nifal form of צדק is a *hapax legomenon.*)

4. The gender shift of verbs in vss. 9-12 (There are three: from masculine to feminine in vs. 9, from feminine to masculine between vss. 10 and 11, and from masculine to feminine between vss. 11 and 12.)

5. The usage and absence of the article in vss. 10-14 with the words תָּמִיד, צָבָא, and קֹדֶשׁ as well as the semantic function attached to this phenomenon (תָּמִיד occurs with the article in vs. 11 without apparent anaphoric function. צָבָא occurs without the article in vss. 12 and 13, though it is determinate in vss. 10 and 11. קֹדֶשׁ occurs twice, in vss. 13 and 14, both times without the article.)[1]

6. The syntax and meaning of the sentences in vss. 11-12 (Besides points 1, 2, 4, and 5 mentioned above, the subject of the verb תִּנָּתֵן and the semantic function of the prepositions עַל and בְּ in vs. 12a contribute to the difficulty of syntax.)[2]

---

[1]Only Hasslberger attempts to explain the usage of the article in Dan 8:9-14 (26-27, 102).

[2]In fact, Dan 8:11-12 is one of the most difficult texts in the book of Daniel because of its intricate syntactic and semantic problems (see Martin T. Pröbstle, "A Linguistic Analysis of Daniel 8:11, 12," *JATS* 7/1 [1996]: 81-106). The following assessments reflect the degree of difficulty: "These verses [Dan 8:11-13] form one of the most difficult passages in Daniel owing to the corruptions of the text" (R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel: With Introduction, Indexes and a New English Translation* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1929], 204); "the text [vs. 12a] is very difficult here" (John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993], 326); "Pour comprendre la difficulté d'un choix pour la

7. The structure of vss. 9-14 and whether these verses exhibit unity or disunity

8. The identification, role, and semantic meaning of keywords and key phrases according to the structure and the literary dynamics of the passage. (Words and word groups such as צְבָא הַשָּׁמָיִם [vs. 10], שַׂר־הַצָּבָא [vs. 11], הַתָּמִיד [vss. 11, 12, 13], מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ [vs. 11], צָבָא [vs. 12], שֹׁמֵם [vs. 13], קֹדֶשׁ [vss. 13, 14], and וְנִצְדַּק [vs. 14] have received different interpretations.)[1]

9. On account of these intricacies and in comparison to the very artistic literary form and structure of the Aramaic chap. 7, it has often been inferred that the quality of the Hebrew in chap. 8, particularly in 8:9-14, is rather poor and clumsy.[2]

Another set of problems arises from the fact that Dan 8:9-14 shows a high degree of intertextuality, particularly with other parts of the book of Daniel.[3] Such intertextual relations often affect the meaning of a passage with its keywords and keyword groups, in addition to the semantic functions of the syntactic-literary features of the passage itself which, of course, have priority in determining meaning.

---

traduction de ce verset [v. 12], je suggère de lire toutes les Bibles et les commentaires, en comptant les divergences: le cas est vraiment désespéré" (Pierre Grelot, review of *Daniel*, by John J. Collins, *RB* 102 [1995]: 288); and "11.12 constitute *crescendo* the most difficult short passage of the b[oo]k" while "11 presents less difficulty of the two" (James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, ICC [Edinburgh: Clark, 1927], 335).

[1]See the brief overviews of different interpretations of these words and phrases in Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 331-336.

[2]See, e.g., John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*, HSM, no. 16 (Missoula: Scholars, 1977), 18, 20.

[3]Thematic and structural similarities, as well as lexical links inside the book are striking. See, e.g., A. Lenglet, "La structure littéraire de Daniel 2-7," *Bib* 53 (1972): 169-190; Klaus Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, 59-61; Jacques B. Doukhan, *Daniel: The Vision of the End*, rev. ed. (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1989), 3-7; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 324-326.

Purpose of the Study

The problem areas in the exegesis of Dan 8:9-14 indicated above call for a text-oriented analysis along three lines of research: linguistic (including syntactic and semantic), literary, and intertextual. Therefore, the purpose of this research is to examine the text of Dan 8:9-14 synchronically by proceeding from form to function: that is, to investigate the linguistic and literary features of the text, to determine the meaning of the relevant words, word groups, and of the text itself, to identify its intertextual relations, and thereby to achieve a text-oriented interpretation of the passage. In pursuing a fresh text-oriented approach to the challenging text of Dan 8:9-14 this study makes allowance for the "changing paradigm" in biblical exegesis and nourishes the hope that new approaches might significantly contribute to the understanding of biblical texts.

Text-Oriented Approaches to Daniel 8:9-14

To situate the present study in its methodological context, a general overview of the different text-oriented approaches to OT texts is given first.[1] Then, an overview of the literature on Dan 8:9-14 from 1970 and on is provided. The latter lists non-text-oriented approaches to Dan 8:9-14, considers studies which partially employ methods that are also used in text-oriented approaches, and then reviews more extensively the text-oriented approaches.

---

[1]Here, I try to comply in a modest sense with Otto Kaiser's first plea in his assessment of the future of OT studies: "Each investigation that is dedicated to a specific topic should determine its place and its importance for the whole of its science; for only in this way can it be perceptible beyond the small circle to those who are interested in and dependent on its results" (504-505).

Overview of Text-Oriented Approaches

Introduction

Studies using a text-oriented approach to Dan 8 represent only a small selection of a plethora of different text-oriented approaches available today. As the present study claims to be a text-oriented approach, utilizing methodological insights from other existing text-oriented approaches, it is necessary to present a brief overview of the types of this approach and their methodological principles in general, before proceeding to a review of text-oriented approaches to Dan 8 in particular. Furthermore, such an overview also lays the necessary foundation for the history of research that follows[1] and will help to clarify that the existing major text-oriented approaches to Dan 8 stem basically from only one avenue of text-oriented approaches, namely the linguistic approach.

What is a text-oriented approach? The term "text-oriented approach" refers to a specific kind of approach to the biblical text. Text-oriented approaches[2] are similar in that their main focus is the study of the text, as it stands on its own, leaving aside anything which is non-textual. The text exists on its own, constitutes a world of language on its own, and, thus, deserves to be analyzed in its own right. The exegete concentrates on the features of the text, without inquiring about its genesis and development or the

---

[1]"Considerations on the history of research must always be considerations on the hermeneutics of the research, only for that reason to guarantee a minimum of comparability between the different scholarly trends" (Utzschneider, "Renaissance," 198).

[2]It is almost superfluous to say that there is not only one specific text-oriented approach but rather a great number of them. It would be a gross misrepresentation "to impose an artificial unity" upon them (Paul Joyce, "First Among Equals? The Historical-Critical Approach in the Marketplace of Methods," in *Crossing the Boundaries: Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder*, ed. S. E. Porter, P. Joyce, and D. E. Orton, BIS, no. 8 [Leiden: Brill, 1994], 19). Nevertheless, basic distinct elements can be detected in the plethora of these approaches.

inner dynamics of its author(s). Therefore, a text-oriented approach is primarily synchronic, taking the text as starting-point and center of research. The specific focus on the text allows for more certainty on the part of the exegete.[1]

As such, text-oriented approaches are distinguished from other approaches that have their focal point on the authors and their worlds, on the readers and their worlds, or on the subject matter and its world.[2] Naturally, overlap between these categories is

---

[1]Luis Alonso Schökel, "Of Methods and Models," in *Congress Volume, Salamanca 1983*, ed. J. A. Emerton, VTSup, no. 36 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 11-12; Wilhelm Egger, *How to Read the New Testament: An Introduction to Linguistic and Historical-Critical Methodology*, ed. and with an introduction by H. Boers (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996), 67; Manfred Oeming, *Biblische Hermeneutik: Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftiche Buchgesellschaft, 1998), 63.

[2]This distinction results from the process of understanding and communication which involves the author (artist), the text (work), the recipient (audience), and the subject matter (universe). The methodological approaches to understanding (biblical) texts may be distinguished according to their main focus on one of these elements. The origin of the fourfold distinction according to the process of communication is found in a now classic model for classifying different approaches of criticism outlined by M. H. Abrams (*The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* [London: Oxford University Press, 1953], 3-29, esp. 3-5) which has been adapted for biblical studies by John Barton who distinguishes between approaches concerned with historical events or theological ideas, with text, with author(s), and with readers ("Classifying Biblical Criticism." *JSOT* 29 [1984]: 19-35; *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study*, rev. and enlarged ed. [Louisville: Westminster, 1996], 237-243). Already James Barr, without referring to the process of communication, distinguished between three possible avenues of studying the biblical text: study of entities referred to (Referential), study of mind of the writers (Intentional), and study of myths and images of the text as it is (Poetic or Aesthetic) (*The Bible in the Modern World: The Croall Lectures Given in New College, Edinburgh in November 1970* [London: SCM, 1973], 61-62). Both divisions in three and in four interpretative approaches are quite common: Umberto Eco distinguishes three main directions of interpretation theories: *intentio auctoris* (what the author of the text intended to say), *intentio operis* (what the text says independently of authorial intentions), and *intentio lectoris* (what the readers find as meaning by virtue of their own system of expectations) (*The Limits of Interpretation*, Advances in Semiotics [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990], 44-63). In the field of biblical studies, Tremper Longman III advocates such a threefold distinction between author-centered, text-centered, and reader-centered theories (*Literary Approaches to Biblical Interpretation*, Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation, no. 3 [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987], 18-41). More recently Manfred Oeming proposes a "hermeneutic quadrangle" (*hermeneutisches Viereck*) of the four elements: author, text, recipient, and subject matter (*Biblische Hermeneutik*, 5, 6, 176). Similarly, Luis Alonso Schökel proposes a text-centered hermeneutic schema with the work (= text) in the center and a set of factors involved in the literary work: author, receiver (= reader), language, and theme or subject (*A Manual of Hermeneutics*, with J. M. Bravo, trans. L. M. Rosa, further ed. B. W. R.

possible, as the text is the object and starting point of any interpretation—for example, almost every interpretation of a text uses in some way linguistic observations—and ultimately also the sole adjudicator of any interpretation.[1] However, it is the main emphasis of the approach which determines the category it may be assigned to.

The factors which have led to redirect the emphasis on the analysis of the text itself, moving away from author-oriented approaches, may be encapsulated in two words: "dissatisfaction and seduction"[2]; dissatisfaction with the diachronic analysis of the historical-critical methods and seduction by new trends in the study of literature and linguistics. These two factors shall be summarized briefly. Let me start with the "seduction" factor.

The first factor in the changing of the paradigm is the rise of modern linguistics

---

Pearson, BSem, no. 54 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998], 53-54). Louis C. Jonker formulates a "multidimensional exegesis" map which is essentially based on a distinction between sender, medium, and receiver and a distinction between synchronic and diachronic analyses of these communication elements (*Exclusivity and Variety: Perspectives on Multidimensional Exegesis*, CBET, no. 19 [Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996], 317-323; "Reading Jonah Multidimensionally: A Multidimensional Reading Strategy for Biblical Interpretation," *Scriptura* 64 [1998]: 1-15; cf. "'Text' in a Multidimensional Exegetical Approach," *Scriptura* 46 [1993]: 111).

[1]In outlining the hermeneutic debate in the interpretative guild, which revolves around the diverse methods using author-centered, text-centered, or reader-centered assumptions, A. R. Pete Diamond points to the unique value of the final text form: "The text in its final form is not just the prime datum for adjudicating the contending models [of interpretation]; it is the only datum" ("Introduction," in *Troubling Jeremiah*, ed. A. R. P. Diamond, K. M. O'Connor, and L. Stulman, JSOTSup, no. 260 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999], 18).

[2]Luis Alonso Schökel observes concerning the development in contemporary biblical scholarship: "What makes a new trend arise and impose itself? Basically dissatisfaction or seduction. Yet dissatisfaction shows different faces. One may feel frustrated by what one has or seduced by what one does not have. One is frustrated because the method has not produced what it promised, or because it cannot produce any more, or because it has gone too far. The seduction, like a new love, usually comes from the outside: in our case, from related disciplines full of youth and vitality" ("Trend: Plurality of Methods, Priority of Issues," in *Congress Volume, Jerusalem 1986*, ed. J. A. Emerton, VTSup, no. 40 [Leiden: Brill, 1988], 285).

and "New Criticism" and their influence on biblical studies, beginning in the late 1960s. The engagement of exegetes in general linguistics and their application of linguistic principles and methodologies in exegetical practice was especially kindled by the analyses of J. Barr[1] and by the methodological considerations of W. Richter.[2] Especially the influence of French structuralism and the text-immanent interpretation (*Werkinterpretation*) in Germany led to the conviction that "synchronic semantic description, which seeks to understand language within its contemporary linguistic system, has methodological priority."[3] In other words, an intersubjectively more

---

[1]James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961). For Barr's influence see Eep Talstra, *Solomon's Prayer: Synchrony and Diachrony in the Composition of I Kings 8, 14-61*, CBET, no. 3 (Kampen, Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1993), 10-11; and Peter Cotterell, "Linguistics, Meaning, Semantics, and Discourse Analysis," *NIDOTTE*, 1:137-138.

[2]Wolfgang Richter, "Formgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft," *ZAW* 82 (1970): 216-225; idem, *Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft: Entwurf einer alttestamentlichen Literaturtheorie und Methodologie* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971). According to Talstra, the "confrontation of starting-points of general linguistics and existing exegetical methods" has been initiated primarily by Richter's methodological considerations (*Solomon's Prayer*, 15). In fact, Richter's methodology has been very influential in the development of linguistic approaches in OT exegesis. See Bernd Jörg Diebner, "Bibelwissenschaft I/2: Entwicklungen und Tendenzen in der jüngsten Vergangenheit," *TRE*, 6:362; Horst Dietrich Preuß, "Linguistik – Literaturwissenschaft – Altes Testament," *VF* 27 (1982): 15; Georg Fohrer et al., *Exegese des Alten Testaments: Einführung in die Methodik*, 5th ed., Uni-Taschenbücher, no. 267 (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1989), 65 n. 60; Theodor Seidl, "Die literaturwissenschaftliche Methode in der alttestamentlichen Exegese: Erträge, Erfahrungen, Projekte; ein Überblick," *MTZ* 40 (1989): 27; Andreas Diße, *Informationsstruktur im Biblischen Hebräisch: Sprachwissenschaftliche Grundlagen und exegetische Konsequenzen einer Korpusuntersuchung zu den Büchern Deuteronomium, Richter und 2 Könige*, ATSAT, no. 56, pt. 1 (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1998), 14. Wolfgang Schenk sees both Barr and Richter as decisive figures who brought about the turn to linguistics in biblical studies ("Sprache/Sprachwissenschaft/Sprachphilosophie III. Altes Testament," *TRE*, 31:748).

[3]Mark G. Brett, *Biblical Criticism in Crisis? The Impact of the Canonical Approach on Old Testament Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 106. To a lesser degree the influence of Prague structuralism (see Stanislav Segert, "Prague Structuralism in American Biblical Scholarship: Performance and Potential," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. C. L. Meyers and M. O'Connor, ASOR Special Volume Series, no. 1 [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983], 697-708) and Russian formalism is felt (see Robert C. Culley, "Exploring New Directions," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its

verifiable understanding of a text is only possible if exegetes immerse themselves in the world of the text.[1] Particularly important are the fundamental distinctions formulated by F. De Saussure (langue/parole, synchronic/diachronic, significant/signifié) and the increasing recognition by the exegetes that a text has different linguistic levels which need to be analyzed accordingly. The "New Criticism," an analytic literary analysis applied first to English and classic texts, has arisen in Britain and in North America in the 1940s and 1950s.[2] This new approach was subsequently also adopted by biblical exegetes using literary approaches to biblical texts, and was followed more intensely since the 1970s.[3]

The second important motive for the rise of text-oriented approaches, especially literary and canonical approaches, is the discontent with the results of the historical-critical exegetical methods and the recognition of their limits.[4] The growing

---

Modern Interpreters, ed. D. A. Knight and G. M. Tucker, The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters, vol. 1 [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985], 171-178).

[1]Cf. Oeming, *Biblische Hermeneutik*, 26-27.

[2]Cf. Robert Morgan, *Biblical Interpretation*, with John Barton, OBS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 217-227; and Barton, *Reading the Old Testament*, 140-157.

[3]A landmark was Erich Auerbach's *Mimesis*, opening the Bible as a source of aesthetic value comparing it with the tradition of Western literature (*Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. W. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), orig. published in German in 1946). Cf. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode, "General Introduction," in *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. R. Alter and F. Kermode (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1987), 4; Morgan, 222-223; and Oeming, *Biblische Hermeneutik*, 71-73. The full growth of literary approaches, in particular rhetorical criticism, has especially been encouraged by James Muilenburg's Presidential Address at the 1968 annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature ("Form Criticism and Beyond," 1-18).

[4]See, e.g., Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 139-143; idem, "Die theologische Bedeutung der Endform eines Textes," *TQ* 167 (1987): 243-245; Rendtorff, "Between Historical Criticism and Holistic Interpretation," 298-300; Horst Klaus Berg, *Ein*

dissatisfaction with diachronic readings of biblical texts and with overestimating their value, while at the same time neglecting by and large synchronic readings, has triggered a new interest in analyses that pay attention to the text itself, as it stands, and the inner-biblical coherence of texts.

Text-oriented approaches not only differentiate themselves from author-oriented approaches but also from reader-oriented approaches that have been developed since the 1970s. In general, reader-oriented approaches make the act of reading the text and the

---

Wort wie Feuer: Wege lebendiger Bibelauslegung, Handbuch des Biblischen Unterrichts, vol. 1 (Munich: Kösel; Stuttgart: Calwer, 1991), 92-93; Jan P. Fokkelman, "Is the Literary Approach to the Bible a New Paradigm?" in *The Literary Analysis of Hebrew Texts: Papers Read at a Symposium Held at the Juda Palache Institute, University of Amsterdam (5 February 1990)*, ed. E. G. L. Schrijver, N. A. van Uchelen, and I. E. Zwiep, Publications of the Juda Palache Institute, no. 7 (Amsterdam: Juda Palache Institute, 1992), 11-34, esp. 12-20; Jon D. Levenson, *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies* (Louisville: Westminster, 1993), 2-5, 122-124; David M. Gunn and Danna Nolan Fewell, *Narrative in the Hebrew Bible*, OBS (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 7-12; Joyce, 18-20; and Alonso Schökel, *A Manual of Hermeneutics*, 40-47. Manfred Oeming lists three main points of critique which are brought forth against the historical-critical method from scholars taking a canonical viewpoint. These points express the dissatisfaction with the historical-critical approach. First, the permanent questioning of the final text and the reconstruction of supposed pre-stages of each text leads to a vast jungle of hypotheses. The search for the original text is regarded as highly speculative. Second, it cannot be the exegetical goal to differentiate between original text and secondary developments, for the secondary material is theologically important, too, and the tradition process is ascribed revelatory character by the group of believers. And third, the historical-critical method does not allow for giving credit to the exceptional position of the Bible in the world's literature, since this method segments the texts so much according to different times, places, and schools where texts originated that the coherence and organic unity of the texts are lost ("Kanonische Schriftauslegung: Vorzüge und Grenzen eines neuen Zugangs zur Bibel," *BL* 69 [1996]: 199-208; *Biblische Hermeneutik*, 75-76). Though developments in the field of the historical-critical method are discernible (see, e.g., Edward Noort, "'Land' in the Deuteronomistic Tradition: Genesis 15: The Historical and Theological Necessity of a Diachronic Approach," in *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*, ed. J. C. de Moor, OtSt, no. 34 [Leiden: Brill, 1995], 129-134; F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, "Rethinking Historical Criticism," *BibInt* 7 [1999]: 235-271; and Bob Becking, "No More Grapes from the Vineyard? A Plea for a Historical Critical Approach in the Study of the Old Testament," in *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø, VTSup, no. 80 [Leiden: Brill, 2000], 123-141) the basic points of critique are still brought forth (see the recent appraisal of the controversy over exegetical methods by Henning Graf Reventlow, "Streit der exegetischen Methoden? Eine hermeneutische Besinnung," in *Gott und Mensch im Dialog: Festschrift für Otto Kaiser zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. M. Witte, BZAW, no. 345/1 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004], 555-567).

role of the reader in the process of understanding the central factor and focus in the interpretation of the text. There are different shapes of reader-oriented approaches that attribute different degrees to the role of the reader in the making of meaning, from a rather moderate one that believes that the text is still external to the reader, both standing in dialogue with each other (reception theory by W. Iser), to a more radical one that gives the reader and the interpretive community the sole role of producing the meaning of texts (reader-response criticism by S. Fish).[1]

Reader-oriented approaches take into account that the reception of a text is radically different from its production by the author. Objections cannot be leveled against reader-oriented approaches on account of the fact that the role of the readers and their receptive activities are fundamental factors in the interpretive process.[2] There is no question that the reader is involved in and contributes to the process of understanding, be it consciously or subconsciously. As such, these approaches assist hermeneutical self-

---

[1]Major strands of reader-oriented approaches are reception theory (W. Iser) and reception aesthetics (R. Jauss), both belonging to German literary criticism, and the North American variation of "reader-response criticism" (propagated in particular by S. Fish). Most popular among biblical scholars using a kind of reader-oriented approach is the reception theory by Iser. A major principle of Iser's theory is that in the process of understanding, the reader fills in the gaps–what seems missing in the text–and so forms the text into a coherent whole. For an overview and assessment of reader-oriented approaches see Bernard C. Lategan, "Reader Response Theory," *ABD*, 5:625-628; Anthony C. Thiselton, *New Horizons in Hermeneutics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 515-555; John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament*, 212-219 (cf. idem, "Thinking About Reader-Response Criticism," *ExpTim* 113 [2002]: 147-151); Edgar V. McKnight, "Reader-Response Criticism," in *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application*, rev. and expanded, ed. S. L. McKenzie and S. R. Haynes (Louisville: Westminster, 1999), 230-252; Eryl W. Davies, "Reader-Response Criticism and Old Testament Studies," in *Honouring the Past and Shaping the Future: Religious and Biblical Studies in Wales, Essays in Honour of Gareth Lloyd Jones*, ed. R. Pope (Leominster: Gracewing, 2003), 20-37.

[2]Cf. Christof Hardmeier, *Textwelten der Bibel entdecken: Grundlagen und Verfahren einer textpragmatischen Literaturwissenschaft der Bibel*, Textpragmatische Studien zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte der Hebräischen Bibel, no. 1/1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 2003), 26.

awareness.[1] Naturally they presuppose the possibility that different readers create different meanings of the text, presuming that texts are open to more than one meaning. Subjectivity in interpretation therefore becomes a necessary and desired principle.

Reader-oriented approaches certainly have their place in the landscape of theories and approaches. However, "the paradox between the constraints of the text and the freedom of the reader remains a methodological challenge."[2] A major problem with reader-oriented approaches is that the role of the reader tends to be regarded as more significant than the text itself, in accordance with the motto that it is the reader who "makes" literature. Such an approach must face the critical question whether it is really "the creative reader of today" who is primarily important in order to understand the text.[3] For the reader does not construe the meaning of a text without the text communicating in some way the meaning which the author intended it to convey.[4] The meaning continues to be generated by the text itself and thus has its origin outside of the reader. A further problem seems to be the absence of a methodological basis that allows for a critical

---

[1]Cf. the concluding evaluation of reader-response theories by Thiselton, 550. In his favorable overview, McKnight offers further reasons why a reader-response approach "that utilizes the rich possibilities of reading for actual readers" is valuable (240).

[2]Lategan, "Reader Response Theory," *ABD*, 5:627.

[3]Odil Hannes Steck, *Gott in der Zeit entdecken: Die Prophetenbücher des Alten Testaments als Vorbild für Theologie und Kirche*, BThSt, no. 42 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2001), 97.

[4]Hardmeier, *Textwelten*, 27. Hardmeier observes that "it is the old problem of exegesis and eisegesis that, logically, reader-response criticism and its radicalization in deconstruction increasingly face" (ibid., 26). The danger in reader-oriented approaches is to use texts for understandings that do not exegete, explain, interpret or listen to these texts anew but that are carried into the texts. If it is the creativity of the reader that produces the text's meaning, the interpreter can easily move interpretation beyond the text itself, and hence the contours of exegesis and eisegesis are more difficult to discern.

dialogue with a reader's interpretation. Plurality of interpretation leads inevitably to relativism. In the end, there are no correct interpretations, only readings of texts.[1]

Methodologically, there must be a difference maintained between the meaning the text itself generates and the reception of the text. Exegesis as a text-oriented interpretation focuses on the former, whereas the latter lies in the responsibility of a reader and becomes in turn the reader's own text. A text-oriented approach assumes integrity and determinacy of text and meaning so that "informed readers" have the possibility to arrive at similar or even at the same interpretations and also have the methodological basis to discuss and critique them.

To sum up, a text-oriented approach is defined as an approach which concentrates on the text and its language and studies textual features first. While striving as much as possible for hermeneutical self-awareness, the text remains the center of interpretational focus. By its very nature a text-oriented approach is a synchronic approach. This new impetus in the exegesis of biblical texts was kindled by the interest of biblical scholars in modern linguistics and New Criticism and their dissatisfaction with the results of historical-critical methods.

Overview of Text-Oriented Approaches

The different text-oriented approaches may be classified roughly in three categories or trends according to their main emphases: linguistic, literary and canonical,[2]

---

[1]Barton, *Reading the Old Testament*, 212.

[2]See Oeming, *Biblische Hermeneutik*, 63-88. I follow to some extent his categorization of text-oriented approaches but do not include his fourth category (exegesis as an event of language and

which correspond mainly to their interest in microstructure, text structure, and canonical structure.[1] These categories may overlap and are usually not used in total isolation from each other. In the following paragraphs, the general methodological principles of each category, selected representatives, and a brief assessment are provided.[2] The focus will be on OT scholarship. There is no intention to go into detail here, but rather to give a broad overview serving as methodological background for the present study.

Linguistic approaches

Linguistic approaches strive for an exact formal and primarily synchronic analysis of the text in its different linguistic levels (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and recently textlinguistics and pragmatics) to detect its fine texture.[3] The basic

---

word), for this kind of approach is philosophical rather than text-oriented in that its representatives (G. Ebeling, E. Fuchs, H. Weder) actually base their hermeneutic on Martin Heidegger's philosophical understanding of language (ibid., 82-88; cf. also Hardmeier, *Textwelten*, 19-21).

[1]Though certainly oversimplified, the correspondence between different types of text-oriented approaches and their interest in a specific structural level of the text appears to be a helpful categorization of the reality in exegetical practice.

[2]The assessment covers only the general strengths and weaknesses of the various approaches as related to the interpretation of the text. This means, for example, that an evaluation of the canonical approaches regarding their contributions to biblical theology is not in the scope of the present overview.

[3]For an overview of linguistics and literary science in relation to the Old Testament, see the somewhat older research reports by Preuß ("Linguistik – Literaturwissenschaft – Altes Testament," 2-28) and Seidl ("Die literaturwissenschaftliche Methode," 27-37), the collected essays and a topical bibliography edited by Walter R. Bodine (*Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992]), as well as the more recent appraisals by Diße (11-56), Christof Hardmeier ("Literaturwissenschaft, biblisch," *RGG*, 5:426-429), and C. H. J. van der Merwe, "Some Recent Trends in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics: A Few Pointers towards a More Comprehensive Model of Language Use," *Hebrew Studies* 44 [2003]: 7-24). An orientation regarding the relationship between linguistics, literary theory, and exegesis is provided by Talstra (*Solomon's Prayer*, 9-21) and Christof Hardmeier ("Old Testament Exegesis and Linguistic Narrative Research," *Poetics* 15 [1986]: 89-109).

distinction between expression-plane (*Ausdrucksseite*) and content-plane (*Inhaltsseite*) is the reason that for a given text the linguistic analysis is characterized as a form-to-function approach which means that first the form of a linguistic entity is to be described before its function is analyzed.[1] Linguistic approaches focus mainly on words, word groups, sentences, sentence combinations, and single texts, and they take stock of the grammatical features on these levels. However, recently an area of discourse linguistics, sometimes called text-linguistics, devotes itself to entities larger than the clause or sentence, often helped by computer-assisted analysis.[2] Major exponents of linguistic approaches to biblical texts are, for example, W. Richter and the Richter school,[3] H. Schweizer and the Schweizer school, and C. Hardmeier in Germany;[4] the Kampen

---

[1]Generally, two different kinds of linguistic approaches may be distinguished. First, the form-to-function approaches use formal distributional criteria and "treat the formal data at the lower level exhaustively before any phenomenon is treated on a higher level" (Christo H. J. van der Merwe, "Discourse Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew Grammar," in *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics*, ed. R. D. Bergen [Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1994], 16). Second, the functional approaches usually "commence with a hypothesis or theoretical frame of reference on specific linguistic notions and try to explain hitherto problematic Biblical Hebrew phenomena in terms of this hypothesis" (ibid.). The distributional approach is sometimes associated with the European text-linguistic tradition (Richter, Schweizer, Talstra), while the functional approach is associated with the American linguistic tradition (Longacre) (ibid., 17-21). The distributional description appears to be usually followed when specific texts are analyzed, whereas the functional approach seems rather to be applied in analyzing specific features of the Hebrew language.

[2]On the relation between discourse linguistics and the study of biblical texts, see the recent M. O'Connor, "Discourse Linguistics and the Study of Biblical Hebrew," in *Congress Volume, Basel 2001*, ed. A. Lemaire, VTSup, no. 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 17-42.

[3]Richter, *Exegese*; idem, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik*, 3 vols., ATSAT, nos. 8, 10, 13 (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1978-1980). For the Richter school see the series "Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament" and the research report by Seidl ("Die literaturwissenschaftliche Methode," 27-37).

[4]Harald Schweizer, *Metaphorische Grammatik: Wege zur Integration von Grammatik und Textinterpretation in der Exegese*, ATSAT, no. 15 (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1981); idem, "Wovon reden die Exegeten? Zum Verständnis der Exegese als verstehender und deskriptiver Wissenschaft," *TQ* 164 (1984): 161-185; idem, *Biblische Texte verstehen: Arbeitsbuch zur Hermeneutik und Methodik der*

School,[1] E. Talstra and the *Werkgroep Informatica* in the Netherlands;[2] and R. E. Longacre in North America.[3]

The advantages of linguistic approaches are several, the most important of which

---

Bibelinterpretation (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1986); idem, *Computerunterstützte Textinterpretation: Die Josefsgeschichte beschrieben und interpretiert im Dreischritt: Syntax, Semantik, Pragmatik*, 3 vols., THLI, no. 7 (Tübingen: Francke, 1995). For the Schweizer school see especially the series "Textwissenschaft, Theologie, Hermeneutik, Linguistik, Literaturanalyse, Informatik." For Hardmeier's work see Christof Hardmeier, *Texttheorie und biblische Exegese: Zur rhetorischen Funktion der Trauermetaphorik in der Prophetie*, BEvT, no. 79 (Munich: Kaiser, 1978); idem, *Textwelten* (2003).

[1]A concise description of the analysis of the Kampen School is provided by Jichan Kim (*The Structure of the Samson Cycle* [Kampen, Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1993], 118-134). He adopts the structural approach developed mainly by J. C. de Moor and P. van der Lugt (for extensive references see Kim, 118-119 n. 15).

[2]For example, Eep Talstra, "Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. I: Elements of a Theory," *BO* 35 (1978): 169-174; idem, "Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II: Syntax and Semantics," *BO* 39 (1982): 26-38; idem, *II Kön. 3: Etüden zur Textgrammatik*. Applicatio, no. 1 (Amsterdam: Vu Boekhandel/Uitgeverij, 1983); idem, *Solomon's Prayer*; idem, "Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew: The Viewpoint of Wolfgang Schneider," *JOTT* 5 (1992): 269-297; idem, "Deuteronomy 9 and 10: Synchronic and Diachronic Observations," in *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*, ed. J. C. de Moor, OtSt, no. 34 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 186-210; idem, "Tense, Mood, Aspect and Clause Connections in Biblical Hebrew: A Textual Approach," *JNSL* 23, no. 2 (1997): 81-103; idem, "From the 'Eclipse' to the 'Art' of Biblical Narrative: Reflections on Methods of Biblical Exegesis," in *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism: A Symposium in Honour of Adam S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. F. García Martínez and E. Noort, VTSup, no. 73 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1-41; idem, *Oude en nieuwe lezers: Een inleiding in de methoden van uitleg van het Oude Testament*, Ontwerpen, no. 2 (Kampen: Kok, 2002). Talstra's theoretical framework is the textgrammatical approach that originated with Harald Weinrich (*Tempus:Besprochene und erzählte Welt*, 6th rev. ed. [Munich: Beck, 2001], first edition published in 1964) and was first adopted into Biblical Hebrew by Wolfgang Schneider (*Grammatik des biblischen Hebräisch: ein Lehrbuch; völlig neue Bearbeitung der "Hebräischen Grammatik für den akademischen Unterricht" von Oskar Grether* [Munich: Claudius, 1974], 182-183 [§48.1]; cf. his newly revised *Grammatik des Biblischen Hebräisch: Ein Lehrbuch* [Munich: Claudius, 2001], 177-178 [§48.1]).

[3]Robert E. Longacre, *Joseph: A Story of Divine Providence: A Text Theoretical and Textlinguistic Analysis of Genesis 37 and 39-48* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989); idem, "Discourse Perspective on the Hebrew Verb: Affirmation and Restatement," in *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*, ed. Walter R. Bodine (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 177-189; idem, *The Grammar of Discourse*, rev. ed., Topics in Language and Linguistics (New York: Plenum, 1996); cf. the essays by various authors, among them Longacre, in *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics*, ed. R. D. Bergen (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1994).

are specified here. First, using a linguistic approach forces the investigator to observe the textual features closely and to penetrate deeply into the text's microstructure.[1] Second, a linguistic approach usually consists of systematic and comprehensive observations of the grammatical features of a given text providing a better foundation for further interpretations. Third, the tendency towards formalization, as well as the systematic analysis of the text, makes this approach more transparent and fathomable, and thus a more suitable control instrument for the correct understanding of the text and for exegesis in general.[2]

Probably the most often cited disadvantage of linguistic and structural methods is their extensive use of metalanguage or technical terminology, that is, linguistic jargon. It is said that too many linguistic terms and abbreviations are used.[3] On the other hand, the advantage of a metalanguage is that it enhances the possibility to verify the interpretation of a text.[4] Other, related disadvantages are the lack of uniformity in the terminology used by different scholars and the high degree of abstraction in their methodological considerations. The analysis of details at times is too exhaustive and overly detailed ("minute linguistic dissection")[5] so that the expenditure of time and terminology is out of

---

[1]Cf. Berg, 136; Oeming, *Biblische Hermeneutik*, 69.

[2]Cf. Egger, 67.

[3]Lust points to a graphic example of complicated technical language in Schweizer's work (review of *Metaphorische Grammatik*, by Harald Schweizer, *ETL* 60 [1984]: 142).

[4]See Harald Schweizer, "Motive und Ziele sprachwissenschaftlicher Methodik," *BN* 18 (1982): 83-84.

[5]Cheryl J. Exum, review of *The Structure of the Samson Cycle*, by Jichan Kim, *JBL* 114 (1995): 496.

proportion to the attained results usable for exegesis.[1] One should also bear in mind that linguistics in general, as well as the application of linguistic theories to the biblical text, is an ever-changing field, making it difficult for the exegete to stay abreast in that area.

A final note needs to be added on the sometimes misunderstood relationship between linguistics and exegesis. At the 2001 IOSOT meeting in Basel, M. O'Connor proposed that linguistics and exegesis need to be kept separate.[2] He lists three arguments in support of his suggestion. First, the developing character of linguistics makes it difficult to decide which linguistic approaches will in the end be useful for biblical exegesis. Second, linguistics plays only a minimal role in other subfields of biblical study, such as textual criticism or literary criticism. And third, linguistics is a modern science "involving verifiability, falsifiability, or comparable criteria for proceeding" and "oriented away from the unique," whereas exegetical reading is devoted to a unique passage, and, as an act of reading, it can be modern, pre-modern or pre-critical, or post-modern.[3] O'Connor's points are extremely important when assigning linguistic studies their proper place in relation to exegesis. As an indispensable tool for the study of biblical languages and thus for understanding the language of biblical texts, it is essential that linguistic inquiries remain an integral part of exegesis. If not expected to provide answers for exegetical problems it cannot address, but used as an appropriate way to deal

---

[1]Oeming, *Biblische Hermeneutik*, 69. This leads Joachim Rhode even to the rash conclusion that linguistic analysis is not suitable as an exegetical method (review of *Biblische Texte verstehen*, by Harald Schweizer, *TLZ* 113 [1988]: 425).

[2]O'Connor, "Discourse Linguistics and the Study of Biblical Hebrew," 37-42.

[3]Ibid., 42.

with the language of the biblical text, linguistics certainly adds valuable tools for the exegetical reading process.[1]

Literary approaches

The category of literary approaches comprises different avenues that use a great variety of methodologies to study the text.[2] Similarly varied is the terminology used for these approaches.[3] Nevertheless, there are some basic characteristics the different literary

---

[1]In the words of O'Connor: "Linguistics cannot solve the problems proper to exegesis, although it must be an important tool and helper, especially in the case of a language so poorly understood as Biblical Hebrew" (ibid., 38).

[2]For an overview of methodological avenues and of important works using a literary approach see Culley, 171-180; Paul R. House, "The Rise and Current Status of Literary Criticism of the Old Testament," in *Beyond Form Criticism: Essays in Old Testament Literary Criticism*, ed. P. R. House, SBTS, no. 2 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 3-22; J. H. Coetzee, "Close Reading of the Bible," *OTE* 7, no. 4 (1994): 72-77; Kenneth A. Mathews, "Literary Criticism of the Old Testament," in *Foundations for Biblical Interpretation: A Complete Library of Tools and Resources*, ed. D. S. Dockery, K. A. Mathews, and R. B. Sloan (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994), 205-223; Trible, 73-80; Duane F. Watson and Alan J. Hauser, *Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible: A Comprehensive Bibliography with Notes on History and Method*, BIS, no. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 14-19; Barton, *Reading the Old Testament*, 158-236; Joan E. Cook, "Beyond 'Form Criticism and Beyond': James Muilenburg's Influence on a Generation of Biblical Scholars," *Proceedings: Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies* 17 (1997): 19-27; Tremper Longman III, "Literary Approaches and Interpretation," *NIDOTTE*, 1:103-124, esp. 104-111; idem, "Literary Approaches to Old Testament Study," 97-115; David M. Gunn, "Narrative Criticism," in *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application*, rev. and expanded, ed. S. L. McKenzie and S. R. Haynes (Louisville: Westminster, 1999), 202-212; David Jobling, "Methods of Modern Literary Criticism," in *The Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible*, ed. L. G. Perdue, Blackwell Companions to Religion (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 19-35; Manfred Oeming and Anne-Ruth Pregla, "New Literary Criticism," *TRu* 66 (2001): 1-23.

[3]For example, different literary approaches have been called close reading, formalism, holistic interpretation, literary approach, literary criticism, literary paradigm, narrative criticism, narrative analysis, narratology, New Criticism, New Literary Criticism, New Textuality, poetics, rhetorical analysis, rhetorical criticism, semiostructural exegesis, semiostructural exegetical approach, semiotics, structural analysis, structuralism, stylistics, synchronic approach, synchronic reading, text-immanent approach, textual interpretation, total interpretation. According to David J. A. Clines and J. Cheryl Exum these forms of literary approaches are no longer new and should not be considered anymore as approaches of New Literary Criticism ("The New Literary Criticism," in *The New Literary Criticism and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. J. C. Exum and D. J. A. Clines, JSOTSup, no. 143 [Sheffield: Sheffield

approaches have in common.[1] Literary approaches take the final form of the text as the primary focus. The autonomy and self-sufficiency of the literary work of art is emphasized. Thus, the text has to be examined by close reading and by synchronic analysis. Literary approaches, however, do not confine themselves to the microstructure of the text. Rather they deal with text structures and their literary and artistic characteristics, mainly by means of detailed stylistic analyses. Literary approaches focus on the function of larger text blocks in its final form (such as chapters, chapter groups, stories, books, book groups, OT canon). Especially the aesthetic character of the texts is

---

Academic Press, 1993], 11-25; cf. David J. A. Clines, "Beyond Synchronic/Diachronic," in *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*, ed. J. C. de Moor, OtSt, no. 34 [Leiden: Brill, 1995], 63-66; Jobling, 29-31). For them, New Literary Criticism involves the newer approaches such as feminist criticism, materialist or political criticism, psychoanalytic criticism, reader-response criticism, and deconstruction. Although these newer approaches claim orientation to texts (Clines and Exum, 13-14), it seems more consistent to arrange them under the heading of reader-oriented methods, because in these approaches the hermeneutic function of the reader has an all-decisive role in interpretation (cf. Oeming, *Biblische Hermeneutik*, 89-139).

[1]Leland Ryken and Tremper Longman III describe the conformity of literary approaches: "Underlying the range of current [literary] critical approaches, however, is a shared conviction that literature is the result of conscious composition, careful patterning, and an awareness of literary conventions prevalent at the time of writing and subsequently" ("Introduction," in *A Complete Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. L. Ryken and T. Longman III [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993], 18). Carl L. Holladay identifies three distinguishing characteristics of literary approaches: (1) an ahistorical view of texts which requires a synchronic analysis of the text; (2) the autonomy of the text from which following corollaries emerge: (a) attention is focused on the final form of the text; (b) the text is viewed as a whole; and (c) texts are considered intrinsically meaningful; and (3) meaning is understood as aesthetics ("Contemporary Methods of Reading the Bible," *NIB*, 1:136-140). Oeming finds six basic points of similarity of literary approaches: (1) Their main representatives are not bound to theological faculties; (2) they try to communicate also to the lay people; (3) literary approaches try to use language which is generally understandable; (4) literary approaches live in critique of the historical-critical method and its approaches; (5) literary approaches focus on the aesthetics of texts; and (6) literary approaches have mainly be applied to the narrative texts of the Bible (*Biblische Hermeneutik*, 70-71; cf. Oeming and Pregla, 6-7). Those using a literary approach are also said to be unified by their position in relation to the historical-critical tradition (Mark Allen Powell, *What Is Narrative Criticism?* GBS [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990], 6-10; Gunn and Fewell, 9-12) and their philosophical assumptions (Philip Nel, "Philosophical Presuppositions of a Literary Approach to the Old Testament," *OTE* 7, no. 4 [1994]: 65-71).

traced and elaborated. Literary approaches then study the literary form of the text ("form expresses meaning") and its literary techniques ("text is art").[1] Major representatives of literary approaches have often been grouped geographically but have been growing into an international circle, an overview of which is rather difficult.[2]

To assess literary approaches is nearly impossible, as there are too many different kinds. Notwithstanding, some general observations are possible.[3] The advantage of literary approaches is that they regard the biblical text as a work of art and through their analyses surprise with many hitherto unrealized functional and aesthetic features which add coherence to small and large texts. The attention to new kinds of detail, the emphasis upon textual integrity, and the sensibility toward inner-biblical relations and structures are strengths of these approaches. Difficulties of the final text need not be explained away by

---

[1]Alter and Kermode give a well-formulated sketch of the operation of literary criticism, though it does not provide a method for this approach: "We assume that literature is a complex language. . . . Its syntax, grammar, and vocabulary involve a highly heterogenous concord of codes, devices, and linguistic properties. These include genre, convention, technique, contexts of allusion, style, structure, thematic organization, point of view for the narratives, voice for the poetry, imagery and diction of both, and much else. The complexity of this interplay of elements certainly calls for expert literary appraisal and also guarantees that there will be no unanimity of approach or of interpretive conclusions" (5).

[2]The earlier and most influential scholars using literary approaches come from North America (R. Alter, J. Muilenburg, R. Polzin), England (Sheffield University Press series "Bible and Literature," A. Berlin, D. J. A. Clines, D. M. Gunn), the Netherlands (Amsterdam School, Kampen School, J. P. Fokkelman, E. J. van Wolde), and Israel (S. Bar-Efrat, U. Simon, M. Sternberg, M. Weiss).

[3]For assessments of literary approaches see Alonso Schökel, "Of Methods and Models," 3-13; Tremper Longman III, "The Literary Approach to the Study of the Old Testament: Promise and Pitfalls," *JETS* 28 (1985): 385-398; idem, *Literary Approaches to Biblical Interpretation*, 47-62; Ryken and Longman III, 24-29; Stanley E. Porter, "Literary Approaches to the New Testament: From Formalism to Deconstruction and Back," in *Approaches to New Testament Study*, ed. S. E. Porter and D. Tombs, JSNTSup, no. 120 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 112-120 (Porter's appraisal of NT Literary Criticism applies to a large degree equally to OT literary approaches); Oeming, *Biblische Hermeneutik*, 74-75; and Oeming and Pregla, 19-23.

referring to its textual history.[1] The study of the text as a whole and bringing conventions of writing biblical narrative and poetry to the forefront have enhanced the interpretation of biblical texts and given it a new freshness. A new "wealth of insights" is opened as the literary approach "tends to maximalize the possibilities of a text."[2]

Critique of literary approaches has mainly centered around their devaluation of the historical-critical method and the diachronic analysis of texts as well as of the history of criticism. Also, literary approaches consist of such a great variety applying such diverse methods that this field easily becomes too vast. Danger then arises that different literary approaches contradict each other and that new-fashioned approaches eventually lead away from the focus on the text. This is an outcome of a "lack of explicit methods and formal controls."[3] Literary approaches at times also stand accused of using language that is too technical or obscure, though not to the same extent as their linguistic counterparts do.

Canonical approaches

For canonical approaches the text under investigation is the final text in its

---

[1]Ibid., 21: "The most important impulse of New Literary Criticism is, in a sense, that it educates [the exegete] not wanting to solve the problems of a biblical text too quickly by declaring the text's final form as unreadable, that is, as senseless, and to 'help it up' by imagining circumstances that the text itself does not bring into discussion."

[2]Alonso Schökel, "Of Methods and Models," 12.

[3]Porter, "Literary Approaches," 117. Similarly, Adele Berlin observes that the "rules and procedures have yet to be spelled out. The situation in literary studies of the Bible is somewhat like that portrayed in the Book of Judges: each person does what seems right in his or her eyes" ("Literary Exegesis of Biblical Narrative: Between Poetics and Hermeneutics," in *"Not in Heaven": Coherence and Complexity in Biblical Narrative*, ed. J. P. Rosenblatt and J. C. Sitterson, Jr., ISBL [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991], 120).

canonical form.[1] They search for coherence and unity in the Bible and try to understand individual texts in the contexts of larger text blocks, such as books and book groups, and of the whole Bible, that is, Old and New Testament.[2] They especially pay attention to inner-biblical relations of words and texts (*Vernetzung*), intertextuality, and composition techniques. Furthermore, these approaches try to reestablish the importance of Scripture for the present time. In canonical approaches, as opposed to the literary approaches, a respect for diachronic questions remains.[3] Major representatives are B. S. Childs[4] and J.

[1]Again terminology varies: canonical approach, canonical exegesis, canonical-intertextual reading, canonical criticism, or theological exegesis.

[2]A holistic approach means for Rolf Rendtorff that "the position of every individual section of text in its more immediate and wider context is intentional and has a point" (*Canon and Theology: Overtures to an Old Testament Theology*, OBT [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993], 194).

[3]Although the importance of the final text as a whole is a proper starting point for exegetical and theological interpretations, exegetes using a canonical approach do not automatically abandon the historical-critical methods for exegesis. In general, they accept the prehistory of the final text and uphold historical-critical methods as indispensable tools for the diachronic analysis of the text, though not for its theological understanding (see Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflections on the Christian Bible* [London: SCM, 1992; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993], 104-106, 211-218, 262-264; Rendtorff, "Between Historical Criticism and Holistic Interpretation," 301-302; idem, *Canon and Theology*, 49, 171, 194). Rendtorff believes that "the diachronic aspect belongs to the concept itself" ("Between Historical Criticism and Holistic Interpretation," 302) and Norbert Lohfink finds that canonical exegesis uses in principal similar tools like the historical-critical method, however with a different focus of interest ("Was wird anders bei kanonischer Schriftauslegung? Beobachtungen am Beispiel von Ps 6," in *Zum Problem des biblischen Kanons*, JBT, no. 3 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988], 29-30).

[4]Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology in Crisis;* idem, "The Exegetical Significance of the Canon for the Study of the Old Testament," in *Congress Volume: Göttingen 1977*, VTSup, no. 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 66-80; idem, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979); idem, *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context* (London: SCM, 1985; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), esp. 6-17; idem, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments.* See also the detailed analysis and assessment of Childs's work by Paul R. Noble (*The Canonical Approach: A Critical Reconstruction of the Hermeneutics of Brevard S. Childs*, BIS, no. 16 [Leiden: Brill, 1995]), the discussion of Childs's approach resulting in hermeneutical guidelines of a canonical approach by William John Lyons (*Canon and Exegesis: Canonical Praxis and the Sodom Narrative*, JSOTSup, no. 352 [London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002]), and the recent appraisal by John Barton ("Canonical Approaches Ancient and Modern," in *The Biblical Canons*, ed. J.-M. Auwers and

A. Sanders[1] in North America, and R. Rendtorff,[2] Ch. Dohmen and M. Oeming,[3] and G. Steins[4] in Germany. It should be noted that under the category of canonical approaches one finds distinct forms that differ considerably from each other, such as the approaches taken by Childs (text-oriented) and Sanders (author-oriented).[5]

H. J. de Jonge, BETL, no. 163 [Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2003], 199-209).

[1]James A. Sanders, "Biblical Criticism and the Bible as Canon," *USQR* 32 (1977): 157-165; idem, "Text and Canon: Concepts and Method," *JBL* 98 (1979): 5-29; idem, "Canonical Context and Canonical Criticism," *HBT* 2 (1980): 173-197; idem, *Canon and Community: A Guide to Canonical Criticism*, GBS (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), idem, "Canonical Criticism: An Introduction," in *Le canon de l'Ancien Testament: Sa formation et son histoire*, ed. J.-D. Kaestli and O. Wermelinger, Le Monde de la Bible (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1984), 341-362; idem, *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text: Canon as Paradigm* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987).

[2]Rolf Rendtorff, "Between Historical Criticism and Holistic Interpretation," 289-303; idem, *Canon and Theology*; idem, "'Canonical Interpretation': A New Approach to Biblical Texts," *ST* 48 (1994): 3-14; idem, "Emergence and Intention of Canonical Criticism." in *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, July 29–August 5, 1997, Division A: The Bible and Its World*, ed. R. Margolin (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1999), 13*-19*; idem, *Theologie des Alten Testaments: Ein kanonischer Entwurf*, 2 vols. (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1999, 2001). With regard to the canonical approach, James Barr regards Rendtorff as "the most prominent figure on the horizon at present" (*The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999], 441) and discusses his approach at some length (441-447).

[3]Christoph Dohmen, "Vom vielfachen Schriftsinn: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen neuerer Zugänge zu biblischen Texten," in *Neue Formen der Schriftauslegung*, ed. T. Sternberg, QD, no. 140 (Freiburg: Herder, 1992), 13-74; idem, "Der biblische Kanon in der Diskussion," *TRev* 91 (1995): 451-460; Christoph Dohmen and Manfred Oeming, *Biblischer Kanon — warum und wozu? Eine Kanontheologie*, QD, no. 127 (Freiburg: Herder, 1992); Christoph Dohmen and Günter Stemberger, *Hermeneutik der Jüdischen Bibel und des Alten Testaments*, Kohlhammer–Studienbücher Theologie, no. 1, pt. 2 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1996), 144-154, 174-175; Manfred Oeming, "Kanonische Schriftauslegung," 199-208.

[4]Georg Steins, *Die "Bindung Isaaks" im Kanon (Gen 22): Grundlagen und Programm einer kanonisch-intertextuellen Lektüre; mit einer Spezialbibliographie zu Gen 22*, HBS, no. 20 (Freiburg: Herder, 1999); idem, "Der Bibelkanon als Denkmal und Text: Zu einigen methodologischen Aspekten kanonischer Schriftauslegung," in *The Biblical Canons*, ed. J.-M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge, BETL, no. 163 (Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2003), 177-198. Cf. Brevard S. Childs, "Critique of Recent Intertextual Canonical Interpretation," *ZAW* 115 (2003): 173-178.

[5]The concept of "canonical criticism" as advocated by James A. Sanders is interested in each stage of the process of developing the Old and New Testament, whereas the "canonical approach" of Childs focuses on the final result and its content. Thus, Sander's canonical criticism is author-

Canonical approaches to exegesis can be credited for their contribution to the understanding of macrostructures in large text blocks and the interrelationship between different texts. The analysis of the large-scale compositions of texts is as important as the careful attention to details of a text. In addition, the canonical approach may serve as a bridge between biblical exegesis and biblical theology as well as systematic theology.[1]

The main criticism leveled forth against canonical approaches, as far as textual interpretation is concerned, is the existing danger that the supposed relations between words or phrases over a large text block or between texts may lead to overinterpretation when there are only "tender interrelations."[2] Callaway also sees a potential problem in the "tendency to read texts as a unity and therefore to prefer harmonization to dissonance

---

oriented and should not be regarded as a text-oriented approach. See F. A. Spina, "Canonical Criticism: Childs versus Sanders," in *Interpreting God's Word for Today: An Inquiry into Hermeneutics from a Biblical Theological Perspective*, ed. J. E. Hartley and R. L. Shelton, Wesleyan Theological Perspectives, no. 2 (Anderson: Warner, 1982), 165-194; James A. Sanders, *Canon and Community*, 21-37; idem, *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text*, 153-174; Gerald T. Sheppard, "Canonical Criticism," *ABD*, 1:862-863; Kent D. Clarke, "Canonical Criticism: An Integrated Reading of Biblical Texts for the Community of Faith," in *Approaches to New Testament Study*, ed. S. E. Porter and D. Tombs, JSNTSup, no. 120 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 179-204.

[1]The canonical approach has doubtlessly been the text-oriented approach that has been most fruitful for the area of biblical theology. See the comprehensive, though rather critical, reflections by James Barr on the canonical approach (*The Concept of Biblical Theology*, 378-451).

[2]Oeming, "Kanonische Schriftauslegung," 206. Besides the danger of overinterpretation, Oeming lists three other deficiencies or dangers of canonical approaches which, however, do not apply to the method of textual interpretation in a canonical approach. First, sometimes the opposition to historical-critical methods is overemphasized and may lead to the misunderstanding that the canonical approach and the historical-critical method cannot be integrated and the canonical approach would be an attempt to return to precritical reading, which in fact it is not. Second, the different canonical approaches still add to the denounced plethora of approaches. Third, there is no agreement on which canon a canonical approach should be based (*Biblische Hermeneutik*, 82).

and uncertainty."[1]

Summary

This overview has sketched the recently opened, vast field of approaches focusing on the text. While three broad categories of text-oriented approaches with their common methodological principles can be outlined (linguistic, literary, and canonical approaches), the various approaches of each category show substantial differences. It is therefore obvious that there is no such thing as a unified text-oriented approach, which in the end may not even be desirable.

The major contributions of text-oriented approaches to exegesis may be summarized as follows: On the linguistic level (1) the distinction of different, hierarchical levels of linguistic analysis which are dependent upon each other (e.g., syntax and semantics are closely related), (2) the analysis from form to function generally achieved by paying attention first to all formal features of the text before getting involved with the meaning and function thereof, and (3) the attempt at a transparent and intersubjectively verifiable approach which is achieved by formal controls; on the literary level the better understanding of literary artistry and textual integrity; and on the canonical level the recognition of interrelations between text blocks and between texts. Finally, the most important contribution, which is common to all text-oriented approaches, is the attempt at the interpretation of the text as it stands. The latter presents itself in a synchronic

[1]Mary C. Callaway, "Canonical Criticism," in *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application*, rev. and expanded, ed. S. L. McKenzie and S. R. Haynes (Louisville: Westminster, 1999), 153.

analysis, based on the concept of operational priority of synchronic analysis over diachronic analysis.

The possible pitfalls and dangers identified in connection with text-oriented approaches consist of an overuse of metalanguage, a too-detailed analysis of features that do not further the understanding of the text, a tendency to devalue other approaches, and an overinterpretation of specific features in the text or of interrelations between texts. I therefore attempt to avoid such pitfalls in the text-oriented approach used in this study.

Text-Oriented Approaches to Daniel 8: A Review of Recent Studies

The aim of this section is to provide an overview of exegetical approaches applied to the text of Dan 8:9-14 in recent studies (since 1970)[1] and to review only the extant text-oriented approaches in more detail. An exhaustive *Forschungsbericht* of the existing critical work on Dan 8:9-14 is not presented here, since reference to the research on individual questions as well as to the problems of scholarship associated with the text is supplied extensively in the following chapters. It should go without explanation that almost every interpretation of a text somehow uses linguistic or literary methods of analysis, for the simple fact that the text is the object of interpretation. However, the

---

[1]As the present study is especially interested in text-oriented approaches which have risen only because of the shift in exegetical methodology after the middle of the twentieth century (cf. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*; Muilenburg, "Form Criticism and Beyond"; Richter, *Exegese*), the following overview of research concentrates on the recent decades, beginning from 1970. Most of the studies regarding Dan 8 which have been undertaken in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries until 1970 approached the text from a historical-critical perspective (author-oriented) and thus diachronically, though there are some exceptions which nevertheless cannot be categorized as text-oriented, but rather as matter-oriented. For a brief overview of the history of interpretation of the book of Daniel since the rise of historical criticism see Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 121-123.

general methodological orientation of most studies on Dan 8 usually differs from a text-oriented approach.

The commentaries on the book of Daniel, which, of course, include comments on Dan 8:9-14, generally use a combination of different approaches to the text (literary criticism, form criticism, redaction criticism, etc.). Some commentaries use linguistic and literary insights only selectively,[1] others pay closer attention to the linguistic and literary data of the text of Dan 8:9-14,[2] while none present a thorough analysis of the

---

[1]Representative commentaries include: Leon Wood, *A Commentary on Daniel* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1973), 211-219; Raymond Hammer, *The Book of Daniel*, CBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 83-86; Joyce G. Baldwin, *Daniel*, TOTC (Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity, 1978), 157-158; Desmond Ford, *Daniel* (Nashville: Southern, 1978), 186-190, 194-197; Norman Porteous, *Daniel*, 2d rev. ed., OTL (London: SCM, 1979), 124-127; D. S. Russell, *Daniel*, The Daily Study Bible (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew, 1981), 143-152; Gerhard Maier, *Der Prophet Daniel*, Wuppertaler Studienbibel (Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1982), 303-310; Robert A. Anderson, *Signs and Wonders: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, ITC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 94-98; Jürgen-Christian Lebram, *Das Buch Daniel*, ZBK: AT, vol. 23 (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1984), 94-95; W. Sibley Towner, *Daniel*, Int (Atlanta: John Knox, 1984), 120-122; Gleason L. Archer, "Daniel," *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*, ed. F. E. Gaebelein (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985), 7:98-103; Ernst Haag, *Daniel*, NEchtB: AT, vol. 30 (Würzburg: Echter, 1993), 64-65; Stephen R. Miller, *Daniel*, NAC, vol. 18 (Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994), 224-230; Dieter Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, NSK: AT, vol. 22 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996), 169-175; William H. Shea, *Daniel 7-12; Prophecies of the End Time*, The Abundant Life Bible Amplifier (Boise: Pacific Press, 1996), 94-118; David L. Smith-Christopher, Daniel L. "The Book of Daniel: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections," *NIB*, 7:113-114; George Wesley Buchanan, *The Book of Daniel*, Mellen Biblical Commentary, vol. 25 (Lewiston: Mellen, 1999), 241-248; Tremper Longman III, *Daniel*, NIVAC (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999), 203-205; Paul L. Redditt, *Daniel: Based on the New Revised Standard Version*, NCB (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 138-141; Jacques B. Doukhan, *Secrets of Daniel: Wisdom and Dreams of a Jewish Prince in Exile* (Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 2000), 123-134; Donald E. Gowan, *Daniel*, AOTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 2001), 115-125; C. L. Seow, *Daniel*, Westminster Bible Companion (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003), 121-126. In addition to these, the following important commentaries published between 1900 and 1970 also belong to this category: Karl Marti, *Das Buch Daniel*, KHC, vol. 18 (Tübingen and Leipzig: Mohr, 1901), 57-60; S. R. Driver, *The Book of Daniel*, Cambridge Bible for Schools and College (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 115-120; and Otto Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel*, KAT, vol. 18 (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1965), 122, 126-128.

[2]Representative commentaries include: Mathias Delcor, *Le Livre de Daniel*, SB (Paris: Gabalda et Cie, 1971), 172-178; Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AB, vol. 23 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1978), 225-227, 235-237; André Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*

language itself before getting involved in the interpretative task.

Apart from the commentaries on the book of Daniel, several monographs and articles also touch on Dan 8 using different kinds of methodological approaches: literary criticism (Hall, 1974; Porter, 1983; Stahl, 1994),[1] form criticism (Collins, 1984; Reid, 1989; Behrens, 2002),[2] tradition-historical criticism (Niditch, 1983) and tradition-

---

(Atlanta: John Knox, 1979), 159-165; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 197-213, 219-220; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 325-326, 331-336; Ernest Lucas, *Daniel*, Apollos Old Testament Commentary, vol. 20 (Leicester, England: Apollos; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2002); and one may safely add Klaus Koch's BKAT commentary on Daniel, even though until August 2005 he had published only comments on Dan 1–4 thus far (*Daniel*, vol. 1, *Dan 1–4*, BKAT, vol. 22/1 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2005]). In addition to these, the following commentaries published between 1900 and 1970 need to be mentioned as exceptionally illuminating textual matters: Montgomery, *Daniel*, 332-345, 356-358; Charles, 203-212; and G. Ch. Aalders, *Daniël: verklaard*, COut (Kampen: Kok, 1962), 173-182.

[1]Roger Allan Hall subjects the book of Daniel to a literary-critical investigation in order to detect the theological streams of the late post-exilic era. Daniel 8 is analyzed accordingly ("Post-Exilic Theological Streams and the Book of Daniel" [Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1974], 197-202). Paul A. Porter compares the animal metaphors of Dan 7 and 8 with Babylonian birth-omen traditions in *Šumma izbu* and finds a high degree of correlation between them so that he proposes that the animal anomalies of the Mesopotamian mantic wisdom traditions form the extralinguistic, stylistic context of some of the visionary symbolic imagery of Dan 7 and 8 (*Metaphors and Monsters: A Literary-Critical Study of Daniel 7 and 8*, ConBOT, no. 20 [Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1983], 15-29). Further, Porter believes that Dan 7 and 8 contain metaphor clusters—natural, cultic, and cosmic clusters— which belong to the "root metaphor 'shepherd'" (120), from which all metaphors in Dan 7 and 8 evolved (33-42); Dan 8:9-14 is also based on this root metaphor (86, 89). In his analysis Porter connects many texts only by association. However, he has been criticized that he should have analyzed the texts first on its own, before he associates them with each other (cf. Peter Höffken, "Neuere Arbeiten zur Sprachgestalt alttestamentlicher Texte," *BO* 43 [1986]: 659; and Reinhard G. Kratz, review of *Metaphors and Monsters*, by Paul A. Porter, *TLZ* 114 [1989]: 423). To use associative methods leads only to the impression that the argumentation is too loose (cf. P. M. Casey, review of *Metaphors and Monsters*, by Paul A. Porter, *JTS* 38 [1987]: 455-456; and Ernest C. Lucas, "The Source of Daniel's Animal Imagery," *TynBul* 41 [1990]: 171-177). Thus, Adele Berlin's "small criticism" of Porter's study carries weight: "I would have preferred to see a more explicit spelling out of the working of the metaphors in a closer reading of the text" (review of *Metaphors and Monsters*, by Paul A. Porter, *JQR* 80 [1989-1990]: 134). On Rainer Stahl (1994) see below.

[2]John J. Collins has written a form-critical commentary on Daniel with the emphasis on genre, of which one part is devoted to chap. 8 (*Daniel with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*, FOTL, vol. 20 [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984], 83-89). After outlining the structure of the different chapters, Collins always discusses genre first, and from the insights obtained there he moves on to the identification of the setting and the intention of the chapter. Stephen Breck Reid examines by means of form-critical analysis, with the incorporation of sociological categories, the structure, genre, setting,

historical and sematological approach (Beyerle, 2004),[1] motif study or concept study (Freer, 1975; Rodríguez, 1986; Gane, 1997; Wastling, 1997; Vogel, 1999),[2] synchronic

---

and intention of Dan 8 and classifies Dan 8 as belonging to the genre of "theriomorphic historical allegory" (*Enoch and Daniel: A Form Critical and Sociological Study of Historical Apocalypses*, BIBAL Monograph Series, no. 2 [Berkeley: BIBAL, 1989], 92-104, esp. 94-96). He tries to present the literary history of the text and reconstructs the sociological setting, that is the identity of the community, from which the text emerged. As Reid's main focus is to observe the elements pointing to the sociological setting of the text, the use of the form-critical method may be justified. However, there is no literary analysis, the structural outline which rather appears to be a thematic outline is not based on a structural analysis, and only little attention is given to the Hebrew text. For example, Reid mentions only eight Hebrew words or phrases that belong to Dan 8 of which he only partly discusses their origin of tradition. None of these words comes from vss. 9-14. In fact, the text of Dan 8:9-14 lacks a proper analysis. On Achim Behrens (2002) see below.

[1]By using a developmental or diachronic history-of-traditions approach, Susan Niditch distinguishes three historic stages of the symbolic vision form (*The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition*, HSM, no. 30 [Chico: Scholars Press, 1983], 7-12). Daniel 8 belongs to the third stage, the "baroque stage," which extends the narrative thread in the vision. In the section on Dan 8, she presents a translation with textual notes, studies the motif pattern of Dan 8, observes a few stylistic features—e.g., the "brief clause" style of 8:4, 7, 11, 12 (224-225)—and discusses the background of the symbolic usage, e.g., the animal figures, the stars motif, and the king motif (215-233). Throughout her analysis of Dan 8, Niditch aims to detect the traditions behind the text and not to provide a linguistic or literary examination. Stefan Beyerle analyzes the vision in Dan 8 from a decidedly theological viewpoint, and attempts to show how the tradition-historical reference contexts of this apocalyptic vision lead to the conclusion that it combines both immanence and transcendence ("Die apokalyptische Vision in Daniel 8," in *Apokalyptik in Antike und Aufklärung*, ed. J. Brokoff and B. U. Schipper, Studien zu Judentum und Christentum [Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004], 25-44).

[2]In regard to Dan 8:9-14, Kenneth Orville Freer describes the structure of Dan 8 ("A Study of Vision Reports in Biblical Literature" [Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1975], 35-39), and studies the motifs horns (125-128), prince of the host (143-146), and host/host of heaven (149-152), as well as the terms vision and truth (162-165) in order to identify the history of the motifs and their semantic meaning. Angel M. Rodríguez lists the cultic terminology in Dan 8:9-14 and gives a brief semantic analysis of those cultic terms in relation to other OT texts. This study may also be designated as an early-stage study on intertextual relations ("Significance of the Cultic Language in Daniel 8:9-14," in *Symposium on Daniel: Introductory and Exegetical Studies*, ed. F. B. Holbrook, DARCOM, vol. 2 [Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986], 527-549). Roy Gane focuses on the terminology of judgment, sanctuary restoration and covenant review in Dan 7 and 8 and finds in Dan 8:9-14 several hints for these concepts ("Judgment as Covenant Review," *JATS* 8/1-2 [1997]: 181-194). Mildrid A. Nilsen Wastling studies selected terms and expressions in Dan 8:9-14 related to the activity of the little horn (horn, host of heaven and stars, host, prince of the host, daily/continual, truth, "2300 evening-morning," and נִצְדַּק) and then concentrates on terms which supposedly may reflect a covenant context, namely זַעַם ("indignation," 8:19), תִּנָּתֵן ("given over," 8:12,13), פֶּשַׁע ("transgression," 8:12,13), הַפֹּשְׁעִים ("the transgressors," 8:23), חמם ("reach fullness," 8:23), הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם ("the transgression of desolation," 8:13), and עַז־פָּנִים ("fierce features," 8:23) ("Can

and diachronic reading (David, 1991),[1] literary analysis (Collins, 1977; Shea, 1986; Sims, 1995)[2], and analysis of meaning (Hasel, 1981 and 1986; Hardy, 1983).[3] In addition to the investigations of the whole text of Dan 8:9-14, some recent studies deal with parts or partial features of Dan 8:9-14, all falling more or less into the range of a semantic

---

Covenant Theology Be Found in Daniel Chapter 8? A Study of Daniel Chapter 8 in the Light of the Covenant" [M.A. thesis, Andrews University Extension Campus, Newbold College, 1997]). She concludes that these terms point to the fact that Dan 8:9-14 reflects the consequences of a covenant breach, and that נִצְדַּק in vs. 14 indicates the "covenant-curse-reversal-aspects of judgment, vengeance, redemption and reconciliation/atonement" (108-109). In the course of her study, Wastling employs only linguistic argumentation when she examines the syntactic function of תִּנָּתֵן in vs. 12a (53-59). Winfried Vogel examines in his motif study, among other things, specific words and phrases in Dan 8:9-14 which relate to the cultic motif. In the category of cultic space he deals with מִקְדָּשׁ, the phrase מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁ, and קֹדֶשׁ ("The Cultic Motif in Space and Time in the Book of Daniel" [Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1999], 73-89) whereas in the category of cultic time he discusses עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר (174-179). He determines the meaning of these cultic elements and marks in this way their contribution to the cultic motif. Vogel also pursues the question why there is an apparent change of terminology in Dan 8:11-14, especially the shift from מִקְדָּשׁ to קֹדֶשׁ (cf. Winfried Vogel, "The Cultic Motifs and Themes in the Book of Daniel," *JATS* 7/1 [1996]: 21-50).

[1]On Pablo S. David's approach see below.

[2]John J. Collins describes his approach as "a literary rather than a historical study" because he examines "the meaning of the book of Daniel as found in the Hebrew bible [*sic*]" (*Apocalyptic Vision*, xv). He deals with the vision in Dan 8 mainly in relation to the vision in Dan 7. Daniel 8:9-14 is investigated only for mythic elements (106-108) and the meaning of the host and the stars (139-140). William H. Shea discusses the meaning of Dan 8:9-12 and also identifies the different directional movements in this vision ascribing them to either a vertical or horizontal dimension. He aims at a literary structure of these verses based exclusively on the spatial dimensions mentioned in the text. Shea perceives three scenes: a horizontal, earthly scene in vs. 9 and two vertical, heavenly scenes in vs. 10 and vss. 11-12 ("Spatial Dimensions in the Vision of Daniel 8," in *Symposium on Daniel: Introductory and Exegetical Studies*, ed. F. B. Holbrook, DARCOM, vol. 2 [Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986], 497-526, esp. 505-521). However, Shea's literary structure is clearly thematic in nature and does not come as a result of a linguistic or literary study of the text. An analysis of 8:13-14 is not provided. Although James H. Sims claims his approach to be a literary analysis, his discussion of Dan 8 and much of the other chapters of Daniel is hardly more than an ample description of the content (*A Comparative Literary Study of Daniel and Revelation: Shaping the End* [Lewiston: Mellen, 1994], 39-41).

[3]On these see below.

analysis.[1] This again indicates the need for a text-oriented approach starting with an analysis of the form of the text.

Studies Using Some Linguistic or Literary Methods

Several of the above mentioned studies employ to a certain extent linguistic or literary methods of analysis as part of their overall diachronic approach (David, 1991; Stahl, 1994; Behrens, 2002) or in their analysis of the meaning of the text (Hasel, 1981 and 1986; Hardy, 1983). These studies deserve further comment.

Hardy pays attention to some issues in Dan 8:9-12 in an appendix of his thesis.[2] He discusses the origin of the horn (vs. 9), the activities of the horn (vss. 10-12), as well

---

[1]Several examples need to suffice. On the text of 8:11-12: J. Dyneley Prince, "On Daniel viii. 11, 12," *JBL* 17 (1898): 203-204; Pröbstle, "A Linguistic Analysis of Daniel 8:11, 12," 81-106. On the meaning of vs. 12: Paul Birch Petersen, "The Theology and the Function of the Prayers in the Book of Daniel" (Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1998), 204-208. On the meaning of הַתָּמִיד and שֹׁמֵם (vss. 11-13): J. Lust, "Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel: The Tamid and the Abomination of Desolation," in *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Quaegebeur, OLA, no. 55 (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 283-299; Samuel Núñez, "The Usage and Meaning of the Hebrew Word תמיד in the Old Testament," in *To Understand the Scriptures: Essays in Honor of William H. Shea*, ed. D. Merling (Berrien Springs: Institute of Archaeology / Siegfried H. Horn Archaeological Museum, 1997), 95-102. On the syntax of vs. 13: Roy Gane, "The Syntax of *Tēt Ve* . . . in Daniel 8:13," in *Creation, Life, and Hope: Essays in Honor of Jacques B. Doukhan*, ed. J. Moskala (Berrien Springs: Old Testament Department, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 2000), 367-382. On the meaning of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר (vs. 14): S. J. Schwantes, "*ᶜereb bōqer* of Daniel 8:14 Re-examined," *AUSS* 16 (1978): 375-385. On the meaning of the "2300 evening-morning" (vs. 14): Claus Schedl, "Mystische Arithmetik oder geschichtliche Zahlen? Daniel 8, 14; 12, 11-13," *BZ* 8 (1964): 101-105; Sydney Allen, "On Schedl's Attempt to Count the Days of Daniel," *AUSS* 4 (1966): 105-106; Hans Burgmann, "Die vier Endzeittermine im Danielbuch," *ZAW* 86 (1974): 543-550. On the meaning of נִצְדַּק (vs. 14): Niels-Erik Andreasen, "Translation of *Niṣdaq/Katharisthēsetai* in Daniel 8:14," in *Symposium on Daniel: Introductory and Exegetical Studies*, ed. F. B. Holbrook, DARCOM, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986), 475-496; Richard M. Davidson, "The Meaning of *niṣdaq* in Daniel 8:14," *JATS* 7/1 (1996): 107-119.

[2]Frank Wilton Hardy, "An Historicist Perspective on Daniel 11" (M.A. thesis, Andrews University, 1983), 270-298. Although Dan 8:14 is mentioned in the title of the appendix, the verse itself is not discussed but only referred to in the paragraphs on the meaning of הַתָּמִיד.

as the interpretation of the terms "prince," "host," "horn," and "daily." Hardy incorporates linguistic arguments for the interpretation of these verses, however, he limits himself to matters of gender in vs. 9, similarities in syntax in vss. 10-12, and the interpretation of words in vss. 10-12. Besides treating only vss. 9-12, the argumentation is weakened by applying linguistic observations rather selectively and not providing any linguistic framework.

A lengthy article by G. F. Hasel presents a clause-by-clause investigation of Dan 8:9-14.[1] Hasel describes the procedure of his research as follows:

> (1) A philological study of key terms, (2) an analysis of the word (grammar) and sentence (syntax) patterns of the Hebrew text with comparisons of modern translations where advisable, (3) the narrower and larger contexts within the book of Daniel and the Bible as a whole, and (4) will relate to the suggestions and conclusions of major schools of interpretations and their chief exponents. Attention will also be given to extra-biblical materials where relevant.[2]

Throughout Hasel's analysis of the various clauses this series of four steps is discernible. His philological investigation comprises brief word studies on all significant terms in the passage. He discusses the meaning of יָצָא, the root גדל, שַׂר־הַצָּבָא, הַתָּמִיד, הֻשְׁלַךְ, מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ, צָבָא, אֱמֶת, עַד־מָתַי, פֶּשַׁע, שֹׁמֵם, קֹדֶשׁ, מִרְמָס, and נִצְדַּק. In order to determine the meaning of and the concepts intended by these words and terms, Hasel usually looks first at their meaning as they occur elsewhere in the Old Testament. Thus, for Hasel the

---

[1]Gerhard F. Hasel, "The 'Little Horn,' the Heavenly Sanctuary and the Time of the End: A Study of Daniel 8:9-14," in *Symposium on Daniel: Introductory and Exegetical Studies*, ed. F. B. Holbrook, DARCOM, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986), 378-461. This article is a revised and considerably extended form of Gerhard F. Hasel, "The 'Little Horn,' the Saints, and the Sanctuary in Daniel 8," in *The Sanctuary and the Atonement*, ed. A. V. Wallenkampf and W. R. Lesher (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1981), 177-227.

[2]Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 379-380.

use of a specific word in the Old Testament plays a decisive role in determining its meaning in Dan 8:9-14. The analysis of grammar and syntax is undertaken only selectively.[1] With regard to intertextuality, Hasel indicates lexical and thematic relations of Dan 8 to Dan 9 and to Dan 7, as well as thematic links to Lev 16.[2] The interpretation of the meaning of the passage and its clauses is another major concern for Hasel. Throughout his article he pursues a historicist interpretation, based on his three steps of analysis, while in critical dialogue with other views.[3]

Hasel therefore focuses mainly on two aspects of exegesis: the meaning of words and the (historicist) interpretation of the passage. Only a few linguistic (grammatical and syntactic) arguments are offered, and he does not attempt a systematic observation of the structural and literary features of the text.[4]

Pablo S. David pursues a synchronic and diachronic reading of the book of Daniel, thereby identifying its structure and composition. In his synchronic reading David outlines the correspondence between Dan 8 and Dan 11, focusing in Dan 8 on vss.

---

[1]Hasel discusses the gender in the construction וּמִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם in vs. 9 and its syntactic relations of reference (ibid., 387-392), the subject gender shift in vs. 11a (401), the clause relations in vs. 11 (409), and the syntactic function of צָבָא—subject or object?—in vs. 12a (416-418). However, there is no examination, e.g., of the syntax of the question in vs. 13 or the meaning of the grammatical form of וְנִצְדַּק in vs. 14.

[2]Ibid., 436-439 (on relations between Dan 8 and Dan 9); 458-460 (on relations between Dan 8 and Dan 7), 427, 440, 451, 455, 457 (on relations between Dan 8 and Lev 16).

[3]For example, Hasel discusses the origin and the nature of the little horn (ibid., 387-394) and the interpretation of the time element in the period of "2300 evening-morning" (430-436).

[4]Hasel bases his literary structure of Dan 8:9-14 on thematic considerations only, especially on the horizontal (earthly) and vertical (heavenly) dimensions mentioned in the text (ibid., 380-383).

20-25 but also including the terms תמיד (8:11, 13) and הַצְּבִי (8:9).[1] The diachronic reading compares Dan 8 with Dan 7 and Dan 10–12, noting both the points of contact as well as of contrast.[2] David concludes that chap. 8 "minus the secondary additions" of vss. 11b-14 "manifests a coherent structure as a literary unit"[3] and together with chaps. 10–12 has been written by one Maccabean author at two different periods.[4] In an excursus David deals extensively with the secondary addition of 8:11b-14 using text-critical methods to reconstruct via the LXX the prehistory of the MT.[5]

David's synchronic reading of Dan 8 limits itself to the structural correspondences with other parts of the book of Daniel. As his main task is to describe "how a biblical text such as Daniel has evolved into its present shape through several stages of rereading, reinterpretation, and reactualization in changing historical circumstances,"[6] it is understandable that a close reading of the text of Dan 8 was not attempted. Therefore, the synchronic approach of David would more accurately be defined as a macrostructural

---

[1]Pablo S. David, "The Composition and Structure of the Book of Daniel: A Synchronic and Diachronic Reading" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leuven, 1991), 193-198.

[2]Ibid., 210-213, 222-229.

[3]Ibid., 238.

[4]Ibid., 268.

[5]Ibid., 357-383. David regards Dan 8:11b-14 as a "disruption of allegorical language" (357) because of the change in the gender of verbs from feminine to masculine. After cancelling out the non-allegorical elements in the vision section of Dan 8:11-14, David uses the LXX version to show that an originally shorter LXX text—which later on became corrupted by several efforts to harmonize it with the MT (361)—solves the textual problems present in the MT. David argues that the LXX addition in vs. 11 should be replaced at the beginning of vs. 14 as an answer to the question in vs. 13 (369). From such a "reconstructed, consistently allegorical" text (369) David proceeds to a reconstruction of three stages of redaction of Dan 8:11b-14 (374-380).

[6]Ibid., 397.

reading of the book of Daniel and should not be mistaken as a linguistic or literary approach to the text.

Rainer Stahl discusses the text of Dan 8 in a literary analysis and a redaction-critical analysis of what he calls the "Daniel library" (*Danielbibliothek*).[1] His procedure of literary analysis is a notation of those lexical, structural and syntactic features which attracted his attention.[2] Though Stahl essentially assumes that Dan 8 represents a unity, he nevertheless argues for a number of additions by redactional work. Thus, original to Dan 8:9-14 are only vs. 9, vs. 10 (without וּמִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים), and 12b. Verses 11, 12a, 13, and 14, he claims, were added by several later revisions of the text.[3]

Stahl's literary analysis is weakened by several factors. First, he does not give a methodological basis for his literary analysis. Modern linguistic research, which would

---

[1]Rainer Stahl, *Von Weltengagement zu Weltüberwindung: Theologische Positionen im Danielbuch*, CBET, no. 4 (Kampen, Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1994), 171-178 (literary analysis), 90-93, 99, 108-111, 114-116, 121-124 (redaction-critical analysis).

[2]In the section on Dan 8:9-14, Stahl observes, for example, the following (ibid., 173-175): Regarding the morphological level, he marks וְאֶל־הַצֶּבִי in vs. 9 as playing on the sound of צבא, which follows shortly, and takes ותשלך in vs. 12 as a *wayyiqtol* form. Regarding syntax, he notes the shift of perfect and imperfect forms in vss. 9-12, the shift of gender of verbs in vss. 10-12, and the shift of active and passive form in vss. 11-12, for none of which he gives an explanation. He mentions the difficult place of וְצָבָא in vs. 12, which he seems to take belonging to vs. 11 (175 n. 298). Regarding structure, he views vs. 12c-d ("12bβ" in Stahl's reference system) as a summary statement and vs. 13c (13bβ) with its lexemes as retrospective and prospective. Regarding semantics, he remarks on the surprising positive turn in vs. 14b.

[3]Ibid., 178. Stahl believes that Dan 8 underwent extensive redactional work, that is, four revisions plus one later gloss (see also 92, 99, 109, 111, 122-124). For him, these additions were prompted by the need for theological clarifications and additions in the historical context of the crises under Antiochus and were finished for Dan 8 in the year 165 B.C.E. (122). Cf. also Rainer Stahl, "'Eine Zeit, Zeiten und die Hälfte einer Zeit': Die Versuche der Eingrenzung der bösen Macht im Danielbuch," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL, no. 106 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 491 n. 47.

have greatly enhanced his basic methodology, was barely integrated at all.[1] Second, his analysis is not comprehensive, meaning that he is not attentive to all features of the text and does not cover all of the text material. Third, he does not distinguish between morphological, syntactic, and semantic features. Finally, Stahl explains some problematic literary features as coming into existence by redactional work,[2] but his conclusions are seemingly too hasty and do not give due attention to the admittedly intricate literary style of the text. In sum, Stahl's work on Dan 8:9-14 is essentially marked by his literary-critical and redaction-critical focus. Although he observes some of the main literary features, he does not provide convincing explanations or discussions for them. This seems due primarily to the inadequacy of his literary/redaction-critical methodology.

Achim Behrens undertakes in his dissertation a detailed form-critical description of the literary genre "prophetic vision report" in the Hebrew Bible, and also analyzes in the course of his investigation the vision report in Dan 8:3-14.[3] He describes the linguistic construction elements of the genre "prophetic vision report," and tries to understand its function by utilizing insights from text-linguistics or text-grammar and speech-act theory. According to Behrens, the principal pattern of a "prophetic vision

---

[1]See the critique by H. Seidel, review of *Von Weltengagement zu Weltüberwindung*, by Rainer Stahl, *OLZ* 91 (1996): 41.

[2]Stahl, *Weltengagement*, 174.

[3]Achim Behrens, *Prophetische Visionsschilderungen im Alten Testament: Sprachliche Eigenarten, Funktion und Geschichte einer Gattung*, AOAT, no. 292 (Münster: Ugarit, 2002), 317-322, 328-345. For reviews, see Konrad Schmid, *Review of Biblical Literature* (2004); available from http://bookreviews.org; Internet; and Martin Pröbstle, *Review of Biblical Literature* (2004); available from http://bookreviews.org; Internet.

report" consists of two parts, a vision proper and a dialogue, both exhibiting their peculiar linguistic features. Daniel 8:3-14 displays these linguistic construction elements: The vision part opens with a form of the verbal root ראה followed by והנה + nominal clause (vs. 3), and the rest of the description of the vision usually consists of further nominal clauses (vss. 3-12). Behrens identifies three formal features of the dialogue part of a prophetic vision report, all of which he finds exhibited in Dan 8:13-14: (1) the dialogue opens with a *wayyiqtol*-form of אמר (vs. 13b); (2) the following first speech act is always direct speech in the form of a question or an imperative and thus gives the dialogue part its appellative character (vs. 13c); and (3) the dialogue ends with a comment by Yahweh or his messenger, never with one by the visionary (vs. 14).

Behrens's analysis is commendable for its scrutiny and clarity in identifying the linguistic construction elements and function of the genre "prophetic vision report." However, his linguistic investigation serves exclusively the form-critical analysis and is not employed to help in deciphering the meaning of words, clauses, or the entire text of Dan 8:3-14. A literary analysis is not undertaken. An intertextual analysis, although Behrens does not refer to it as such, confines itself to the form-critical comparison of Dan 8:3-14 with Dan 10:5-14; Dan 12:5-7; and other vision reports.

Especially worthy of consideration are the text-oriented approaches of Hasslberger, Koch, the Schweizer school, and Gzella, to which I owe basic insights into the questions of linguistic analysis of Dan 8:9-14. I will review these approaches more comprehensively.

The Text-Oriented Approach of Bernhard Hasslberger (1977)

Description

One approach that proceeds strictly from the linguistic data of the text is applied in the 1976 dissertation of B. Hasslberger.[1] Though he claims that his work is a form-critical study of Dan 8 and 10–12, he diverges from traditional form-critical studies by utilizing the methodological principles of W. Richter[2] under whose direction the dissertation was written.[3]

Richter proposed six aspects of methodology or steps of analysis: unity or composition of the text (literary criticism), form (form criticism), genre (genre criticism), traditions (tradition criticism), compositions and redactions (redaction criticism), and

---

[1]Hasslberger, *Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis*. Some of the more important reviews are John C. Collins, *CBQ* 41 (1979): 459-461; F. W. Gradl, *LASBF* 29 (1979): 359-360; R. Tournay, *RB* 86 (1979): 293-294; Joachim Becker, *BZ* 24 (1980): 312-314; and L. Wächter, *OLZ* 77 (1982): 565-567.

[2]Richter, *Exegese*. See the introductory note by Hasslberger, xiii. For reviews of Richter's methodological concept, as well as its broad influence on exegesis, see especially Luis Alonso Schökel, "Sobre el estudio literario del Antiguo Testamento," *Bib* 53 (1972): 544-556; F. Langlamet, review of *Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft*, by Wolfgang Richter, *RB* 79 (1972): 275-288; F. Seven, "Offene Frage an ein literaturwissenschaftliches Konzept der Exegese: zu Wolfgang Richter, Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft," *LB* 2 (1972): 23-27; Klaus Koch, "Reichen die formgeschichtlichen Methoden für die Gegenwartsaufgaben der Bibelwissenschaft zu?" *TLZ* 98 (1973): 807-814; Norbert Lohfink, review of *Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft*, by Wolfgang Richter, *BZ* 17 (1973): 286-294; Wolfgang Schenk, "Die Aufgaben der Exegese und die Mittel der Linguistik," *TLZ* 98 (1973): 888-889; Josef Scharbert, "Zu den Methoden der alttestamentlichen Exegese," *TRev* 70 (1974): 1-16; Hardmeier, *Texttheorie und biblische Exegese*, 44-47; Preuß, "Linguistik – Literaturwissenschaft – Altes Testament," 15-20; Seidl, "Die literaturwissenschaftliche Methode," 27-37; John W. Rogerson, "Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft: Revisited," in *Text, Methode und Grammatik: Wolfgang Richter zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Groß, H. Irsigler, and T. Seidl (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1991), 379-386; Jonker, *Exclusivity and Variety*, 335-342; Diße, 14-23; Hans Rechenmacher and Christo H. J. van der Merwe, "The Contribution of Wolfgang Richter to Current Developments in the Study of Biblical Hebrew," *JSS* 50 (2005): 59-82.

[3]In fact, Hasslberger's dissertation was one of the earliest applications of Richter's methodological principles to a larger body of text.

content (text-immanent exegesis).[1] He places special emphasis on form, which he regards as the most significant aspect of his methodology. However, Richter understands "form" and "form criticism" in a different way from that generally used by previous scholars: He assigns the term "form" (*Form*) to the description of a single text unit, whereas "genre" (*Gattung*) refers to a text type.[2] Therefore, form analysis cannot and should not start from the content, either from analyzing a genre or collection of texts. Rather it is the analysis and description of a single text unit itself according to its external form (words, word groups, sentences, syntax and style), and its inner form (semantic features of lexemes and semantic classes of word groups or words).[3] Therein lies Richter's main contribution to the theory and methodology of OT literature studies. It ensures that students of a biblical text first examine the grammatical features of text units in a scientifically verifiable way before they proceed to other aspects, which may include arguments from the content of a text. The synchronic analysis of the text must occur prior to its diachronic analysis. Richter suggests that the linguistic layers of a text can be described and analyzed without

---

[1]Richter, *Exegese*, 49-120.

[2]Ibid., 72-79, 125-132; see also idem, "Formgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft," 216-225. Hermann Gunkel, for instance, used the term form (*Form*) and genre (*Gattung*) almost identically (*Genesis*, 3d ed. [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910], xiii-lvi). Richter's suggestion concerning the relation between *Form* and *Gattung* has not been without influence: it has been taken up by L. Markert (in Fohrer et al., 85 n. 84). See Hans-Peter Müller's overview on how such terminology as *Gattung*, *Form*, *Formeln*, *Formen*, and *Strukturen* has been developed and is used differently by various scholars ("Formgeschichte/Formkritik I," *TRE*, 11:275-277). See also Harald Schweizer for the different usage of the terms "form" and "content" and their analysis by the form-critical school on the one hand and the Richter school on the other hand ("Form und Inhalt: Ein Versuch, gegenwärtige methodische Differenzen durchsichtiger und damit überwindbar zu machen; dargestellt anhand von Ps 150," *BN* 3 [1977]: 35-47).

[3]Richter, *Exegese*, 77-79; idem, "Formgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft," 222-224.

any regard to its content, just on the basis of syntax, because a text to him is nothing else but a series of sentences conveying content.[1]

Although Richter insists on the precedence of synchronic analysis, he nevertheless arranges his proposed linguistic approach according to the conventional sequence of historical-critical methods applied to the text, in which literary criticism is the first step. Richter allows for an initial stage of literary criticism that examines the unity of smaller text units.[2] In other words, the literary-critical analysis on a linguistic basis comes prior to the form-critical analysis.[3]

In the line with Richter's methodology, Hasslberger defines his main task as acquiring and evaluating the formal data of the text in order to detect the structure of Dan 8 and 10–12.[4] Form and structure rather than content are at the center of his attention. Hasselberger therefore exemplifies a form-to-function approach to the text.

Hasslberger's analysis of Dan 8 consists of five steps.[5] First, he provides a

---

[1]Regarding syntax and its description, Richter elaborates briefly on his 1971 proposal in Wolfgang Richter, "Verbvalenz und Verbalsatz: Ein Beitrag zur syntaktischen Grundlegung einer atl. Literaturwissenschaft," *JNSL* 4 (1975): 61-69.

[2]Richter, *Exegese*, 70-72.

[3]It has to be noted that Richter's methodology outlined in *Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft* has been deemed as controversial, which may be illustrated by referring to two textbooks on exegetical methods used at German universities. On the one hand, Fohrer's team incorporates Richter's methodology into their methodology of linguistic description (Fohrer et al., 64-65 n. 60). On the other hand, Odil Hannes Steck finds it rather difficult to combine the linguistic approach of Richter with the methods used in OT exegesis, and therefore refrains from using his methodological suggestions (*Old Testament Exegesis: A Guide to the Methodology*, 2d ed., trans. J. D. Nogalski, SBLRBS, no. 39 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998], 52-53 n. 32, 68 n. 63, 97-98 n. 91).

[4]Hasslberger, xiii.

[5]In the following I focus only on Hasselberger's work on Dan 8 (3-110), and there especially on 8:9-14, though he has analyzed Dan 10–12 accordingly (113-374). Interestingly, Hasslberger does

transcription of the text[1] with text-critical comments. An improvement in reference notation is achieved, since each clause is specifically identified and appears on a separate line, e.g., Dan 8:12 is divided into four clauses, 12a to 12d. Second, in the section on literary criticism Hasslberger delimits the text and examines its unity.[2] In Dan 8, he identifies as secondary vss. 11-14, 26a, 27f.[3] He analyzes therefore vss. 9-10 separately from the supposedly later insertion vss. 11-14.[4] Third, under form analysis, which actually comprises the largest part of Hasslberger's study, he analyzes the sentence relations and the usage of words, describes syntax and style, analyzes the inner form, and ends with a summary of the literary structure of Dan 8 and the statement of the goal of the unit.[5] Fourth, he then gives special attention to specific formulae, fixed expressions and word groups, and the "horizon."[6] Finally, he presents also a form-analysis (third and

---

not carry out the sixth methodological step proposed by Richter, viz. the text-immanent exegesis which centers on the content. Hasslberger does not give any reason for this, but it might be due to the limited scope of his dissertation.

[1]The transcription follows the rules outlined by Wolfgang Richter, *Transliteration und Transkription: Objekt- und metasprachliche Metazeichensysteme zur Wiedergabe hebräischer Texte*, ATSAT, no. 19 (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1983).

[2]Hasslberger, 14-22.

[3]Ibid., 22.

[4]Ibid., 52-55, 97-107.

[5]Of 411 pages of the main body of text, 317 pages, that is about 77%, are devoted to form analysis (ibid., 23-110, 143-371). Hasslberger uses the term "form criticism" as Richter defined it and understands it therefore differently from most of the other scholars.

[6]Horizon refers to the literary affinities of a passage beyond its scope (ibid., 96). See the definition by Richter who borrowed this expression from Otto Eißfeldt (*Exegese*, 117-118).

fourth step above) of the secondary additions, namely Dan 8:11-14, 26a, 27f.[1]

Hasslberger supplements his major form-critical study by a chapter on aspects which concern both Dan 8 and 10–12.[2] He first pays attention to the syntax of verbs. Then he addresses the problem of the numbers in 8:14 and 12:7, 11, 12.[3] Third, Hasslberger attempts to identify the genre and the *Sitz im Leben*. Fourth, a tradition-critical investigation leads Hasslberger to the conclusion that Dan 8 was influenced by Ezekiel and Zechariah, particularly by Ezek 1:26–2:3 and Zech 2:1-2; 6:1-15.[4] Last, Hasslberger concludes his dissertation with the question of authorship. He reconstructs different authors for Dan 8 and 10–12, and finds that the author/s of Dan 10–12 used Dan 8 as *Vorlage* for their elaborations.

Assessment

Hasslberger has to be credited for providing an exhaustive discussion of the grammar and function of terms in Dan 8. The value of his work lies in two areas: first

---

[1]A minor formal inconsistency is that when analyzing the original unit Hasslberger separates the analysis of formulae, fixed expressions, and horizon from the form analysis, whereas when he analyzes the secondary verses he does both under the one heading "form analysis." According to Richter, the form analysis and the function of the forms—the latter includes the study of formulae, fixed expressions and horizon—are the two subareas of form criticism (*Exegese*, 79-120).

[2]Hasslberger, 377-411.

[3]After a survey of the different existing opinions, Hasslberger opts for the explanation that the numbers refer to an apparent delay in expectation on the side of the author/s, whereas the question why exactly these numbers are used "cannot be solved any more" (396).

[4]Collins criticizes Hasslberger that he "only considers parallels within the Hebrew Bible, and then only when they involve verbal parallels. So he leaves out of account not only later texts but also the sections of 1 Enoch which are earlier than, or roughly contemporary with, Daniel and even the Aramaic vision in Dan 7. It is difficult to see how any valid conclusion about either *Gattung* or history of traditions can be reached on such a limited basis" (Collins, review, 460).

and foremost, in the implementation of a linguistically designed method, which, when examining the text of Dan 8, makes it possible to focus on the text itself, and second, in the vast amount of detailed formal observations regarding syntax and style.[1] Hence Hasslberger was the first to attempt a truly text-oriented analysis of Dan 8.

Three further observations may be added. First, while Hasslberger follows the methodology of Richter he does not interact with other linguistic or text-based approaches to biblical texts. For the most part this can be explained by the fact that the integration of modern linguistic research into biblical exegesis in the 1970s was just on the eve of its development; even Richter's own theoretical linguistic framework (*Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik*) was yet to be published.

Second, Hasslberger never attempts a synchronic analysis of the whole text of Dan 8. This is because Richter's methodological principles as outlined in his *Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft* do not allow for a true synchronic analysis of a given text. First of all, the text has to be investigated to detect the smaller text units, which are examined to see whether they belong together. The smaller units are then discussed diachronically.[2] Only after this initial literary criticism, which separates earlier from secondary material, can one proceed to the analysis of form. Accordingly, in following the approach of Richter, Hasslberger's first step of analysis is literary criticism. Although this section is

[1]For the latter see also Gradl (360) and Collins (review, 461). However, Collins objects that the conclusions drawn by Hasslberger's linguistic observations are rather "meager" (ibid., 460).

[2]Richter, *Exegese*, 66-72.

brief,[1] its results influence not only the question of authorship[2] but to a large extent the whole structure of Hasslberger's work. I want to illustrate this by pointing out some of its consequences regarding the passage of Dan 8:9-14.

Hasslberger considers Dan 8:11-14, 26a, 27f as secondary material, and therefore throughout his dissertation he analyzes these sections apart from the rest of chap. 8.[3] This means that Hasslberger never investigates 8:9-14 as a unit. He does not analyze the language in vss. 11-14 in comparison with the surrounding verses, even though he refers to the structural correspondence of sentence types and the placement of the verbs between 8:11-12 and 8:8-10 as well as between 8:13-14 and 8:15-16.[4] In Hasslberger's analysis, vss. 11-14 do not supply any arguments for the analysis of vss. 9-10, indeed for the whole original unit of chap. 8. For example, the difficult syntax of vss. 11-12 is disregarded in the description of the verb syntax used in chap. 8;[5] formulae, fixed expressions and the horizon of vss. 11-14 are not part of the original chap. 8;[6] and excluding vss. 11-14 with its cultic terminology from the original unit of chap. 8 robs this chapter of any cultic element. As a result, the cult plays no decisive role in chap. 8—a consequence of which

---

[1]Hasslberger, 14-22 (cf. the critique by Gradl, 360).

[2]Hasslberger, 408.

[3]Hasslberger's analyses of the original Dan 8 (23-96) and of the secondary material (97-110) are neither compared nor brought together into a synthesis.

[4]Ibid., 97-98. In criticism of Hasslberger, Becker points out that structural correspondences of 8:11-14 with the surrounding verses are not considered in Hasselberger's line of argument, and that his use of argument from content is not compelling at all (313).

[5]Hasslberger, 377 n. 1.

[6]Ibid., 110.

Hasslberger is well aware.[1] In my view, for a text-based approach to chap. 8 in general and 8:9-14 in particular it is highly problematic to view vss. 11-14 as secondary prior to any linguistic analysis of the whole text.[2]

A third observation is that in Hasslberger's approach, the analysis of syntax and style is placed so much in the foreground that the semantic analysis plays only a minor role. Richter's last aspect of methodology, that is, the study of content or meaning, is not addressed at all. Brief semantic discussions of specific words or phrases occurring in Dan 8:9-14 are found scattered throughout the form analysis,[3] but cannot obscure the fact that Hasslberger's study lacks the analysis of the content of 8:9-14.

The Text-Oriented Approach of Klaus Koch (1983)

Description

In 1979, Klaus Koch presented a form-critical analysis of one kind of apocalyptic work, namely the vision report, as exemplified by Dan 8.[4] Koch uses a methodology

---

[1]Ibid., 400 n. 11.

[2]Becker thinks that Hasslberger regards 8:11-14 as secondary material *a priori* (312-313).

[3]See the brief semantic discussion and notes on צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם in vs. 10 (Hasslberger, 54-55, 91), שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in vs. 11 (98-99), הַתָּמִיד in vs. 11 (100), אֱמֶת in vs. 12 (103-104), קָדוֹשׁ and צָבָא in vs. 13 (106) and קֹדֶשׁ in vs. 14 (107). Only the discussion on צָבָא in vs. 12 (101-103) is longer, covering more than two pages. The section which is devoted to the problem of the numbers (385-396), including the "2300 evening-morning," cannot be regarded as analysis of meaning. Rather it is a overview of opinions as to what the numbers refer to in reality. Only the observation on עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר (392-393) is attempting to establish the meaning of this phrase.

[4]Klaus Koch, "Vom profetischen zum apokalyptischen Visionsbericht," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979*, 2d ed., ed. D. Hellholm (Tübingen: Mohr, 1989), 413-446; reprinted in Klaus Koch, *Vor der Wende der Zeiten: Beiträge zur apokalyptischen Literatur*, ed. U. Gleßmer and M. Krause, Gesammelte Aufsätze, no. 3 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1996),

which he calls "structural form criticism" (*strukturale Formgeschichte*) in which a linguistic analysis is taken into the service of an all-encompassing form-critical analysis. He described this methodological approach extensively already in 1976.[1]

The tools for Koch's form-critical investigation are provided by structural grammar, especially by text-linguistics.[2] The understanding of the term "text" and the use of text-linguistics is the main difference to Richter's approach.[3] Koch does not subscribe to the view that the sentence is the highest level of linguistic description. Rather, the decisive data are provided by macrosyntactic units, texts, which have to be analyzed by the discipline of text-linguistics.[4] For Koch, text is nothing else but a specimen of a

---

143-178 [except noted otherwise, references are to the 1989 essay]. Koch analyzes the entire text of Dan 8, because he defines the "vision report" as consisting of the vision proper and the interpretation.

[1]Klaus Koch, *Amos: Untersucht mit den Methoden einer strukturalen Formgeschichte*, vol. 1, *Programm und Analyse*, AOAT, no. 30 (Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker, 1976), 1-99. The description of Koch's structural form criticism consists basically of two parts: the description of the methodological principles (1-32) and the theory of procedures (33-99). A similar study based on the same methodological principles but with more emphasis on the literary-critical analysis is found in Klaus Koch, *Deuterokanonische Zusätze zum Danielbuch: Entstehung und Textgeschichte*, 2 vols., AOAT, no. 38 (Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker, 1987).

[2]Koch, "Visionsbericht," 415.

[3]Koch discusses Richter's approach at several places (*Amos*, 1:13-15; "Reichen die formgeschichtlichen Methoden," 807-814; and *Was ist Formgeschichte?* 5th ed., 313-314). Koch's critique of Richter's methodology includes the following points. First, Richter does not include semantics in his methodology. Second, Richter provides no grammatical controls for structures beyond the sentence level. Third, the linguistic terminology of "levels" and "aspects" is not used properly, but rather corresponds to the traditional steps of OT exegesis. Fourth, Richter's emphasis on form over against content contradicts the inseparable interrelation of expression plane and content plane which needs to be considered on each linguistic level. Koch concludes that methodological reflections stimulated by linguistics are necessary and helpful, but that Richter's use of linguistics in form criticism is not sufficient ("Reichen die formgeschichtlichen Methoden," 812-814).

[4]Therein lies the reason why Koch believes that Hasslberger's analysis is insufficient, because of its improper use of text-linguistics and its abandonment of macro-syntactic questions ("Visionsbericht," 415).

genre.[1] He believes that linguistic analysis is true form-critical analysis (in the sense used by Gunkel), as it examines texts which constitute specific genres. The functions of such a kind of text-linguistics, as he calls it, are to demarcate texts of component literary types (*Gliedtexte*) and to describe their structures in order to arrive at a matrix for a complex literary type. In the analysis of component literary types, criteria from both form and content are used in combination, for form and content cannot be separated but depend on each other.[2] Only after the structural analysis has been completed does the literary-critical analysis follow, using data which have been detected by the structural analysis but could not be explained by text-linguistics. In other words, Koch emphasizes that a synchronic study (structural grammar) has to precede a diachronic study (literary criticism).[3] To sum up, Koch utilizes a linguistic-oriented, synchronic(-diachronic) analysis as a tool for his form-critical approach. This implies that Koch regards the linguistic or text-linguistic analysis as part of the form-critical analysis. His ultimate purpose is to detect forms in the text which help to describe specific genres.

Koch applies these methodological principles in his form-critical analysis of Dan 8. It is carried out inductively consisting of four parts: (1) a structural analysis of Dan 8

---

[1]Koch (*Was ist Formgeschichte?* 5th ed., 290) defines a text as "a written or oral statement which is clearly demarcated to the back and to the front and constitutes a self-contained unit. Text, respectively oral tradition, belongs to the area of 'language,' the use of language, to which on the part of langue corresponds the genre which determines the structure of a text." Elsewhere, Koch makes clear that "in this understanding text is nothing else than a specimen of genre" (*Amos*, 1:11).

[2]Koch, *Amos*, 1:11; idem, *Was ist Formgeschichte?* 5th ed., 313 (*pace* Richter). For a reaction to Koch in favor of the Richter school see Schweizer, "Form und Inhalt," 46 n. 16.

[3]Ibid., 9-12. Here, in this, lies another difference to Richter's approach in which the literary-critical analysis precedes the form analysis (Richter, *Exegese*, 70-72).

(macrosyntax); (2) a comparison of prophetic and apocalyptic vision reports (synchronic evidence for a genre); (3) considerations regarding the discontinuity between prophetic and apocalyptic vision reports and the *Sitz im Leben*; and (4) reflections on the semantics of metaphoric-symbolic language (textsemantics).[1] It is the structural analysis of the macrosyntax of Dan 8 in which the linguistic analysis is employed. As I am interested especially in the application of a text-oriented approach, I will from here on refer only to Koch's structural and textsemantic analysis.[2]

Koch starts his macrosyntactic analysis with establishing the structural outline of Dan 8 by paying attention to structural devices of either formal (וַיְהִי + ב + infinitive) or content type (time formula, self-introduction, description of the visionary's dismay). He identifies four text constituents: introduction (vss. 1-2aα), main part I (vss. 2ab-14), main part II (vss. 15-26), and conclusion (vss. 26b-27). Then, he investigates the macrosyntax of the two main parts. He notes repetitive lexemes (ראה, מלך), the interrupting morpheme /1sg/, the use of different sentence types (nominal sentences, verbal sentences) and verbal tenses (perfect, imperfect), and the specific content of the text segments.

[1]Koch, "Visionsbericht," 415. Between the first and the second step Koch inserts a section on tradition history which, true to his synchronic emphasis, he labels as diachronic excursus (421).

[2]Ibid., 415-421. The analysis by Koch in the other sections shall be summarized briefly. In the diachronic excursus on the tradition history of Dan 8 Koch identifies three motifs joined together: astral-geography (ram and goat), sacrilegious hubris myth (*Himmelsstürmer*), and angelic liturgy (host of heaven and cult in Jerusalem) (421-423). For the synchronic evidence of a vision report, Koch compares in detail Dan 8 with the locust vision in Amos 7:1-3 and the vision of the fourth apocalyptic rider in Rev 6:7-8. He adds a structural outline of 44 visions which should show that there exists a vision report genre (423-427). Very helpful are the overview charts on pp. 442-445. The discontinuity between prophetic and apocalyptic vision reports is seen by four main points. In apocalyptic texts—in contrast to the prophetic texts—the vision report is a standard feature, the dismay or shock of the visionary emerges clearly, a hierarchy of angels is known, and an interpretation is necessary (428-429).

Again both formal elements and content elements are used as structural criteria.

Koch's structural analysis of Dan 8 is summarized in a convenient chart.[1] It presents almost the complete MT of Dan 8 in a detailed structured form and especially marks the genre devices, the interpretative key lexeme מלך, and the resumption of vision elements in the interpretation. Koch also notes the structural elements under a column entitled "genre structure / syntax." Noticeable again is that Koch perceives a close connection between the contents of the genre structure and the formal elements of grammatical and syntactic features. He calls this correlation between linguistic features and genre structure "genre matrix" (*Gattungsmatrix*). Thus, the correlation between expression plane and content plane regarding structure is nicely presented.[2]

In the section on textsemantics, Koch deals with the question of why such unusual and often paradoxical language is used in apocalyptic vision reports. For this he outlines the narrative plot of vss. 3-14—which constantly increases the narrative tension until vs. 14—and attempts to trace the semantics of the vision proper and the interpretation thereof. Koch proposes to perform the latter with help of selected expressions, but he merely describes the contents of Dan 8 by following along its verses.[3]

Assessment

The merit of Koch's approach is that he emphasizes linguistic analysis as a

---

[1]The chart is inserted after ibid., 432.

[2]Ibid., 442-446.

[3]Ibid., 430-440.

valuable tool for the study of a text and its structure that should be undertaken right in the beginning. He refrains from literary criticism as a first step of analysis, rather treating the text as a whole in a synchronic manner.[1] In this way, Koch is able to identify structural features which otherwise tend to be lost if one separates secondary from original text material. As a result, a new appreciation of text structure comes to light. Koch comes to the conclusion that Dan 8 is thoughtfully and artistically structured. No tense or morpheme is placed carelessly, and no repetition is without function. Koch almost delights in the aesthetics of the structure.[2]

Koch not only enhances his structural analysis by linguistics but also demonstrates the correlation between form and content, between the levels of expression and content. His structural outlines are valuable in this regard. Some may argue that Koch is methodologically inconsistent,[3] but it seems unavoidable to include arguments from content when analyzing syntax and structure.[4]

Koch's approach is not truly a linguistic approach, but rather a form-critical approach with the implementation of linguistic studies. Though Koch stresses the priority of a linguistic analysis, he uses it only as the first and basic level of analysis in the

---

[1]In his BKAT commentary on Daniel, Koch is reluctant to incorporate literary-critical considerations as well. Rather, he wants to analyze the final form of the text (e.g., 112-115).

[2]Koch, "Visionsbericht," 420.

[3]This would be the argument of scholars working with a strict "bottom-up-process," that is, giving precedence to form over function and meaning in every aspect of the analysis.

[4]Cf. Talstra, "Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II," 38. To scholars working with a strict formal approach it is sometimes pointed out that they introduce arguments from the content into their formal analysis (see, e.g., Rüdiger Bartelmus, review of *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert*, ed. by Winfried Bader, *TZ* 52 [1996]: 275).

framework of the existing "Gunkelian" form-critical method. It appears that his only goal is to identify features which contribute to the structure of the text and help in a form-critical analysis. This is one of the reasons why Koch's linguistic analysis is far from comprehensive.[1] For example, the macrosyntactic analysis of Dan 8 does not include a syntactic analysis. No attention is given to the intricate syntax of Dan 8:9-14. The only additional information given for vss. 9-14 addresses concerns of how this section functions in the plot (the inner form of the vision proper).[2]

The Text-Oriented Approach of the Schweizer School—Winfried Bader, ed. (1994)

Description

Another linguistic study of Dan 8 appeared in 1994 and is comprised of eleven articles which are based upon the linguistic framework developed by Harald Schweizer.[3] Schweizer laid the foundation for his approach in his *Metaphorische Grammatik* (1981).[4]

---

[1]Koch himself points out that in the structural analysis he has restricted himself to only a few observations ("Visionsbericht," 420). Other reasons for such a restriction of analysis may be due to time limitations (the material of this article was first presented at a Colloquium) and space limitations (Koch's essay appears in a volume of 34 collected essays).

[2]Ibid., 432-433.

[3]Winfried Bader, ed., *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert*, THLI, no. 9 (Tübingen: Francke, 1994). The studies in this book are the outcome of a colloquium on text linguistics and hermeneutics of the Old Testament (*Textwissenschaft und Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments* = *THAT*) held in Blaubeuren, Germany, 1992. The only review of Bader (1994), of which I am aware, is Bartelmus, *TZ* 52 (1996): 274-276.

[4]The term "metaphoric" in the title of Schweizer's *Metaphorische Grammatik* stands on the one hand for the experimental nature of this work (applying new approaches to old problems), and on the other hand for the transfer of traditional subject matter of grammar to syntax and semantics, and in addition also to pragmatics. Schweizer described and elaborated his approach further in a later work (*Biblische Texte verstehen*, 37-117; cf. already "Wovon reden die Exegeten?" 173-175), in which he outlined a three-step pragmatic description of the text (80-81), adapted from Hartwig Kalverkämper

There is no question that Schweizer is indebted to Richter. However, his approach is nevertheless sufficiently different to deserve being presented separately.[1]

Schweizer's purpose is to introduce more recent linguistic methods to Old Testament interpretation. Most prominently, Schweizer insists on a purely formal approach. In fact, he accuses those using a classical approach (historical-critical approach) of confusing form and meaning.[2]

Schweizer's approach is characterized by three levels of analysis taken from linguistics: syntax, semantics and pragmatics.[3] This triad is found in almost all works of the "Schweizer school."[4] The three steps of analysis correspond to a characterization given by Charles Fillmore who equates syntax with the study of form, semantics with the

---

(*Orientierung zur Textlinguistik*, Linguistische Arbeiten, no. 100 [Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1981]). Some of the more important reviews of Schweizer's *Metaphorische Grammatik* are Marvin A. Sweeney, *CBQ* 45 (1983): 666-668; P. Wernberg-Møller, *JSS* 28 (1983): 364-366; J. Lust, "Review," *ETL* 60 (1984): 141-143; Winfried Thiel, *TLZ* 109 (1984): 104-106; G. I. Davies, *VT* 35 (1985): 503-504; Stanislav Segert, *JAOS* 105 (1985): 800; and Dennis Pardee, *JNES* 46 (1987): 156-157.

[1]Though one reviewer finds Schweizer's argument almost like "listening in to a very polite family quarrel" (Davies, review, 503), Schweizer's approach differs from Richter methodologically in at least two significant points. Foremost, Schweizer strictly separates the expression plane (syntax) from the content plane (semantics). The analysis of syntax does not include considerations on meaning. Second, Schweizer regards semantics, the description of the meaning, as part of grammar. Thus, he disregards Richter's usage of the term "form" (*Metaphorische Grammatik*, 20) and differs from Richter's understanding of syntax and semantics (44-47).

[2]Schweizer, *Metaphorische Grammatik*, 3-16, esp. 4-7.

[3]The theoretical basis for this triad has been laid by the philosopher Charles W. Morris who identifies syntax, semantics, and pragmatics as the three dimensions of semiotics (*Foundations of the Theory of Signs*, International Encyclopedia of Unified Science, vol. 1, no. 2 [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972]). Schweizer applies Morris's sign theory to the exegesis of OT texts.

[4]See the series "Textwissenschaft, Theologie, Hermeneutik, Linguistik, Literaturanalyse, Informatik" edited by Schweizer, in which between 1991 and 1995 nine volumes were published, or dissertations such as Silvia Becker-Spörl, *"Und sang Debora an jenem Tag": Untersuchungen zu Sprache und Intention des Deboraliedes (Ri 5)*, Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 23, Theologie, no. 620 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998).

study of form and function, and pragmatics with the study of form, function and setting.[1]

According to Schweizer, syntax deals only with the combination of linguistic signs and expressions, not with meaning. Therefore, he analyzes syntax on a purely formal level, leaving aside the elements of meaning for the semantic analysis.[2]

Semantics deals with the meanings of expressions and of their combinations.[3] Schweizer seems most intent on developing the semantic interpretation of expressions. Such a semantic analysis needs to consider the meaning of the individual illocution units in and of themselves.[4] The semantic interpretation is therefore equivalent to the literal meaning of the illocution units.[5]

The third level of description is pragmatics. Pragmatics refers to the analysis of the communicative situation, the analysis of the illocution units as they form a text. It describes and systematically explains the connections between sentences, their meaning, and the circumstances of their utterance—whereas semantics deals with the relations

---

[1]Charles J. Fillmore, "Pragmatics and the Description of Discourse," in *Pragmatik / Pragmatics II: Zur Grundlegung einer expliziten Pragmatik*, ed. S. J. Schmidt, Kritische Information, no. 25 (Munich: Fink, 1976), 84, cited in Schweizer, *Metaphorische Grammatik*, 21-22 n. 11.

[2]Ibid., 40-79, esp. 44-47.

[3]Ibid., 80.

[4]Schweizer defines an illocution unit (*Äußerungseinheit*) as a unit that fulfills a specific semantic function. Illocution units are clauses with predicates (phrastic illocution units) and phrases or groups of phrases without a predicate but with a communicative function of their own (aphrastic illocution units) (ibid., 23, 31-32). For at least ten criteria to distinguish illocution units, see Schweizer, "Wovon reden die Exegeten," *TQ* 164 (1984): 175.

[5]For the study of semantics, Schweizer distinguishes different semantic notions (illocution, predication, valences and actants, determination, adjunctions) and different semantic codes attached to words and phrases (epistemology, imagination, initiative, actualization, axiology, state and aspects) (*Metaphorische Grammatik*, 94-210).

within expressions to detect their literal meanings. Pragmatics is a kind of semantics on the level of the text. Whereas semantics works on the sentence level, pragmatics operates at the textual level.[1] Schweizer distinguishes three levels of pragmatic description: textgrammar, textlinguistics, and textpragmatics.[2] For the pragmatic meaning of a text, Schweizer uses such categories as word types, indirect illocution (indirect expression of wishes, orders, etc.), figurative language (hyperbole, irony, etc.), chronological system (expression of time), topological system (expression of place), presentation of speech in a text (speech form and dialog form), relations between illocution units (actant, adjunctions, semantic codes, neustic), *thema-rhema* (topic-comment), the various uses of synonymy (isotopy), and presuppositions.[3]

To sum up, Schweizer suggests the following levels for the study of texts: syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. He also adds a further step before the triad, namely the constitution of the text, in which the text is divided into illocution units to prepare it for later interpretation.[4] The arrangement of the linguistic description of texts is therefore the following:

---

[1]Ibid., 211-214.

[2]For Schweizer, textgrammar investigates the literary context (the relation of illocution units to other illocution units) in its literal sense; textlinguistics examines the literal sense for second meanings, structures in argumentation, and remarkable constructions; and textpragmatics is the description of the communicative situation and its implications ("Wovon reden die Exegeten?" 174; *Biblische Texte verstehen*, 137-138).

[3]Schweizer, *Metaphorische Grammatik*, 224-324.

[4]Schweizer, *Biblische Texte verstehen*, 37-40. Later, Schweizer regards literary criticism as part of the text constitution ("Weitere Impulse zur Literarkritik," *BN* 80 [1995]: 95).

Text constitution
Syntax—interpretation of expression
Semantics—interpretation of contents, part one
Pragmatics—interpretation of contents, part two
    Pragmatics: Text-grammar
    Pragmatics: Text-linguistics
    Pragmatics: Text-pragmatics

In *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt"* (1994) the methodological linguistic framework suggested by Schweizer is applied to Dan 8. The essays in this volume are arranged exactly as outlined above: a preliminary constitution of the text precedes the analytical triad "syntax—semantics—pragmatics" with pragmatics subdivided into text-grammar, text-linguistics, and text-pragmatics.

M. Schindele divides the text of Dan 8 into 124 illocution units and outlines them in conjunction with a morphological transcription and a translation. He provides a discussion of selected text-critical problems and a detailed explanation of his translation.[1]

Two other articles focus on the level of surface syntax. They aim at an interpretation of expressions only, disregarding their meaning, and are carried out with the help of computer programs. In the first, H. Schweizer examines the internal surface syntax.[2] He tries to detect structures within Dan 8 by comparing identical expressions. Their distribution and frequency in chap. 8 are presented in a graph and then interpreted. As a result Schweizer discovers that the word basis or vocabulary of chap. 8 is presented

[1]Martin Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," in *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert*, ed. W. Bader, THLI, no. 9 (Tübingen: Francke, 1994), 3-16.

[2]Harald Schweizer, "Die Sprache der Zeichenkörper: Textinterne (Ausdrucks-)Syntax zu Daniel 8," in ibid., 17-30.

in the "exposition" in vss. 1-14.[1] In the second, M. Schindele analyzes the external surface syntax comparing fixed expressions of chap. 8 with other parts of the Hebrew Bible using a functional definition of form.[2] He concentrates on three formulae, which appear in Dan 8:1, 3, 4, and compares his results with those of Hasslberger.

On the level of semantics, Bader describes the modalities of Dan 8 and thus investigates the author's subjective opinion.[3] In doing so, he notices that the author of Dan 8 presents the vision as if dealing with established facts—in order to increase its acceptance—and that he in a subtle way imparts his own values to the reader. For Bader the question "how long?" in vs. 13 marks the nucleus of Dan 8, which expresses the categorical lack of knowledge on the part of all readers.[4]

On the level of pragmatics, two articles deal with textgrammar. In the first, S. Bucher-Gillmayr groups the illocution units according to semantic criteria into three textgrammatical units: a short introduction (vss 1a-2a), the vision (vss. 2b-26f), and the reception by Daniel (vs. 27). She follows the line of thought of the vision in detail and

---

[1]Schweizer defines the term "exposition" as a section in which many small repetitions produce a familiarity with the text (ibid., 25).

[2]Martin Schindele, "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen maschineller Befunderhebung zur Untersuchung von Formeln und geprägten Wendungen mit Beispielen aus Daniel 8," in ibid., 31-38. Schindele defines a formula as a sequence of words of which the individual components (words) stand in relation to the components of other sequences of words (32).

[3]Winfried Bader, "Reale und gedachte Welt: Die Modalitäten in Daniel 8," in ibid., 39-58. Modalities are defined as linguistic elements (adverbs, conjunctions, verb tenses, etc.) which express the subjective opinion of the authors, viz. the author's position, assessment, world view, etc. (39).

[4]Ibid., 55, 56, 169.

outlines its substructure.[1] In the second, D. Bauer studies the most frequent words (lemmata), the *Leitwörter*. He includes word repetitions on the level of syntax, variations of these words on the level of semantics, and descriptions of the same contents as found in other words on the level of pragmatics. In doing so, he identifies four semantic fields or isotopies to which the *Leitwörter* of Dan 8 belong—first-person narrator, perception, power (control, violence), and sanctuary—which in turn produce a *Leitwort*-structure: vss. 3d-13f have their main emphasis on power, and vss. 11b-14c on sanctuary. In Bauer's opinion, vss. 11b-14c constitute the climax of Dan 8.[2]

On the level of textlinguistic pragmatics, G. Langer focuses on the isotopy of power and violence. He identifies the words and phrases belonging to the semantic field "power" and points out the references and allusions to power in Dan 8. Again, vss. 10-12, as well as vss. 23-25, mark a climax regarding this semantic field.[3] The articles on the level of text-pragmatics deal with the hermeneutical and philosophical aspects of Dan 8 and with the chapter's historical background, and as such are not of interest to my study.[4]

---

[1]Susanne Bucher-Gillmayr, "Gedankenverlauf und Textgliederung in Daniel 8," in ibid., 59-71.

[2]Dieter Bauer, "Daniel 8 – eine 'Leitwortuntersuchung,'" in ibid., 73-85. Bauer defines a *Leitwort* as a lemma that occurs at least three times in a given text (78).

[3]Gerhard Langer, "Die Isotopie der Macht," in ibid., 87-102.

[4]Reinhold Rieger, "ואין מבין (Dan 8, 27): Die unverstandene Deutung oder das Trilemma des Verstehens," in ibid., 103-110; Oskar Dangl, "Ich-Konstanz und Welt-Kohärenz: Zum Verhältnis von Transzendentalphilosophie und Exegese," in ibid., 111-122; Bernhard Harnickell, "Der historische Hintergrund des Danielbuches," in ibid., 123-147.

Assessment

That the text of Dan 8 itself is studied as a whole proceeding from form to function is a major contribution of Schweizer's methodological approach. The strict separation of form and meaning helps the investigator to experience the "resistance of the text"[1] and prevents him or her from moving too quickly to arguments based on content.

On the other hand, the strict separation of form and meaning, which is reflected in the separation of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic levels of investigation (a strict *working-up process*), may lead to another danger, that is, of disallowing arguments from higher levels of investigation of coming into play on lower levels of investigation. This bears out in the work of the Schweizer school on Dan 8, where the analysis of semantics is clearly separated from the syntax. However, it is an accepted fact that upper levels of analysis may and should influence decisions on the lower level. There are no "sterile" levels of linguistic description, which should be self-evident, due to the fact that text and language are very complex entities.[2] At times, even Schweizer himself seems to separate form and content only in theory.[3] Furthermore, it is quite surprising that semantics, which

---

[1]Schweizer, *Biblische Texte verstehen*, 15.

[2]See Talstra's reflections on the interplay between syntactic level and semantic level ("Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II," 35-38) and Archibald L. H. M. van Wieringen's relevant observations: "The fact, that semantic meanings are not available separated from texts, implies also that semantics cannot be disconnected from other textual aspects. In other words: the famous triad text-syntax, text-semantics and text-pragmatics consists of distinguishable parts, but not separable textual categories"; and "form and function do not have a one-to-one relationship" ("Form and Function — Some Hermeneutic Remarks on Semantics and Analogies: An Answer to Prof. Schweizer," *BN* 95 [1998]: 31).

[3]See Bartelmus who finds that Schweizer's interpretation on the formal, syntactic level of Dan 8 includes argumentation from meaning and content: "What is a little surprising is the fact that in the 'interpretation,' despite the strictly formalistic approach, contents play nevertheless a certain role

plays a major role as a bridge between syntax and pragmatics in the analysis of a text, comprises such a small part in the essays compiled by Bader.[1]

Because Bader (1994) presents a collection of articles, there are yet varying emphases or minor differences between the scholars working with the same methodological approach. However, a synthesis is missing. The same text is discussed in several places, sometimes quite alike and with similar conclusions.[2] Furthermore, while each author concentrates on a specific topic, some aspects of interest for Dan 8:9-14 are in my opinion not treated adequately. For example, a syntactic discussion of Dan 8:9-14 on the sentence level is covered only briefly in the section of the explanations for the translation.[3] The two articles on the expression syntax do not discuss syntactic observations on the sentence level and do not provide a syntactic structure of the text.

The Text-Oriented Approach of Holger Gzella (2003)

Description

In 2003 Holger Gzella published a monograph on the various literary elements of Dan 8.[4] This monograph constitutes the most extensive discussion on Dan 8 so far. After

---

again" (review, 275).

[1]The major component of Bader (1994) is the pragmatic analysis (ca. 90 pages), whereas syntax and semantics are given smaller space (each ca. 20 pages).

[2]For example, material on Dan 8:9-14 is discussed on pp. 8-9, 45, 48-49, 53-54, 63-64, 80, 90-92, 96-97, 118-119.

[3]Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," 8-9.

[4]Holger Gzella, *Cosmic Battle and Political Conflict: Studies in Verbal Syntax and Contextual Interpretation of Daniel 8*, BibOr, no. 47 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2003). So

an introduction Gzella discusses in the second chapter the text of Dan 8: a textual commentary explains, usually with great care, the text-critical decisions Gzella takes.[1] For Dan 8:9-14 he adopts only a few text-critical emendations.[2] The next three chapters deal each with one part of the vision report in Dan 8: one is devoted to the visionary frame in Dan 8:1-2, 27, one to the battle narrative in 8:3-12, and one to the commentary section, which is subdivided into the angelic conversation in 8:13-14 and the application of the vision in 8:15-26.

Gzella's methodology is text-oriented and consists of two main foci: a linguistic one and a literary one. In regard to the linguistic analysis, Gzella examines various features, however, mainly verbal syntax. He bases his analysis of verbal syntax on the foreground/background distinction in which the form *wayyiqtol* indicates foreground information with *Aktionsart* punctual, while *waw* + *qatal* indicates background information with *Aktionsart* durative. To some extent, he also takes note of word order and specifies its respective function.

Gzella also pays attention to various literary elements, observing in particular how linguistic features can be appreciated on a literary level. His main point is that the use of verbal forms in the vision proper shows a particular narrative pattern that consists of three

---

far, a brief review of Gzella (2003) is provided by Tim Meadowcroft, *JSS* 50 (2005): 385-386.

[1]Gzella pays attention to the MT, two Qumran fragments, the Greek versions, Vulgate, and the more significant scholarly conjectures; sometimes reference is given also to the Peshitta and the fourteenth-century Babylonian-Yemenite text edited by Morag. In evaluation of the textual history of Dan 8, Gzella concludes that the MT, improved by 4QDan[a], 4QDan[b], and Pap. 967 (representing the pre-Hexaplaric Old Greek), presents the best base for a textual analysis of Dan 8.

[2]Gzella (35-41) suggest four emendations in Dan 8:9-14: צְעִירָה instead of מִצְּעִירָה (8:9a), הוּרַם instead of הֵרִים (8:11b), תִּתּוֹ קֹדֶשׁ instead of תֵּת וְקֹדֶשׁ (8:13c), and אֵלָיו instead of אֵלַי (8:14a).

elements: (1) the setting indicated by nominal clauses, participles and *qatal*; (2) the mainline action expressed by *wayyiqtol*; and (3) an evaluation of the new situation expressed by *weqatal*.[1] The form *weqatal* thus functions as a structuring device indicating the end of a subsection.[2] At the same time the overall pattern of appearance, dominion, defeat/disappearance is consistent with ram, he-goat, and horn which, according to Gzella, puts all of them on "the same narrative axis."[3]

Gzella's own methodological considerations are rather scarce, except when he comments about the literary genre of Dan 8. His main thesis is that the vision report in vss. 3-12 is not a historical allegory or a symbolic dream but a mimetic representation of reality which portrays a power struggle in the supernatural world. The interpretation or commentary in 8:13-26 contextualizes and actualizes the universal dimension of this cosmic conflict, presenting a corresponding historical situation. Hence, for Gzella the vision narrative (8:3-12) can be interpreted on its own level without considering the historical background, while the *pesher*-like application to historical reality (8:13-26) constitutes a different level of reading. Gzella's hermeneutical approach distinguishes clearly between these two levels.

Several of Gzella's more significant observations for Dan 8:9-14 are the following: the grammatical anomalies in these verses function to attract attention; the form *qatal* in vs. 9a expresses background action; fronting of elements in vss. 11a, 11b

---

[1]Ibid., 124-125.

[2]Ibid., 100-102.

[3]Ibid., 122.

and 12a is for the sake of topicalization; and vss. 11-12 are the crucial verses of the vision report because of their seven short verbal clauses.

Assessment

Three issues in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of Gzella's methodology and contributions need to be pointed out. First, Gzella's attempt at a text-oriented analysis on a linguistic and literary level is commendable. Particularly in a study of the vision report in Dan 8 the examination of verbal syntax needs to be included, which has been largely neglected so far. Gzella is not afraid to tackle the more intricate syntactic problems of 8:9-14 and to offer some possible solutions. Furthermore, he does engage in literary considerations more than previous studies. In accord with Koch's assessment, Gzella finds the Hebrew of Dan 8 to be "a very carefully crafted composition" that shows "a maximum of syntactical possibilities, a rich, peculiar and complex lexicon and various literary genres (narrative, dialogue, commentary, prophecy)."[1]

However, the linguistic-literary approach by Gzella appears not to be comprehensive enough. He focuses on selected issues, such as verbal syntax and the literary narrative pattern on the bases of verbal syntax, but he fails to include, for example, a study of *Leitwörter*, keywords, and themes. Though he is able to demonstrate the relationship between syntax and literary interpretation, he does not show how syntax influences the meaning of specific words.

Second, the distinction between textual understanding and interpretative historical

[1]Ibid., 157.

application, which Gzella takes, is an important one. In the analysis of Dan 8:9-14 these two levels too often have not been clearly separated. Gzella thus gains a refreshing independence from any preconceived historical application.[1] However, he does not analyze consistently the symbolic level of meaning that bridges the lexical level of meaning and the interpretative historical meaning. For Gzella, the symbolic level of meaning seems to belong to the historical application, whereas it is probably better to suggest that the symbolic meaning belongs rather to the realm of the text than to the realm of reality and thus should be considered in a text-oriented approach.

And third, like the others before him, Gzella noticeably does not engage in a systematic intertextual analysis. For example, he does not consider at all the texts of Dan 7 or Dan 9, which play an important role for a better understanding of Dan 8:9-14.

Summary

Several conclusions can be drawn reviewing the recent literature on Dan 8:9-14. First, the majority of approaches to the interpretation of Dan 8:9-14 do not proceed from the linguistic data itself and thus are in essence not text-oriented. They either represent a diachronic approach using historical-critical methods or they are synchronic approaches which are mainly interested in the content and meaning of the passage. These approaches generally lack a systematic description and investigation of the syntax and structure.

Second, studies analyzing the meaning of Dan 8:9-14 and its words and phrases

---

[1]In his own words, Gzella is "trying to consider the clues for interpretation furnished by the narrator himself and hence to avoid an *a priori* understanding of the vision as a historical *allegory* which provides a symbolic representation of the forces of particular history" (3).

(Hasel, 1986; Shea, 1986) only sparingly employ linguistic analysis, while the linguistic studies of the text (Hasslberger, 1977; Koch, 1983; Schweizer school in Bader, ed. 1994) lack comprehensive examination of the meaning of the passage. A commendable exception is Gzella's analysis (2003).

Third, against the background of the classification of text-oriented approaches presented above, it becomes evident that the studies which applied a text-oriented approach to Dan 8:9-14 can all be classified as linguistic approaches. Each of these linguistic studies of Dan 8 makes use of a specific methodological framework (developed by Richter, Koch, or Schweizer) and rigorously applies the selected framework to the text.

Fourth, specific contributions and deficiencies of the linguistic approaches hitherto undertaken have surfaced. Hasslberger's dissertation certainly presents the most comprehensive syntactic and stylistic approach to the text of Dan 8:9-14 so far. However, he does not study the text synchronically, that is, the text as it stands, nor does he employ a comprehensive semantic analysis of 8:9-14. Koch's analysis contributes mainly towards the structure of the text, but his linguistic analysis is selective, guided by his form-critical aim. The studies of the Schweizer school in particular enhance the level of understanding the form of 8:9-14, but leave some of the problem areas in this passage untouched. Gzella's monograph offers numerous linguistic insights, particularly on the syntactic level and in reference to verbal syntax, that are significant for the understanding of 8:9-14, but it is not comprehensive enough and furthermore reduced in that it does not attempt to understand the meaning of the symbolic language.

Fifth, literary approaches to Dan 8 are largely missing.[1] Though there are some traces of literary interpretation, they are based primarily on content and conceptual considerations. Again, an exception is Gzella's literary analysis which focuses on the thematic pattern as well, but also includes patterns in verbal syntax.

Sixth, no real systematic attempt to study and determine the intertextuality of Dan

---

[1]Literary approaches to Daniel are usually applied to the stories in Dan 1-6 due to their narrative character, though there are also a few attempts for a literary study of vision material. See, e.g., Lenglet, 169-190; Edwin M. Good, "Apocalyptic as Comedy: The Book of Daniel," *Semeia* 32 (1985): 41-70; Paul R. Raabe, "Daniel 7: Its Structure and Role in the Book," *HAR* 9 (1985): 267-275; William H. Shea, "Further Literary Structures in Daniel 2-7: An Analysis of Daniel 4," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 193-202; idem, "Further Literary Structures in Daniel 2-7: An Analysis of Dan 5, and the Broader Relationships within Chapters 2-7," *AUSS* 23 (1985): 277-295; T. A. Boogart, "Daniel 6: A Tale of Two Empires," *RefR* 39 (1986): 106-112; Peter W. Coxon, "The 'List' Genre and Narrative Style in the Court Tales of Daniel," *JSOT* (1986): 95-121; Danna Nolan Fewell, *Circle of Sovereignty: Plotting Politics in the Book of Daniel*, 2nd ed. (Nashville: Abingdon, 1991); Pamela J. Milne, *Vladimir Propp and the Study of Structure in Biblical Hebrew Narrative*, Bible and Literature Series, no. 13 (Sheffield: Almond, 1988), 177-265; J. W. Wesselius, "Language and Style in Biblical Aramaic: Observations on the Unity of Daniel ii-vi," *VT* 38 (1988): 194-209; Hector I. Avalos, "The Comedic Function of the Enumeration of Officials and Instruments in Daniel 3," *CBQ* 53 (1991): 580-588; Zdravko Stefanovic, "Daniel: A Book of Significant Reversals," *AUSS* 30 (1992): 139-150; Bill T. Arnold, "Wordplay and Narrative Techniques in Daniel 5 and 6," *JBL* 112 (1993): 479-485; Branson L. Woodward, Jr., "Literary Strategies and Authorship in the Book of Daniel," *JETS* 37 (1994): 39-53; T. J. Meadowcroft, *Aramaic Daniel and Greek Daniel: A Literary Comparison*, JSOTSup, no. 198 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995); idem, "Point of View in Storytelling: An Experiment in Narrative Criticism in Daniel 4," *Did* 8, no. 2 (Spring 1997): 30-42; Bill T. Arnold, "Wordplay and Characterization in Daniel 1," in *Puns and Pundits: Word Play in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature*, ed. S. B. Noegel (Bethesda: CDL, 2000), 231-248; Tim Meadowcroft, "Metaphor, Narrative, Interpretation, and Reader in Daniel 2–5," *Narrative* 8 (2000): 257-278; Matthias Henze, "The Narrative Frame of Daniel: A Literary Assessment," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 5-24; Malan Nel, "Literêre genre van die Daniëlverhale," *IDS* 35 (2001): 591-606; Terry L. Brensinger, "Compliance, Dissonance, and Amazement in Daniel 3," *EvJ* 20 (2002): 7-19; J. Paul Tanner, "The Literary Structure of the Book of Daniel," *BSac* 160 (2003): 269-282; Tawny L. Holm, "Daniel 1-6: A Biblical Story-Collection," in *Ancient Fiction: The Matrix of Early Christian and Jewish Narrative*, ed. J. A. Brant, C. W. Hedrick, and C. Shea, SBLSymS, no. 32 (Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 149-166; Shane Kirkpatrick, *Competing for Honor: A Social-Scientific Reading of Daniel 1-6*, BIS, no. 74 (Leiden: Brill, 2005). Cf. the bibliographical list by Minor (*Literary-Critical Approaches to the Bible* [1992], 322-327; [1996], 161-164) as well as the critical survey of some of the recent literary approaches to Daniel by John E. Goldingay, "Story, Vision, Interpretation: Literary Approaches to Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL, no. 106 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 295-313.

8:9-14 has been undertaken so far.

Justification and Relevance

The above review confirms the specific need for a fresh, text-oriented approach to Dan 8:9-14, a study which comprises both a linguistic and literary analysis including an investigation of the semantic meaning of the passage. It is therefore worthwhile to study the text anew on a linguistic basis, allowing different linguistic approaches to bring their input to the text, and thus proceed from form to function. However, the linguistic analysis needs to be complemented by a literary analysis in order to fully recognize the different features of the text.

The significance of this study lies in the fact that a text-oriented analysis of Dan 8:9-14, that is, a linguistic and literary study inclusive of its intertextuality, is of vital importance for a proper understanding of this difficult passage and its actual words as well as its place and function in the book of Daniel. In addition, the procedure of analysis from form to function lays the necessary foundation for any theological interpretation of this passage.

Such a text-oriented approach of Dan 8:9-14 seems imperative and to date remains unachieved. It is especially significant in view of the fact that the majority of other than text-oriented approaches are more concerned with the meaning or content than with structure and form of the text.[1] If this study is successful in providing such a text-

[1]In this regard, Hasslberger's comment from 1977 is still valid: "The examination of literature shows that often few or no reasons are given for held opinions. Most often the criticizing and propounding of hypotheses is based on content without analyzing the structure and form of the text. The weakness of the methods, which have been employed so far, is their fortuitousness. Thus, the

oriented analysis for this Danielic passage, it is hoped it would lend itself as a stimulus for future linguistic-literary and semantic investigations of passages in the book of Daniel and elsewhere.

Methodology and Procedure

Methodological Considerations and Principles

In the present text-oriented study I do not attempt to present an integration model of text-oriented approaches, which seems neither possible[1] nor desirable.[2] Rather this study makes eclectic use of different text-oriented approaches selecting those insights which appear to be best suitable for a text-oriented analysis of Dan 8:9-14.[3] In fact, by

---

results are to a large degree dependent on whether a scholar intuitively makes a remarkable observation and draws the right conclusions from it. By proceeding predominantly from the content the criteria for conclusions are often ambiguous and accidental" (xiii).

[1]For example, the linguistic approach of Schweizer on the one hand and of Talstra on the other hand cannot possibly be integrated since Talstra stresses that contents can play a role in syntactic analysis whereas Schweizer analyzes a text strictly on a formal basis. Even for approaches which seem to be closer to each other, like Richter's and Schweizer's, it has to be said that an attempt at an integration model is futile. Cf. Rüdiger Bartelmus's pertinent assessment of such an endeavor as "desperate" (review of *Methoden im Widerstreit*, by Oskar Dangl, *TZ* 52 [1996]: 271).

[2]Talstra's well-grounded observation in his 1987 dissertation has not lost its force: "The intensification of the discussion between exegesis, grammatical inquiry, and general linguistics means that the door has been opened for various experiments after the example of as many linguistic schools. One might fear that the exegetes, too, will regroup under the banner of French structuralism, German 'Sprachinhaltsforschung,' or Anglo-American generative grammar, or be wholly guided by the movements in literary theory grafted on the various linguistic schools. In any case it is by no means the time to ask for a consensus" (*Solomon's Prayer,* 11).

[3]The eclectic approach favored here involves only methods from the field of text-oriented approaches. However, as L. C. Jonker points out, if a "'super method' is created by amalgamating the 'strong' points *of every available exegetical strategy*" (emphasis mine), "such a methodological integration would be too subjective and would deny the plurality of existing approaches" ("Reading Jonah Multidimensionally," 2). Similarly, P. Joyce warns that "a lazy eclecticism" between the historical-critical approach and alternative approaches does not work ("First Among Equals?," 17, 21). In this respect the conclusion reached by C. R. Holladay, which he originally applied to the different contemporary methods of reading the Bible, can be used in a more limited way to express the

not presenting or promoting a specific linguistic or literary theory it may be said that the role of the language itself in the exegetical process is highlighted.

The three different avenues in text-oriented approaches (linguistic, literary, and canonical) are incorporated in the present study, and their contributions to exegesis commend themselves. The linguistic approach comprises the grammatical-syntactic and semantic analysis, the literary approach consists of the stylistic analysis and structural analysis, and the canonical approach surfaces in the intertextual study of Dan 8:9-14.

Since the present approach is text-oriented, the focus is on the text of Dan 8:9-14 as it stands, which will be the MT, and there will be no attempt at an independent diachronic study of this passage. In other words, this study is basically a synchronic analysis of Dan 8:9-14.[1] Thereby the value of a diachronic study is not at all

---

relation of the present text-oriented approach to other text-oriented approaches: "The way forward is to be more modest and recognize both the possibilities and the limitations of different approaches, and to recognize knowledge and experience in many methods and approaches. Actual interpretation will involve a combination of approaches" ("Contemporary Methods of Reading the Bible," 149).

[1]The distinction between synchrony and the diachrony in modern general linguistics goes back to Ferdinand de Saussure's groundbreaking *Cours de linguistique générale* in 1915 (*Course in General Linguistics*, ed. C. Bally and A. Sechehaye, trans. W. Baskin [New York: Philosophical Library, 1959], 101-190). Although originally in general linguistics synchrony and diachrony have been used with a wider meaning, in biblical studies "synchronic" refers to the description of a text as a whole in its given shape without historical considerations, whereas "diachronic" refers to studies of the text according to its historical genesis. Jacob Hoftijzer therefore avoids the terms "diachronic" and "synchronic" and uses instead "compositional/redactional" and "holistic/structural" ("Holistic or Compositional Approach? Linguistic Remarks to the Problem," in *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*, ed. J. C. de Moor, OtSt, no. 34 [Leiden: Brill, 1995], 98). The question whether biblical exegesis should pursue either synchronic or diachronic analysis, or should use both approaches complementarily or in an unrelated manner is much debated and lies at the heart of the discussions about exegetical methods. In short, exegetes using a text-oriented approach do not necessarily discard a diachronic analysis. After much debate most scholars seem to consent theoretically that both historical criticism and literary criticism, respectively diachronic analysis and synchronic analysis, are needed, though there are still voices who prefer the one over the other. Generally it is held that the synchronic description has an "operational priority" (Robert M. Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomic History*, pt. 1, *Deuteronomy,*

Joshua, Judges [New York: Seabury, 1980], 2, 6) over the diachronic, and that such an order of analysis is "irreversible" (Wolfgang Schenk, "Die Aufgaben der Exegese," 888). Talstra explains that "the point is not that the synchrony is fundamentally privileged above the diachrony. The operational priority of the synchronic analysis means only that one first reads a text as a whole, as a unity, in an attempt to establish the structure of meaning of the whole and the contributions of the constituent parts of the text to the total meaning. Then comes the diachronic question of whether all the constituent parts of the text presupposes the same time and situation of origin" (*Solomon's Prayer*, 83-84; cf. 18-20). This means that "the synchronic analysis must always precede the diachronic one; in fact a diachronic analysis cannot do without a synchronic one. On the other hand . . . a synchronic analysis does not need to be supplied with a diachronic analysis, for it can quite suffice to understand the message of the text at hand without settling the question of its origin" (Christoph Dohmen, "Das Zelt außerhalb des Lagers: Exodus 33,7-11 zwischen Synchronie und Diachronie," in *Textarbeit: Studien zu Texten und ihre Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament un der Umwelt Israels, Festschrift für Peter Weimar zur Vollendung seines 60. Lebensjahres*, ed. K. Kiesow and T. Meurer, AOAT, no. 294 [Münster: Ugarit, 2003], 168). Uwe F. W. Bauer elaborates in his habilitation, which focuses on the synchronic approach, on the reason why the synchronic approach does not have only operational priority but also qualitative priority, which basically involves the communicative function of the text: the author(s)/redactor(s) obviously regarded the final text, which is "a literary work *sui generis*," as communicatively understandable for its intended readers (*"Warum nur übertretet ihr SEIN Geheiß!": Eine synchrone Exegese der Anti-Erzählung von Richter 17-18* = לָמָּה זֶּה אַתֶּם עֹבְרִים אֶת־פִּי יְהוָה, BEATAJ, no. 45 [Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998], 35-40). This communicative function of the final text "cannot be claimed in the same measure for hypothetic literal or oral pre-stages of a text, because in most cases they can be reconstructed only partially, and therefore they should be regarded as only limited communicative" (36-37). "Another argument for the priority of synchrony is that biblical texts have to be read contextual" (37). Bauer upholds that a text is only fully communicative if it is read as a text integrated into the larger final text created by the author(s). Hypothetical reconstructions do not have such a contextual quality (37-39). For the ongoing discussion between the relation of diachronic and synchronic study as well as between historical criticism and text-oriented approaches see also, e.g., Robert M. Polzin, "Literary and Historical Criticism of the Bible: A Crisis in Scholarship," in *Orientation by Disorientation: Studies in Literary Criticism and Biblical Literary Criticism, Presented in Honor of William A. Beardslee*, ed. R. A. Spencer, PTMS, no. 35 (Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1980), 99-114; idem, *Moses and the Deuteronomist*, 1-9; Alonso Schökel, "Of Methods and Models," 3-13; Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 11-23; Suzanne Boorer, "The Importance of a Diachronic Approach: The Case of Genesis-Kings," *CBQ* 51 (1989): 195-208; Bruce K. Waltke and Michael O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 11-15; Paul R. Noble, "Synchronic and Diachronic Approaches to Biblical Interpretation," *Journal of Literature and Theology* 7 (1993): 130-148 (cf. *The Canonical Approach*, 159-170); Barton, "Historical Criticism and Literary Interpretation," 3-15; Joyce, "First Among Equals?" 17-27; Daniel Marguerat, "L'exégèse biblique: éclatement ou renouveau?" *FoiVie* 93, no. 3 (July 1994): 7-24; Ferdinand E. Deist, "On 'Synchronic' and 'Diachronic': wie es eigentlich gewesen," *JNSL* 21 (1995): 37-48; the essays in *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*, ed. J. C. de Moor (Leiden: Brill, 1995), esp. James Barr, "The Synchronic, the Diachronic and the Historical: A Triangular Relationship?" 1-14; John Barton, "What Is a Book? Modern Exegesis and the Literary Conventions of Ancient Israel," in *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel: Papers Read at the Tenth Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and Het Oudtestamentisch*

called into question, of course with the condition that "such an analysis can produce results that are more than merely hypothetical."[1]

Regarding the methodological procedure the exegetical approach chosen should strive to be as intersubjectively testable as possible. Research in biblical exegesis lives certainly by intuition and by conclusions derived at from numerous observations. It is, however, vital that researchers exert themselves to make their exegetical findings "communicable, understandable, and verifiable."[2] Hence the exegetical results and the procedure that led to them need to be submitted to intersubjective verification, which is best carried out by means of the text at hand.[3] For this purpose an approach is required

---

Werkgezelschap in Nederland en België Held at Oxford, 1997, ed. J. C. de Moor, OtSt, no. 40 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1-14; Jonker, *Exclusivity and Variety*, 66-70, 285-287; Elisabeth Parmentier, "Le texte en jeu," *ETR* 73 (1998): 503-521; Helmut Utzschneider, "Text – Leser – Autor: Bestandsaufnahme und Prolegomena zu einer Theorie der Exegese," *BZ* 43 (1999): 224-238 (for an only slightly different English version see "Text - Reader - Author: Towards a Theory of Exegesis, Some European Views," *The Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 1 [1996] (journal on-line) available from http://www.jhsonline.org); Gordon Thomas, "Telling a Hawk from a Handsaw? An Evangelical Response to the New Literary Criticism," *EvQ* 71 (1999): 37-50; Kaiser, 495; Christophe Rico, "Synchronie et diachronie: enjeu d'une dichotomie, de la linguistique a l'interprétation de la Bible," *RB* 108 (2001): 228-265; Hardmeier, *Textwelten*, 28-30. Only a minority of scholars find the diachronic and synchronic approach totally unrelated (e.g., Brett, 41-42) or even antagonistic to each other (e.g., R. W. L. Moberly, *At the Mountain of God: Story and Theology in Exodus 32-34*, JSOTSup, no. 22 [Sheffield: JSOT, 1983], 22-28) so that one scholar believes that a synchronic approach to the interpretation of ancient Near Eastern texts, including the Bible, seems to be a questionable undertaking (so Deist, "On 'Synchronic' and 'Diachronic,'" 46).

[1]David M. Howard, Jr., *The Structure of Psalms 93-100*, Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego, no. 5 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 24.

[2]Richter, *Exegese*, 9. Cf. Werner H. Schmidt, "Grenzen und Vorzüge historisch-kritischer Exegese," *EvT* 45 (1985): 476; Egger, 7.

[3]According to Werner H. Schmidt the variety of exegetical approaches has not done away with the necessity for a common exegetical task and the need to find exegetical insights that can be shared by scholars. For Schmidt the latter can only be attained by "committing oneself back to the text" (*Rückbindung an den Text*). Therefore, "observations rooted in the text—as against opinions or theories—have to be granted priority above all" ("Zur Theologie und Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments: Erinnerungen und Erwägungen zur Exegese," *EvT* 62 [2002]: 17-18, cf. 21).

(1) which avoids extra-textual influences, (2) in which the criteria according to which conclusions are reached are explicitly described, and (3) of which the results are consequently intersubjectively verifiable.[1]

The approach adopted in this study is a form-to-function approach which initially starts with what is concretely presented in Dan 8:9-14, namely the graphemes of the MT and via several steps of analysis finally takes the entire text into view.[2] A linguistic analysis treats all the surface structure features of the text and follows a bottom-up process, that is, the study of syntax precedes the study of semantics and the literary study.[3] For that reason the text in Dan 8:9-14 is investigated on the basis of linguistic analysis since linguistic approaches rightly claim to work with the text at hand. The semantic study comes after the syntactic analysis because the semantic meaning of the text builds on the verifiable results of the lower levels of linguistic description.[4] Furthermore, the linguistic analysis precedes the literary analysis because the literary study uses the

---

[1]For the researcher this also means to approach the text with "passionate dispassionateness" (Kaiser, 507).

[2]Compare the "text analysis" outlined in the textbook for OT exegesis by Helmut Utzschneider and Stefan Ark Nitsche, *Arbeitsbuch literaturwissenschaftliche Bibelauslegung: Eine Methodenlehre zur Exegese des Alten Testaments* (Gütersloh: Kaiser and Gütersloher, 2001), 59-112.

[3]For the levels of linguistic analysis used in general linguistics see John Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); and idem, *Semantics*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 2:373-378. Lyons distinguishes at least three levels: the phonological, the syntactic, and the semantic, with the possible extension by the morphological level as bridge between phonology and syntax in particular languages (ibid., 373). For different levels of linguistic description of Biblical Hebrew and the relation between syntax and semantics see, e.g., Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik*, 1:14-21. Richter identifies four hierarchical linguistic layers: morphological, morphosyntactic, syntactic, and semantic.

[4]Talstra, "Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. I," 169; idem, "Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II," 35-38.

linguistic data of the text in order to produce results in a more controlled way.[1]

It is important to note that there exists an interdependence between the different levels of linguistic analysis, which is mainly significant for the syntactic and the semantic analysis.[2] Form and function are essentially complementary, not contradictory. The same phenomenon of interdependence is true for the two steps of synchronic analysis, namely the linguistic and the literary analysis. Methodologically, they are "complementary and compatible."[3] Syntactic, semantic, and literary studies are therefore each not "naked" in themselves, but stand in close relation to each other, mutually influencing each other.

One needs also to bear in mind that decisions on higher textual levels may guide or may even necessitate reconsideration of decisions on lower levels, which means that the semantic analysis may influence or add data to the analyses of lower linguistic levels; for example, it may provide help for syntactic decisions. "The consideration of content is already necessary when the surface structure of signs is described, so that content cannot be ignored in the grammar."[4] A formal analysis without ever looking to semantics or

---

[1]"In view of the fact that in the recent resurgence of rhetorical criticism, structural/stylistic studies tend to be arbitrary in using linguistic data in the text, thus producing divergent results, one should remember that a more controlled treatment of the linguistic data arises from a general linguistic analysis prior to a rhetorical/stylistic analysis" (Daniel Hojoon Ryou, *Zephaniah's Oracles against the Nations: A Synchronic and Diachronic Study of Zephaniah 2:1-3:8*, BIS, no. 13 [Leiden: Brill, 1995], 5-6). Talstra warns against the "circularity of the argumentation present in explanations of the text that skip over grammatical details and proceed from assumptions on 'deliberate design' or 'author's compositional skills'" ("Tense, Mood, Aspect," 95; cf. also Kim, 116).

[2]Talstra points out that "in linguistic communication syntactic and semantic levels co-operate and do not function mutually independently. This also implies a procedure which analyzes from the *formal* to the *functional* aspects of a text" ("Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II," 38, emphasis his).

[3]Ryou, 6.

[4]Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik*, 1:11.

textlinguistics is not desirable.[1]

At this juncture, comment on the position of the semantic analysis in the order of exegetical steps in this study is appropriate. It is clear that the semantic analysis is part of the larger linguistic analysis of a text. However, one needs to ask at what time exactly it should be undertaken in the exegetical process. Generally three possible locations of the semantic analysis in a synchronic approach have been suggested and are available to the exegete: the semantic analysis can follow the syntactic analysis as a separate section,[2] or the semantic analysis can be built into the syntactic analysis (but not the other way around),[3] or the semantic analysis is split and is undertaken on different text levels as lexical semantics, clause/sentence semantics, and text semantics.[4] In this study the interplay between syntax and semantics, between literary texture and semantics, as well as between intertextuality and semantics is acknowledged and is recognized in several places. The analysis of semantics applied to different linguistic levels best describes the

---

[1]So Talstra ("Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II," 35-38) and Hans Rechenmacher (*Jungfrau, Tochter Babel: Eine Studie zur sprachwissenschaftlichen Beschreibung althebräischer Texte am Beispiel von Jes 47*, ATSAT, no. 44 [St. Ottilien: EOS, 1994], 3); *pace* Schweizer (*Metaphorische Grammatik*, 18-19, 45-46, 81-82). For the inseparability of form and meaning from a literary point of view see Luis Alonso Schökel, "Hermeneutical Problems of a Literary Study of the Bible," in *Congress Volume, Edinburgh 1974*, VTSup, no. 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 1-15.

[2]So, e.g., Schweizer (*Metaphorische Grammatik*; *Biblische Texte verstehen*) and Rechenmacher (*Jungfrau, Tochter Babel*).

[3]Talstra (*Solomon's Prayer*, 18). So, e.g., Talstra, *Solomon's Prayer*, 83-170; and Bauer, *"Warum nur übertretet ihr SEIN Geheiß!"* 175-414.

[4]So, e.g., Bernd Willmes, *Bibelauslegung — genau genommen: Syntaktische, semantische und pragmatische Dimensionen und Kategorien für die sprachliche Analyse hebräischer und griechischer Texte auf Wort- und Satzebene*, BNB, no. 5 (Munich: Institut für biblische Exegese, 1990); idem, "'Extreme Exegese': Überlegungen zur Reihenfolge exegetischer Methoden," *BN* 53 (1990): 68-99.

methodology used in the actual research. Nevertheless, the semantic analysis is presented as being part of the linguistic analysis to show the close interrelatedness of syntax and semantics and to accommodate the reader by placing the different analyses of meaning of words, phrases, and clauses conveniently at the same location where the syntax of these entities is discussed. This should not distract from the fact that literary and intertextual considerations play a definite role in determining the meaning of words, sentences, and texts.

A final word on methodological principles has to be said regarding the previously identified pitfalls and dangers of text-oriented approaches (cf. above). In order to avoid those pitfalls the following principles are consciously adopted:

First, the use of metalanguage has been restricted to a minimum level. Metalanguage is used solely to enhance clarity and exactness, secure verifiability, and when a significant contribution is made.

Second, unnecessary detail has been avoided. Although during the research all the linguistic data were taken into consideration, a minutely detailed analysis is not presented, unless real enhancement for the understanding of the text can be achieved in this way.[1] I try to follow Alonso Schökel's aphorism on biblical scholarship: "Share the fruit, not the sweat."[2]

Third, it has to be clearly pointed out that by using a text-oriented approach,

---

[1]Cf. Kim, 121: "we should remember the danger of obsession with linguistic structures '*as an end in themselves*'" (emphasis his).

[2]This practical advice by Alonso Schökel is recorded in Trible, *Rhetorical Criticism*, 106.

which naturally is synchronic, other readings of biblical texts—often diachronic—are by no means downgraded. No exclusive claim is made that the exegetical method employed here is the only permissible procedure for reading the text of Dan 8:9-14.[1] Yet it cannot be overlooked that these other approaches are not text-oriented in nature and thus do not study the text as it is.[2]

And fourth, relations between texts are proposed only on the basis of controls which are explicitly stated in order to avoid overinterpretation. These controls are presented in the section on intertextuality.

Delimitations

This research has a number of delimitations, of which some have already been mentioned. Only the text of Dan 8:9-14 is dealt with in linguistic detail. The texts and passages which show intertextual relations to Dan 8:9-14 are dealt with only insofar as

---

[1]On exclusivity in exegetical praxis see Jonker, *Exclusivity and Variety*, 31-35. It is important to distinguish between upholding one's exegetical procedures and the claim that one's exegesis is the only correct one: "It is of course clear that every exegete will (of necessity) emphasize the value, and need to consider the results, of his/her own specialization area in exegetical praxis. Exclusivism, however, develops when the exegete claims (consciously or unconsciously) that his/her specialization area is the only key to the correct exegesis of a text" (32-33).

[2]Rendtorff points to the inadequacy of diachronic approaches for the exegesis of the text itself: "Yet one should distinguish those investigations [reconstructions of Israelite history by the diachronic concept of exegesis] from *exegesis* or *interpretation* of biblical texts themselves. I am, however, highly distrustful of the traditional *Literarkritik* so far as it leads to a production of texts. The subject of any interpretation has to be first and foremost the given text of the Hebrew Bible" ("Between Historical Criticism and Holistic Interpretation," 300, emphasis his). Similarly, from a linguistic viewpoint Talstra argues "that a consistent formal approach is more fruitful both for grammatical and literary analysis of biblical texts, than a grammatical model that is largely dependent on interpretation and psychological speculation concerning an author's mind and purposes" ("Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. I," 174). And from a literary viewpoint, Fokkelman depicts the literary approach as "a new paradigm whose underpinnings are an intersubjective hermeneutics" and as "an independent discipline that pursues intrinsic studies of the texts and respects their nature as an object *sui generis*" ("Is the Literary Approach to the Bible a New Paradigm?" 20).

they have significance for the text under consideration. An exhaustive exegesis of those passages is not attempted.

A full-blown text-critical analysis of Dan 8:9-14, which would pay attention to all available manuscripts and versions and to the numerous scholarly suggestions regarding this passage, is not undertaken.

The text of Dan 8:9-14 is studied synchronically. A diachronic reading is not the focus here, though the study of the theological implications of the passage may ultimately recognize historical developments in theological thought.

Any interpretation which goes beyond the immediate textual or intertextual meaning of Dan 8:9-14 is not addressed because the primary focus of the exegetical interpretation is on the final text itself.[1] Accordingly, the theological significance of words and phrases is discussed only insofar as the textual and intertextual study determines its need.

Procedure

The point of departure will be the text in its canonical form, that is, the MT. After the text is briefly demarcated, a working translation and a syntactic-structural outline of the text are provided at the beginning in order to facilitate the subsequent analyses.

Next the linguistic analysis comprises grammatical-syntactic analyses and semantic analyses. The syntax of Dan 8:9-14 is described, and specific syntactic features

[1]This study therefore clearly differs in nature from studies focusing on the interpretative meaning of Dan 8:9-14, such as Reuben Lynn Hilde, "An Exegesis of the Little Horn of Daniel 8" (M.A. thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1953).

are dealt with. The description follows the different levels of words, word groups, and clauses. Since text-critical issues are involved in a number of interpretations of 8:9-14, it is necessary to deal at least briefly with some of them. On the semantic level, the role and meaning of the relevant terminology within 8:9-14 is determined by syntagmatic (contextual) and paradigmatic (semantic field, synonyms) relations as well as by philological studies. At this stage the results of the intertextual analysis, that is, the texts in lexical and thematic relation to 8:9-14, often provide vital data for the semantic study. After the meanings of words and word groups have been determined, it is also possible to examine the meanings of the sentences and their relation to each other.

The literary analysis investigates the text for rhetorical, stylistic, and structural devices and how they contribute to the dynamics and structure of the text. It needs to be determined whether significant parts or the whole of Dan 8:9-14 should be characterized as either prose or poetry. Semantic isotopies and relevant words and phrases are then identified according to the syntactic-literary structure of the passage. Finally, the literary structure is outlined and commented on.

The intertextual study focuses on the lexical and thematic links of Dan 8:9-14 with other parts of the book of Daniel. Every occurrence of the lexemes of this passage in other places in Daniel is noted. A "word/word group concordance" of the vocabulary of 8:9-14 in the book of Daniel is constructed, which by specified factors will help to determine the intertextual relations of 8:9-14 on the lexical and thematic levels. The texts obtained on the basis of intertextual relations are examined for syntactic, structural, or semantic data which could be of importance for the understanding of 8:9-14.

Both the literary and intertextual analysis contribute to the theological understanding of the whole passage. Theological themes present in Dan 8:9-14 are identified in both sections, and the import of this text for those themes is outlined.

Principal Textual Witnesses of Daniel 8:9-14

Before I focus the linguistic study on the MT, a brief overview of the principal textual witnesses of Dan 8:9-14, their main features, and their relationship to each other places the MT in its textual environment. I will not provide a discussion of the relation of these witnesses for the entire book of Daniel, but rather concentrate on the passage under investigation. The main textual witnesses for Dan 8:9-14 are the same as those for the entire book of Daniel and comprise the Hebrew (Masoretic Text, Qumran), Greek (Old Greek, Theodotion), Syriac (Peshitta) and Latin text (Vulgate). There was no Targum made of the book of Daniel.

The primary and most complete witness of the Hebrew text of Dan 8:9-14 is the Masoretic Text (MT) of the Leningrad Codex B 19 A, dated 1008 or 1009 C.E., which is the base of the *BHS*.[1] For Dan 8:9-14 the text of the *Keter Yerushalayim* or the *Jerusalem Crown,* which is the reconstructed text of the Aleppo Codex, is identical to the one of the Leningrad codex.[2] This dissertation follows the MT of the Leningrad Codex for the MT

---

[1]For a photographic facsimile edition of Codex B 19 A, see David Noel Freedman et al., eds., *The Leningrad Codex: A Facsimile Edition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

[2]The Aleppo Codex produced by the Masorete Aharon ben Asher remains the oldest complete manuscript of the Hebrew Bible. However, as a result of the burning of the scroll on December 1, 1947, among other parts the book of Daniel has been lost. The כתר ירושלם *Keter Yerushalayim* is based on the Aleppo Codex and related manuscripts, following the text and editorial principles formulated by Rabbi Mordechai Breuer (*Jerusalem Crown: The Bible of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem* [Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi; Basel: Karger, 2000]; see also the photographic facsimile edition:

is the received text of the Hebrew Bible, it is the only fully preserved Hebrew text, it represents a text tradition that was the dominant text form among Palestinian Jews in the last two centuries B.C.E., and it is generally accepted as the basis for biblical study and interpretation in Jewish and Christian communities.[1]

Among the manuscripts of Qumran, eight fragmentary Daniel manuscripts have been found. Only two or three of these cover some text material of Dan 8: 4QDan[a] preserves Dan 8:1-5, and 4QDan[b] covers Dan 8:1-8 and 8:13-16, and Pap6QDan might show 8:16-17 and 8:20-21.[2] This means that for the text under investigation only 4QDan[b] is of importance since it covers portions of 8:13-14.[3] 4QDan[b] is dated on paleographic analysis in the first half of the first century C.E., ca. 20-50 C.E.[4]

In general, the Danielic fragments at Qumran show only a few variants, mostly orthographic, phonological or morphological.[5] As is well known, 4QDan[a] and 4QDan[b]

Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, ed., *The Aleppo Codex* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1976]). The missing portions have been carefully reconstructed from external sources that provide information about the Aleppo Codex, by the scrutiny of its remaining parts for evidence about those that are missing, and by a comparison with related manuscripts.

[1]See Adele Berlin, *Zephanaiah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB, vol. 25A (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 23-24.

[2] The *editio princeps* of 4QDan[a] to 4QDan[e] is published in Eugene Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4*, vol. 11, *Psalms to Chronicles*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, vol. 16 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 239-289 + plates XXIX-XXXVIII. For the preliminary publication of 4QDan[b] see Eugene Ulrich, "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran, Part 2: Preliminary Editions of 4QDan[b] and 4QDan[c]," *BASOR* 274 (1989): 3-26.

[3]In fact, fragment 18 ii shows nine words of Dan 8:13-14.

[4]Ulrich, "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran, Part 2," 5.

[5]A good summary of the *status quaestiones* of the Qumran manuscripts of Daniel, listing all the textual variants and evaluating their significance in regard to the textual history of Daniel, is provided by Eugene Ulrich, "The Text of Daniel in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Book of Daniel:*

align with the MT. 4QDan^{a} agrees in orthography with the MT against the fuller spelling of 4QDan^{b}, but with respect to textual variants 4QDan^{a} and 4QDan^{b} almost always agree against the MT.[1] That 4QDan^{b} tends toward *plene* script is seen in the preserved passage of Dan 8:13-14. In these verses 4QDan^{b} is next to identical to the MT, which means that there are no textual variants; the only orthographic variants being וקודש instead of וקדש in vs. 13c (Frg. 18 ii 2) and קודש instead of קדש in vs. 14c (Frg. 18 ii 3). The close relation of the MT and the Qumran fragments of Daniel testifies to the antiquity of the textual tradition of the MT, including the consonantal text of Dan 8:13-14.[2]

There is a Yemenite Daniel manuscript (Y) that probably dates from the fourteenth century.[3] The consonantal text corresponds to MT. The Babylonian vocalization at times supposedly reflects a textual tradition different from the Tiberian. The text-critical value of Y is however doubtful, since the Tiberian tradition of biblical

---

Composition and Reception, ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, VTSup, no. 83, FIOTL, no. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 2:573-585.

[1]Eugene Ulrich, "Orthography and Text in 4QDan^{a} and 4QDan^{b} and in the Received Masoretic Text," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin, College Theology Society Resources in Religion, no. 5 (Lanham: University Press of America, 1990), 32-36.

[2]Armin Schmitt concludes his comparative study of Daniel manuscripts at Qumran and the MT with the observation that "all in all" the Qumran fragments of the book of Daniel present "already a 'proto-Masoretic' text form. This designates a Hebrew/Aramaic consonantal text which is pre-Masoretic, but essentially identical to the MT. Such demonstrates once more that the tradition of the MT goes way back before the time of the Masoretes" ("Die Danieltexte aus Qumran und der masoretische Text [M]," in *Der Gegenwart verpflichtet: Studien zur biblischen Literatur des Frühjudentums*, BZAW, no. 292 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000], 134).

[3]Shelomo Morag, *The Book of Daniel: A Babylonian-Yemenite Manuscript* (Jerusalem: Kiryat-Sepher, 1973).

Aramaic has to be regarded as older than the Babylonian tradition of biblical Aramaic.[1] For Dan 8:9-14, Y shows only three orthographic variants: In 8:9a it vocalizes מַצְעִירָה instead of מִצְּעִירָה, in 8:11b it reads הוּרַם, and in 8:13c and 14c it reads קָדוֹשׁ instead of וְקֹדֶשׁ.

Two main Greek versions exist of Daniel: Old Greek and Theodotion.[2] In church usage, the original translation, the Old Greek, was replaced by Theodotion. There are three principal textual witnesses of the Old Greek.[3] The first is the pre-Hexaplaric Chester-Beatty papyrus 967 which dates ca. 200 C.E. and is considered to be the oldest textual witness of the Old Greek. The arrangement of chapters deviates from the familiar one in that chaps. 7 and 8 are placed before chaps. 5 and 6.[4] The text itself shows an unusual orthography and a number of spelling mistakes. The other two OG witnesses are Hexaplaric manuscripts: Codex 88, also called "Codex Chisianus," from the tenth century C.E., and the Syrohexapla (Syh) which Paul of Tella produced early in the seventh century C.E.[5] Both Codex Chisianus and Syh go back to Origen's Hexapla and are

---

[1]Morag, xv.

[2]The Greek translations of Aquila and Symmachus reflect the MT type.

[3]See the new introduction to the Old Greek by O. Munnich in Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, 2d ed., Septuaginta: vetus testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum, vol. 16/2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 9-121. Two fragmentary Greek texts of a few verses do not cover Dan 8 (ibid., 18-19).

[4]The *editio princeps* to Dan 5-12 is Angelo Geißen, ed., *Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel, Kap. 5-12, zusammen mit Susanna, Bel et Draco, sowie Esther Kap. 1,1a-2,15 nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967*, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, no. 5 (Bonn: Habelt, 1968).

[5]Manuscript 88 was first published by Simon de Magistris, ed., *Daniel secundum septauaginta: ex tetraplis Origenis* (Rome: Typis Propagandae Fidei, 1772). The Syh is preserved in the facsimile A. M. Ceriani, ed., *Codex syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus*, Monumenta sacra et profana,

reliable witnesses to the Hexaplaric recension with the typical asterisks and obeli and the rearrangement of the Greek word order to follow the Hebrew word order. Most of these corrections are to bring the Greek text into conformity with the Hebrew text type represented by the MT.

A second version of the Greek Daniel is called Theodotion because it was erroneously ascribed to Theodotion in the second half of the second century C. E. Usually a pre-Christian "proto-Theodotion" or *kaige* recension is postulated. Since very early Theodotion replaced the Old Greek, Theodotion is amply attested in the manuscripts.[1] The relationship between Old Greek and Theodotion and their role in the textual history of Daniel is somewhat debated.[2] For example, for Dan 8:1-10 Theodotion

---

no. 7 (Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, 1874).

[1]For textual witnesses of Theodotion see Ziegler, ed., *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, 2d ed., 121-129 (Greek manuscripts and citations by early Greek church fathers), 142-146 (Origen's Hexaplaric recension), 146-150 (Lucianic recension), 172-214 (an addendum by D. Fraenkel on the new fragmentary textual witnesses to Theodotion).

[2]For an overview of the issues in the study of the Greek texts of Daniel see Alexander A. Di Lella, "The Textual History of Septuagint-Daniel and Theodotion-Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, VTSup, no. 83; FIOTL, no. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 586-607. For the discussion see Sharon Pace Jeansonne, *The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 7-12*, CBQMS, no. 19 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1988); Armin Schmitt, „Die griechischen Danieltexte ('θ'' und o') und das Theodotionproblem," *BZ* 36 (1992): 1-29; Olivier Munnich, "Les versions grecques de Daniel et leurs substrats sémitiques," in *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Paris 1992*, ed. L. J. Greenspoon and O. Munnich, SBLSCS, no. 41 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 291-308; Tim McLay, *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel*, SBLSCS, no. 43 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1996); idem, "It's a Question of Influence: The Theodotion and Old Greek Texts of Daniel," in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th July-3rd August 1994*, ed. A. Salvesen, TSAJ, no. 58 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1998), 231-254; Olivier Munnich, "Texte massorétique et Septante dans le livre de *Daniel*," in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*, ed. A. Schenker. SBLSCS, no. 52 (Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 93-120; R. Timothy McLay, "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel iv-vi and the Formation of the Book of Daniel," *VT* 55 (2005): 304-323.

is regarded as a revision of the Old Greek in light of an earlier MT type[1] or as a translation of its own.[2]

For Dan 8 the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek is close to the text of the MT type,[3] and Theodotion is close to both the MT, with some interesting variants, and to the Old Greek. A comparison of the Old Greek and the MT for Dan 8:9-14 shows that the Old Greek has a few minuses, one major plus (in 8:11c), and a number of different word choices. A comparison of Theodotion and the MT for Dan 8:9-14 shows the same results.[4] The characteristics of the Old Greek in Dan 8 are its idiomatic Greek, short expansions and brief explanatory glosses, whereas Theodotion reproduces the Hebrew *Vorlage* more literally, and in comparison with the Old Greek it simplifies and is less idiomatic.[5]

The Syrian Peshitta of Daniel[6] is based on a text that was very similar to the MT. It shows in some instances influence from Theodotion, but little influence from the Old

---

[1]Jeansonne, 56-57.

[2]McLay, *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel*, 172-174.

[3]Jeansonne argues that the Old Greek for Dan 7-12 renders accurately the Hebrew *Vorlage*, which is not necessarily the MT text type. For her, the translator felt free to add, and errors are mostly technical and not due to theological *Tendenz* (131-133). For Dan 2-7 a similar conclusion is reached by Meadowcroft who states that the Old Greek in these chapters has a *Vorlage* that predates the MT, although he allows for intentional choices of the translator that reveal a particular viewpoint (*Aramaic Daniel and Greek Daniel*, 262-263). In Dan 4-6 the Old Greek differs widely from the MT type so that one might suspect that the Old Greek used a different *Vorlage* for these chapters.

[4]See Jeansonne, 55-56 (for Dan 8:9-10), and Richard A. Taylor, *The Peshitta of Daniel*, Monographs of the Peshitta Institute, no. 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 215-218.

[5]See Gzella, 52-57.

[6]The standard text is "Daniel and Bel and the Dragon," prepared by the Peshitta Institute on the basis of material collected and studied by Th. Sprey, in *Vetus Testamentum syriace: iuxta simplicem syrorum versionem*, pt. 3, fasc. 4, *Dodekapropheton—Daniel-Bel-Draco* (Leiden: Brill, 1980).

Greek.[1] The Syriac translation of Dan 8:9-14 is a fairly literal translation. A comparison with the MT shows that for Dan 8 the Peshitta contains some interpretative glosses (vss. 5, 7, 8, 20, 21), but 8:9-14 does not show any pluses, only two minuses.[2] The Syriac also has four interesting word choices, four alterations in words, one substitution, and two additional uses of conjunction in 8:9-14.[3]

For the Latin Vulgate (ca. 383-405 C.E.) Jerome used a Hebrew *Vorlage* for his translation of the Old Testament which was almost identical with the MT.[4] In Dan 8:9-14 the Vulgate represents a fairly literal translation of the MT type.

There are a number of other versions of Daniel, usually daughter translations of the Greek text, but they have almost no text-critical value on their own.[5]

---

[1]See R. A. Taylor, *The Peshitta of Daniel*, 229-230 (on the relationship of the Syriac to the Greek versions in Dan 8), 307-313 (on the textual affinities of the Syriac in general), and Konrad D. Jenner, "Syriac Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, VTSup, no. 83, FIOTL, no. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 2:573-585.

[2]The results are based on the analysis of the relationship of the Syriac to the Hebrew in Dan 8 undertaken by R. A. Taylor, *The Peshitta of Daniel*, 211-230. The gloss which Taylor locates "before" vs. 9—"Antiochus Epiphanes; the four servants of Alexander, son of Philip, who ruled after his death" (219)—could as well be located at the end of vs. 8. The minuses of the Syriac in 8:9-14 are that the *mêm* prefix on מִצְּעִירָה (vs. 9a) is not represented and the phrase וְאֶל־הַצֶּבִי (vs. 9b) is absent.

[3]Word choices: ܩܘܕܫܐ "the holy" for אֱמֶת in vs. 12b, ܥܒܪ- "transgress" for עָשְׂתָה- in vs. 12c, ܢܬܕܟܐ- "justify" for נִצְדַּק- and ܩܘܫܬܐ "the right" for קֹדֶשׁ in vs. 14c. Alterations in words: Plural for the singular שַׂר in vs. 11a, perfect for the imperfect תִּנָּתֵן in vs. 12a (cf. OG, Theodotion, Vulgate), active for the passive הֻשְׁלַךְ- in vs. 11c (cf. Vulgate), and passive for the active תַשְׁלֵךְ- in vs. 12b (cf. OG, Theodotion). Substitution: ܠܗ "to him" instead of אֵלַי "to me" in vs. 14a (cf. OG, Theodotion, Vulgate). Additional uses of conjunction: before מִן־הַצָּבָא in vs. 10b and before שֹׁמֵם in vs. 13c.

[4]The standard edition of the Vulgate text is Robert Weber, ed., *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 4th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994).

[5]Arabic: Henry S. Gehman, "The 'Polyglot' Arabic Text of Daniel and Its Affinities," *JBL* 44 (1925): 327-352, and Oscar Löfgren, *Studien zu den arabischen Daniel-Übersetzungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der christlichen Texte*, Uppsala universitets årsskrift 1936, no. 4 (Uppsala: Lundequist, 1936); Armenian: S. Peter Cowe, *The Armenian Version of Daniel*, University

In sum, the textual witnesses of Dan 8:9-14 show that the MT corroborated by 4QDan^b and Papyrus 967 presents the best base for a textual analysis of Dan 8. Discussions of text-critical questions for Dan 8:9-14 are placed at their specific verse locations in the linguistic analysis (chapter 2), for the text-critical study is interdependent with the linguistic study and both must proceed together.[1] The following text-critical questions will be dealt with in particular: the phrase מִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם and its gender (8:9a), יָצָא and its gender (8:9a), text-critical emendations for מִצְּעִירָה (8:9a) and הַצֶּבִי (8:9b), the question of *ketib* (Hiphil הֵרִים) or *qere* (Hophal הוּרַם) of the verb in 8:11b, the complex text-critical issues of vss. 12a and 13c, אֵלַי or אֵלָיו (8:14a), and the versions of וְנִצְדַּק (8:14c).[2] The text-critical study is limited to the attested variants, and scholarly conjectures without any base in the versions will be regarded with due hesitancy.[3]

---

of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies, no. 9 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1992); Coptic: Henry S. Gehman, "The Sahidic and the Bohairic Versions of the Book of Daniel," *JBL* 46 (1927): 279-330; Ethiopic: Oscar Löfgren, *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Daniel* (Paris: Geuthner, 1927).

[1]Moshe Greenberg illustrates this: "To avoid premature text-alteration, exegesis and text-criticism must proceed together, each illuminating the other. The exegete, whose task is to interpret text in hand, must work on the hypothesis that every element in his texts has significance—contributes to the meaning of its context. Only such a hypothesis keeps him alert to discover significance and design if it is there, and he will cling to it until he is baffled (at which point he may be inclined to think that some flaw exists in the text). While he notes the particulars of the versions, his focus is the MT, not because it is the best or oldest, but because it is the only complete text of the Hebrew Bible, and only through it can sound exegesis, interpreting the Hebrew by the Hebrew, be achieved" ("The Use of Ancient Versions for Understanding the Hebrew Text: A Sampling from Ezek II,1-III,11," in *Congress Volume: Göttingen 1977*, VTSup, no. 29 [Leiden: Brill, 1978], 147).

[2]For the text-critical study the standard editions of the different versions are consulted. Helpful is Klaus Koch and Martin Rösel, *Polyglottensynopse zum Buch Daniel* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000).

[3]Berlin advises against suggesting conjectures too quickly: "Emendations reflect the exegesis of the emender; emendation is the process of rewriting the text to make it say what the exegete thinks it meant to say or should have said" (*Zephaniah*, 25).

CHAPTER 2

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

The linguistic analysis is the essential foundation of a text-oriented approach. While dealing with the form of the text at hand and studying its various linguistic features, it also provides valuable data for further steps of analysis (literary, intertextual, theological) and therefore occupies a crucial place in the synchronic study of a text.

The linguistic description of the text in this study, the Masoretic text of Dan 8:9-14, comprises four parts. First, the delimitation of the text is a necessary starting point. This is primarily achieved by paying attention to linguistic features of the text, but literary structural features need to be taken into consideration also.

Second, the text of Dan 8:9-14 is divided into clauses and a working translation is provided. Both facilitate the subsequent analyses. In particular, the clause designations facilitate the referencing system and help it to be more precise. All further discussions of Dan 8:9-14 use these clause designations. The clause delimitation and the working translation are preliminary insofar as the linguistic clause analysis needs to first produce the relevant results that allow for this second step.

The third part of the linguistic description is the clause analysis which consists mainly of two components: a grammatical-syntactic analysis of each clause and the

analysis of the meaning of specific words, phrases, and clauses. The primary emphasis is on the syntactic features of the text as the syntax is "regarded as a main entrance to the text."[1] The morphosyntactic features and the syntactic functions of words and phrases are described, sentence types are noted, and special attention is given to the syntactic intricacies of the text. Basically, this part of the linguistic analysis is a syntactic commentary on Dan 8:9-14. The second component of the clause analysis is lexical semantics, the description of the meaning of words and phrases, as well as the meaning of clauses. This semantic analysis is not presented as a separate part after the syntactic description (which without doubt would be a possible location), but rather is incorporated into the analysis of the individual clauses. Inasmuch as the meaning of a word or phrase is, sometimes closely, interrelated to its syntactic features and function in the clause, and the semantic description often naturally follows the syntactic observations or even intersects with it, the semantic description is in my opinion best placed within the clause analysis. Thus, each clause is first described syntactically and then, if necessary, a semantic description of specific words and phrases, or of the clause itself, follows.

Several methodological problems can complicate the semantic study of words and phrases, especially those that occur quite often in the Hebrew Bible and have a wide range of meanings (e.g., the verb צדק, or the nouns אֱמֶת and קֹדֶשׁ): (1) reducing the multivalence of a term to a more manageable sameness and thereby leveling different nuances the term may have, even in the specific text under investigation; (2) privileging one conceptual framework at the expense of others, for example, the tendency to

---

[1]Ryou, 73.

understand צדק only by the concept of forensic justification but not as functioning in a relational framework; (3) extracting terms from their literary contexts and placing them in another interpretative framework; and (4) uncritically importing notions from the interpretative framework into the biblical milieu.[1] The foremost principle in avoiding these difficulties and thus to reach an accurate understanding of a term is the careful analysis of the same term in its specific context. Therefore, the different semantic analyses in this chapter will always attempt to pay close attention to the use of the terms in Dan 8:9-14 and beyond that in the book of Daniel, while at the same time avoid neglecting their semantic range as found in the rest of the Hebrew Bible, which, of course, further illuminates the understanding of these terms in Dan 8:9-14.

Fourth, the analysis of the inter-clausal relationships within a text by means of clause types, as well as the analysis of the information structure by paying attention to the word order, helps in understanding the text-linguistic dynamics of Dan 8:9-14.

Delimitation of the Text

Any delimitation of a text is by its nature already part of a structural description of that text. Simply to determine the beginning and the end of a text contributes inevitably to the structural understanding of it. Without anticipating the structural analysis presented in chapter 3, a justification will be given at this point as to why vss. 9 to 14 in Dan 8 are considered a text unit that can be examined in its own right.

---

[1]Leclerc has pointed out these difficulties and illustrated them in the light of a semantic study of מִשְׁפָּט "justice" (Thomas L. Leclerc, *Yahweh Is Exalted in Justice: Solidarity and Conflict in Isaiah* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001], 7-8).

The main reason for me to start the text-oriented analysis with vs. 9 and end it with vs. 14 is the focus of these verses on the horn as main actor. It is introduced in the *x-qatal* clause in vs. 9a, which after the *wayyiqtol* in vs. 8c interrupts the textual flow, and in all clauses in vss. 9-11 the horn is the subject (in vs. 11c the logical subject). Not once are the he-goat, the great horn, or the four [horns] mentioned in these verses, except, perhaps, for the introductory וּמִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם in vs. 9a, which will receive special attention in the linguistic analysis. As the central and climactic figure of the vision, the horn occupies a position on the same structural level as the ram and the he-goat. The audition in vss. 12-14[1] is included for analysis because it refers to the activities of the horn and is mainly concerned with this final part of the vision in vss. 3-11. The audition together with the description of the horn represents the climax of the vision report in vss. 3-14. The beginning of the next major text unit in vs. 15a is distinctively marked by the structural formula וַיְהִי + ב + infinitive (cf. vs. 2b).

In sum, these brief considerations suffice to justify the analysis of Dan 8:9-14. To be sure, the first part of the vision in Dan 8:3-8 is taken into consideration whenever it is deemed necessary.[2]

Text and Working Translation

In table 1, the left column offers the Masoretic text of Dan 8:9-14 according to

---

[1]Contrary to general opinion, I consider vs. 12 as part of the audition. Arguments for this position will be provided in the linguistic and literary analysis.

[2]For a more detailed and fuller treatment of the structure of Dan 8:9-14 see the structural analysis in chapter 3 (below).

Codex 19a divided into clauses, the middle column lists the clause reference with verse numbers, and the right column provides a working translation. The clause delimitations undertaken in this table are based upon and justified by the syntactic commentary to follow. The working translation is based upon the syntactic-semantic and text-linguistic analysis in this study.[1] As such, this translation, as any translation, although it is presented at the outset of the analysis, anticipates the various analyses and constitutes actually the final product or result of the exegetical process.

It needs to be pointed out that three other linguistic outlines of the text of Dan 8:9-14 already exist. Hasslberger and Richter divide the text into clauses,[2] and regarding methodological principles my clause division is close to both.[3] The Schweizer school divides the text into "Illocution Units" (*Äußerungseinheiten*), that is, into clauses with

---

[1]For this reason, in the following analyses the working translation of a term, phrase, or clause is usually given at the end of the respective analysis.

[2]Hasslberger, 7-10; Wolfgang Richter, *Biblia Hebraica transcripta: BH^t*, vol. 14, *Daniel, Esra, Nehemia*, ATSAT, no. 33/14 (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1993), 104-107.

[3]Wolfgang Richter presents the text according to clauses placing each clause or clause segment on a separate line. This is the result of a linguistic analysis (not a computational analysis), viz. from a tentative knowledge about the contents, from grammatical observations, and from some syntactic judgments. Grammatical observations include (1) the identification of word classes which fill the sentence initial position (conjunctions, deictics) and (2) the place of the verb (usually in first or second clause position). Syntactic judgments refer (1) to sentence constituents or syntagmemes (predicate, subject, object) and (2) to the structure of clauses, mainly that a clause has only one predicate (*Biblia Hebraica transcripta: BH^t*, vol. 1, *Genesis*, ATSAT, no. 33/1 (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1991), 2-3). By these preliminary clause divisions Richter contributes to the syntactic analysis of Biblical Hebrew. As such it helps to start with a linguistic analysis of the text before one undertakes a stylistic analysis. *BH^t* is thus a concrete proposal which provides a basis for further discussion and refinement. On methodological questions see the more positive reviews of different volumes of *BH^t* by Walter Groß (*TQ* 173 [1993]: 247-249, 314), François Langlamet (*RB* 101 [1994]: 416-421), Eep Talstra (*JSS* 39 [1994]: 290-295), Hendrik Jan Bosman (*JSS* 40 [1995]: 97-103), Arian J. C. Verheij (*JSS* 40 [1995]: 103-105), and the rather negative, not seldom polemic review by Lothar Perlitt (*TRu* 59 [1994]: 456-458). See also Christian Riepel, "Satz- und Metasatzbezeichnung in BH^t: Probleme, Lösungen und Änderungen," *RB* 103 (1996): 561-580.

Table 1. Daniel 8:9-14: Clause Division and Working Translation

Masoretic Text		Working Translation
וּמִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם יָצָא קֶרֶן־אַחַת מִצְּעִירָה	9a	and from the one of them went forth one horn from littleness
וַתִּגְדַּל־יֶתֶר אֶל־הַנֶּגֶב וְאֶל־הַמִּזְרָח וְאֶל־הַצֶּבִי	9b	and it grew exceedingly toward the south and toward the sunrise (east) and toward the beauty
וַתִּגְדַּל עַד־צְבָא הַשָּׁמָיִם	10a	and it grew up to the host of heaven
וַתַּפֵּל אַרְצָה מִן־הַצָּבָא וּמִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים	10b	and it caused to fall to the earth some of the host and some of the stars
וַתִּרְמְסֵם	10c	and it trampled them
וְעַד שַׂר־הַצָּבָא הִגְדִּיל	11a	and up to the commander of the host he magnified himself
וּמִמֶּנּוּ הֵרִים הַתָּמִיד	11b	and from him he took away the *tāmîd*[1]
וְהֻשְׁלַךְ מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ	11c	and the foundation of his sanctuary was thrown down
וְצָבָא תִּנָּתֵן עַל־הַתָּמִיד בְּפָשַׁע	12a	and a host will be set against the *tāmîd* in rebellion
וְתַשְׁלֵךְ אֱמֶת אַרְצָה	12b	and it will throw down truth to the earth
וְעָשְׂתָה	12c	and it will do
וְהִצְלִיחָה	12d	and it will succeed
וָאֶשְׁמְעָה אֶחָד־קָדוֹשׁ מְדַבֵּר	13a	and I had heard one holy one speaking
וַיֹּאמֶר אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ לַפַּלְמוֹנִי הַמְדַבֵּר	13b	and another holy one said to the previous one who had been speaking

Table 1—*Continued.*

Masoretic Text		Working Translation
עַד־מָתַי הֶחָזוֹן	13c	until when is the vision?
הַתָּמִיד		(concerning) the *tāmî d*
וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם תֵּת		and the giving of the devastating crime
וְקֹדֶשׁ		and (the) holy
וְצָבָא מִרְמָס		and a host to be trampled
וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי	14a	and he said to me
עַד עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר	14b	until evening morning
אַלְפַּיִם וּשְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת		two thousand and three hundred
וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ	14c	then will (the) holy be restored

[1]Throughout this study I use *tāmî d* as translation equivalent for תָּמִיד. The reason for this is that, according to the semantic analysis undertaken below, English translation equivalents such as "regularity," "continuity," or "daily" do not seem to express adequately the semantic connotations of תָּמִיד in the book of Daniel.

predicates, and phrases or groups of phrases without a predicate but with a communicative function of their own.[1] It is interesting to note that the clause divisions presented here concur with Hasslberger's in every respect, while they differ both from Richter's and from the Schweizer school's only slightly, however not substantially, in the syntactically difficult vs. 13c. Also, in vs. 14 my clause division concurs with the one presented by the Schweizer school, whereas it disagrees with Richter's assessment of vs. 14b as a pendensed construction. The beginning of vs. 12a, which is disputed in the

[1]Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," 13-14. In addition, Schindele also provides a working translation which, however, differs from mine in several important aspects (esp. in vss. 12 and 13).

literature, is put at the same place in all outlines.

Clause Analysis of Daniel 8:9-14

In this major part of the linguistic analysis each clause of Dan 8:9-14 is described grammatically and syntactically followed by a semantic analysis of relevant words and phrases in that clause.

The grammatical-syntactic analysis is undertaken for each clause and consists of two basic parts, the formulaic analytical description of it (according to three levels: morphology, morphosyntax, and syntax) and the pertaining grammatical-syntactic comments. The formulaic analytical description is presented in a specific pattern (matrix): The first line gives the verse number of the clause, followed by the vocalized Masoretic Text (MT). To enhance clarity, in this line the syntactic components of the clause are already indicated by using square brackets. The following lines explain the morphological, then the morphosyntactic, and finally the syntactic description of the clause. The relation of the MT to the morphological and the morphosyntactic description is easily followed as each morpheme is described in the same order as it appears in the MT. The syntactic description designates the syntactic components of the clause. Two formats are used: a formulaic, technical description used in Richter's circle and a description in more conventional terms.[1] In the final line, the clause type is determined.

[1]The former is used for analytical purposes to facilitate further analyses in the framework of Richter's approach. The latter is used for convenience sake, since most readers follow such a kind of description more easily. For an explanation of Richter's system of describing clause elements (syntagmemes) see Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik*, vol. 3; Walter Groß, *Die Satzteilfolge im Verbalsatz alttestamentlicher Prosa: Untersucht an den Büchern Dth, Ri und 2Kön*, FAT, no. 17 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996), 25-29; Diße, 166-180; and in English see C. H. J. van der

The purpose of this analytical description matrix is to present the analysis of the different grammatical levels of the text as transparently as possible and to illustrate how the syntactic description builds upon the morphological and morphosyntactic description.[1] The identification of the clause types will be relevant for text-grammatical considerations later on.

The main part of the grammatical-syntactic clause analysis follows the analytical description matrix and consists of grammatical comments, mainly to the morphosyntactic and syntactic features of the clause under discussion, along the lines of an extensive grammatical and syntactic commentary. These comments and discussions often justify a specific grammatical description given in the analytical description matrix of the clause. This part of the analysis usually starts when applicable with comments on the verbal element, for it is the verb which determines the number of complements in a clause, and then proceeds to the other clausal elements and grammatical, syntactic features of the clause. To understand some constructions it is necessary to gather relevant material with help from a concordance,[2] lending evidence to the old wisdom once again, that the

---

Merwe, *The Old Hebrew Particle* gam*: A Syntactic-Semantic Description of* gam *in Gn-2Kg*, ATSAT, no. 34 (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1990), 28-32; Rechenmacher and van der Merwe, 71. Groß adapts Richter's system but places more emphasis on the relation between morphological form and syntactic function (*Satzteilfolge*, 29-43; see also Diße, 166-174).

[1]For example, the description of the different levels shows when elements on one level function not only on that level and on the higher level(s) but also when specific elements function directly on a higher level. Cf. Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik*, 1:20.

[2]Besides the software *Bible Works for Windows, Version 6.0* (Big Fork: Hermeneutika Bible Research Software, 2003), the following works have been consulted: Gerhard Lisowski, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Alten Testament*, 2d ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1981); Abraham Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible: Thesaurus of the Language of the Bible, Hebrew and Aramaic, Roots, Words, Proper Names, Phrases and Synonyms* (Jerusalem: "Kiryat Sefer,"

concordance provides the best commentary. Sometimes it is advisable to construct a taxonomy. To this end the paradigmatic comparison involves syntactic criteria and may also involve semantic criteria.

The analysis of the meaning of words and phrases is incorporated into the clause analysis. The reason for this lies in the fact that syntax on the one hand and semantics of words and phrases on the other hand are interdependent. The semantic analysis of words and phrases often utilizes the results of the syntactic analysis, and at times the process is reversed. The meaning of words and phrases is basically determined by two elements: the syntagmatic or contextual relations and the paradigmatic relations, the latter at times indicating intertextual relations. Regarding the semantic analysis of a specific word, it goes without saying that one has to be careful not to import blindly its usage and meaning from other places to the text under investigation. Syntagmatic or contextual relations must have priority over paradigmatic relations. Nevertheless, the usages of the word in other texts help to define its syntactic function as well as its semantic range. This calls for a reasonable weighing of contextual (syntagmatic) arguments and arguments coming from the usage of the word in other texts.

Important for the semantic analysis of Dan 8:9-14 is the distinction between lexical meaning, symbolic meaning, and interpretative meaning (see table 2). Daniel 8:9-11 is part of a description of a symbolic vision and vss. 12-14 take up language from vss. 9-11 and thus symbolic language may be encountered in this part, too. Therefore, when it

---

1990); *DCH*, so far (July 2005) complete until נ inclusively; and Ludwig Köhler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, 4 vols., rev. by W. Baumgartner and J. J. Stamm, trans. and ed. M. E. J. Richardson (Leiden: Brill, 1994-1999).

comes to the meaning of words and phrases, care is indicated to distinguish between lexical meaning and symbolic meaning.

Table 2. Levels of Meaning for Symbolic Language

Word	Lexical Meaning	Symbolic Meaning	Interpretative Meaning
קֶרֶן (Dan 8:8)	horn	king, kingdom	Alexander the Great
כּוֹכָבִים (Dan 8:10b)	stars	God's people, angels, gods, etc.	Jewish people (2d cent. B.C.E.), Christians, patron angels, gods, etc.

For example, the word הַכּוֹכָבִים in vs. 10b denotes lexically "the stars." However, it is obvious that the word "stars" in this context also has symbolic meaning, and as such does not refer to literal stars. Hence, it is appropriate to say that for vision reports the lexical meaning of a word or phrase denotes what the visionary actually saw—the assumption being that the visionary tries to describe as closely as possible what he or she was seeing—whereas the symbolic meaning refers to the intended meaning beyond the literal sense of the terminology. Finally, the interpretative meaning refers to the meaning of such symbolic language in our reality. The interpretative meaning could at times be the same as the symbolic meaning, for example, if the stars in Dan 8:10b were a symbol for the heathen gods (= heavenly bodies worshiped), the interpretative meaning of "the stars" would be "gods" as well. Usually contextual features and other interpretative decisions influence the identification of a symbol in (historical) reality. For example, in its symbolic meaning the conspicuous or large horn in Dan 8:5, 8 refers to a

great king/kingdom, and in its interpretative meaning it refers to Alexander the Great.

Clause 9a

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

9a ו[מִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם] [יָצָא] [קֶרֶן־אַחַת] [מִצְּעִירָה]

waw+prep art+num/sgf/ prep+ePP/3plm/ Qal-pf/3sgm/ noun/sgf/ num/sgf/ prep+noun/sgf/[1]

waw+PWG(prep ArtWG(art+num/sgf/) PWG(prep+ePP/3plm/)) Qal-pf/3sgm/ NumWG(noun/sgf/ num/sgf/) PWG(prep+noun/sgf/)

waw+6.Sy1[dislocative] +P.Sy +1.Sy +C.Sy[dislocative]
waw+description of change of location +predicate +subject +description of change of metaphoric location

Clause type: *x-qatal.*

The verb יָצָא

The verbal root יצא denotes an activity of movement and serves double duty in vs. 9a. The horn went forth "from one of them" and at the same time it came forth "from littleness." Such an active movement expressed by יצא contrasts the idea of natural growth since יצא itself usually does not indicate growth. In fact, elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible יצא is never used for the developing of horns, and the verb used for it in the vision of Dan 8 is עלה (Dan 8:3, 8).[2] Semantically, it is then difficult to support the idea that in vs. 9a the horn *grows* "from one of them," rather it *comes forth.*

---

[1]מִצְּעִירָה can be analyzed as noun/sgf/ or as nominal adjective/sgf/. See below.

[2]In Akkadian, the verb *(w)aṣû(m)* is used in a few cases with horns as subject, but it describes the stative protruding or sticking out of horns and not their growth (*AHw*, 3:1477).

There is no completely satisfying answer to the question why the verb יָצָא is masculine in gender and the subject קֶרֶן־אַחַת is feminine. One likely explanation is that verbal inflections are sometimes omitted when the verb precedes the subject, especially when the subject designates animals or things. The author begins with the simplest form of the predicate, the uninflected verbal form /3sgm/. Daniel 8:9a may belong to those cases in which the predicate precedes a subject denoting an animal's part.[1] If this is the case, the masculine verb can be used instead of the feminine[2] and emendation is not

---

[1]For the verb /3sgm/ with a following singular feminine as subject, like in Dan 8:9, see Num 18:27; 1 Sam 13:22; 25:27; 1 Kgs 8:31; 22:36; 2 Kgs 3:18,26; Isa 2:17; 9:18; 14:11; 28:18; 47:11; Jer 8:16; 29:22; 51:46; Ezek 28:15; 32:35; Pss 57:7; 73:7; 105:30; Job 24:20; 42:2; Eccl 7:7. See König, 3:451-452 (§345); GKC, 465 (§145o); Mayer G. Slonim, "Masculine Predicates with Feminine Subjects in the Hebrew Bible," *JBL* 63 (1944): 297-302; Ronald J. Williams, *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline*, 2d ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 41 (§228); Waltke and O'Connor, 109 (§6.6c); Paul Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, SubBi, no. 14/I-II (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991), 554-555 (§150j); *BHRG*, 250 (§35[vi]); see also Alexander Sperber, *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew: A Presentation of Problems with Suggestions to Their Solutions* (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 267-268, for general examples of gender incongruence between subject and predicate; for BA see Karl Marti, *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der biblisch-aramäischen Sprache: Literatur, Paradigmen, Texte und Glossar*, 2d ed., Porta linguarum orientalium, no. 18 (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1911), 102-103 (§126a.b); Hans Bauer and Pontus Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1927; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1962), 333-334 (§99g); Stanislav Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik: mit Bibliographie, Chrestomathie und Glossar* (Leipzig: VEB, 1975), 420 (§7.3.2.3).

[2]The Masorah Parva recognizes three instances where the letter ה is omitted at the end of the suffix conjugation of the verb יצא so that in the MT יָצָא stands for יָצְאָה: Gen 19:23; Jer 48:45; and Dan 8:9 (Masorah magna 127). Christian D. Ginsburg, *The Massorah: Compiled from Manuscripts, Alphabetically and Lexically Arranged*, 4 vols. (London: by the author, 1880-1905; reprint, New York: Ktav, 1975), 1:731; 4:509 (§472); cf. idem, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* (London: Trinitarian Bible Society, 1897), 147. However, the Masoretic note סביר (abbreviation of סְבִירִין "supposed") "cites a possible emendation for a problem text, but warns that the emendation, which might be 'supposed' to be superior, should nevertheless be avoided. It insists that the text be left as it is, problems notwithstanding." Page H. Kelley, Daniel S. Mynatt, and Timothy G. Crawford, *The Masorah of the "Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia": Introduction and Annotated Glossary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 156. Another text where יָצָא stands apparently for יָצְאָה is Ps 73:7.

necessary.[1] Another hypothesis is that the masculine יָצָא is constructed *ad sensum*, that is, the masculine gender refers to the reality (a king) behind the symbol "horn."[2] The problem with this stylistic explanation is the difficulty it presents in explaining the immediate change to the feminine verb in vs. 9b. For why should the verb in vs. 9a be constructed *ad sensum* when the verb in vs. 9b is not?

---

[1]יָצְאָה for יָצָא is read by Moore, 197; Paul Riessler, *Das Buch Daniel*, Kurzgefasster wissenschaftlicher Commentar zu den Heiligen Schriften des Alten Testamentes: Section 3, vol. 3, pt. 2 (Vienna: von Mayer, 1902), 72; Friedrich Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament: nebst den dem Schrifttexte einverleibten Randnoten klassifiziert; ein Hilfsbuch für Lexikon und Grammatik, Exegese und Lektüre* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1920), 29; Hasslberger, 7-8 n. 21. Martin Buschhaus suggests reading יֹצִא (Hiphil imperfect) with the he-goat as subject instead of יָצָא: "he (the he-goat) caused to rise [?] a little horn" ("Traumpsychologisch-parapsychologische Bemerkungen zu drei Übersetzungsschwierigkeiten im Buch Daniel," *BN* 38-39 [1987]: 28). Problems with this suggestion are numerous: (1) The usual form is יוֹצִיא (Lev 16:27; Num 27:17; Deut 24:11; Isa 42:1, 3; Mic 7:9; Pss 25:15; 107:14, 28; Prov 29:11; 30:33 [3x]), whereas the short יֹצִא occurs only in Job 28:11; (2) it would be difficult to explain an imperfect form; (3) there is no indication that the horn should be taken as object (e.g., no object marker); and (4) the meaning of the Hiphil of יצא in relation to horn as object ("to cause to rise a horn" as Buschhaus translates) is rather strange.

[2]So Heinrich Andreas Christoph Hävernick, *Commentar über das Buch Daniel* (Hamburg: Perthes, 1832), 267; Ernst Friedrich Karl Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 10, *Daniel: Latine vertit et annotatione perpetua* (Leipzig: Barth, 1832), 258; Franz Joseph Valentin Dominik Maurer, *Commentarius grammaticus criticus in Vetus Testamentum*, vol. 2 (Lepizig: Volckmar, 1838), 142; Th. Kliefoth, *Das Buch Daniel: Uebersetzt und erklärt* (Schwerin: Sandmeyer, 1868), 251; Rudolph Kranichfeld, *Das Buch Daniel: Erklärt* (Berlin: Schlawitz, 1868), 292; Carl Friedrich Keil, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel*, trans. M. G. Easton, Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Clark, 1872), 294; Otto Zöckler, *The Book of the Prophet Daniel: Theologically and Homiletically Expounded*, ed. J. P. Lange, trans., enlarged, and ed. J. Strong, A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, vol. 13, pt. 2 (New York: Scribner, 1876), 175; J. Meinhold, "Das Buch Daniel," in *Die geschichtlichen Hagiographen (Chronik, Esra, Nehemia, Ruth, Esther) und das Buch Daniel*, by S. Oettli and J. Meinhold, Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes sowie zu den Apokryphen, A/8 (Nördlingen: Beck, 1889), 307; Fritz Salesia Tiefenthal, *Daniel explicatus* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1895), 266; H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of Daniel* (N.p.: Wartburg, 1949; reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1969), 344; Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," 5; Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 171.

מִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם and its antecedent

The preverbal field[1] is occupied by the phrase מִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם "from the one of them." The preposition מִן preceding the construction הָאַחַת מֵהֶם is a מִן of direction indicating that the semantic function of the whole phrase is dislocative or, more specific, separative.[2] In other words, מִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם is a description of change of location, referring to the place from which the horn went forth and separated from. Although the focus on the starting point of movement is already inherent in the יצא + מִן construction,[3] additional emphasis is laid on this point, for מִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם occupies the preverbal field.

This begs the question as to which entity the numeral and the pronominal suffix of הָאַחַת מֵהֶם refers. Two different antecedents have been proposed. Most commentators on Dan 8:9a take it for granted that הָאַחַת מֵהֶם refers back to אַרְבַּע "four [horns]" with

---

[1]By applying the *Stellungsfeldermodell* to Biblical Hebrew clauses, Gross distinguishes between a preverbal field (*Vorfeld*) and a main field (*Hauptfeld*). The preverbal field is that part of a clause that precedes the verb, whereas the main field is that part of a clause that follows the verbal predicate (Groß, *Satzteilfolge*, 44-45). For the *Stellungsfeldermodell* see also Diße, 180-201, especially 187-201 for BH clauses; *BHRG*, 336-343 (§46.1); Van der Merwe, "Towards a Better Understanding of Biblical Hebrew Word Order," *JNSL* 25, no. 1 (1999): 280-284.

[2]The semantic function of מִן is due to the verb יצא that governs this preposition. In other words, when the preposition מִן is used with the verb יצא it is a מִן of direction and indicates separation. Already Harald Schweizer described the meaning of יצא + מִן as "dynamic+monovalent; dislocative+separative+ingressive" (*Elischa in den Kriegen: Literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung von 2 Kön 3; 6,8–23; 6,24–7,20*, SANT, no. 37 [Munich: Kösel, 1974], 151). יצא + מִן occurs 369 times in BH (according to *DCH*, 4:254-265), which means that the מִן of direction occurs in more than a third of all the clauses with יצא (1,067 times according to *DCH*). The only exceptions to this semantic function of מִן in יצא-clauses are the rare use of a מִן of cause (because of, 2 Chr 21:15) and the compound prepositions אֶל־מִן (towards, Josh 15:3) and עַד־לְמִן (to, 2 Chr 26:15), whereas it has to be noted that in general compound prepositions could be considered as a group of more specialized prepositions, and as such are different from the individual prepositions they are built of.

[3]Cf. Horst Dieter Preuss, "יָצָא *yāṣā'*," *TDOT*, 6:228; Schweizer, *Elischa in den Kriegen*, 151.

the noun "horns" omitted by ellipsis, in vs. 8c.[1] However, it has also been suggested that הָאַחַת מֵהֶם refers back to the immediately preceding אַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמָיִם "four winds of heaven" in vs. 8c,[2] which is apparently a metaphor for the four directions of the compass.[3] The so-called syntactic argumentation for the second proposal is that the feminine numeral אַחַת refers to the feminine רוּחוֹת, and the masculine pronominal suffix הֶם- refers to the masculine plural הַשָּׁמָיִם.[4] The supposed syntactic parallelism of gender

---

[1]See, e.g., the brief notes in Hasslberger, 26 n. 29, 32 n. 85; and Bucher-Gillmayr, 63; no discussion, e.g., in Goldingay, *Daniel*, 197, 209; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 325, 331.

[2]Arthur E. Bloomfield suggests that the little horn "is to come out of one of the four winds of heaven," but does not provide any argument for that position (*The End of the Days: A Study of Daniel's Visions* [Minneapolis: Bethany, 1961], 165, cf. 112).

[3]The phrase "four winds of heaven" is found in Dan 8:8; 11:4; Zech 2:10; 6:5; and "four winds" is found in Jer 49:36; Ezek 37:9; 42:20; 1 Chr 9:24. These phrases are often considered as the four cardinal directions (see commentaries). On other terms for the compass points see M. O'Connor, "Cardinal-Direction Terms in Biblical Hebrew," in *Semitic Studies: In Honour of Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His Eighty-fifth Birthday, November 14th, 1991*, ed. A. S. Kaye (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 2:1140-1157. In Dan 8:8 and Zech 2:1, 10, the "four winds of heaven" and "four horns" occur in the same context, both phrases seemingly conveying the idea of totality (see Paul Heger, *The Three Biblical Altar Laws: Developments in the Sacrificial Cult in Practice and Theology; Political and Economic Background*, BZAW, no. 279 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999], 176-177, 226-228).

[4]William H. Shea, "Daniel and the Judgment, 1980," TMs (photocopy), 63-66, James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs; idem, *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation*, DARCOM, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982), 41-43 = *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation*, rev. ed., DARCOM, vol. 1 (Silver Spring: Biblical Research Institute, 1992), 50-52; followed by Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1981), 182-186; idem, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 387-392; Hardy, 272-273; Merling Alomía, "La identidad del cuerno pequeño en Daniel 8: Un examen de la hipótesis de Antíoco Epífanes," *Theologika* 3 (1988): 97-99; Doukhan, *Daniel: The Vision of the End*, 28 (also idem, *Secrets*, 125); Jiří Moskala, *Kniha Daniel: a makabejská teze* (The book of Daniel: and the Maccabean thesis) (Orlíčky: HOPE, 1995), 114-115; Angel M. Rodríguez, "Daniel 8, 9: The Sanctuary and Its Cleansing," Supplement to the *Adventist Review* 171, no. 35 (September [1], 1994), 3. Shea argues that "the gender of the first two elements in v 9 ('one/them') line up perfectly with the gender of the last two elements at the end of v 8 ('winds/heavens')." For him, this "is syntactic parallelism in which the gender of the elements in the second statement parallels the gender of the elements in the first, or preceding, statement. Thus the antecedent of 'them' in the phrase 'from them' (vs. 9), is neither 'winds' nor 'horns,' but 'heavens'" (*Selected Studies* [1982], 42 = [1992], 52; cf. "Daniel and the Judgment," 65). Hasel calls this construction "gender-matched

according to an A+B//A+B pattern (f.+m.//f.+m.) has been presented in a graphic alignment:[1]

		f.	m.
Dan 8:8	*leʾarbaʿ* to the four	*rûḥô t* winds of	*haššāmāyim* the heavens
Dan 8:9	*ûmin-* and from	*hāʾaḥat* the one	*mēhem* from them

The difficulty with "four (horns)" as antecedent for "one of them" supposedly is "that on the basis of syntax the numeral 'one,' a feminine form, does not line up with the masculine form of the numeral 'four,' nor does the masculine 'them' line up with the feminine 'horns' (understood)."[2]

Taxonomy of אֶחָד מִן-constructions. A taxonomy of the construction numeral/numeral word group with אַחַת/אֶחָד + preposition מִן + noun[3] (from here on short

---

parallelism along syntactical lines" ("The 'Little Horn'" [1986], 390), which, according to him, is known from similar reversed patterns of gender-matched synonymous parallelism in BH poetry identified by Wilfred G. E. Watson ("Gender-Matched Synonymous Parallelism in the OT," *JBL* 99 [1980]: 339 = *Traditional Techniques in Classical Hebrew Verse*, JSOTSup, no. 170 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994], 223-224; cf. *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques*, JSOTSup, no. 26 [Sheffield: JSOT, 1984], 124).

[1]Shea, *Selected Studies* (1982), 42 = (1992), 51; and Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 390.

[2]Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 388.

[3]"Noun" in this formula may refer to a noun (substantive), pronoun, numeral, or adjective (see *BHRG* 174 [§23]; cf. Joüon and Muraoka, 237-328 [§§86-101]). There are also some cases in which this construction occurs with another numeral than אַחַת/אֶחָד: 1 Chr 11:15 (שְׁלוֹשָׁה three); Lev 26:8 (חֲמִשָּׁה five); Exod 28:10 (שִׁשָּׁה six); 2 Sam 2:15 (שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר twelve); 23:13 (*ketib* שְׁלֹשִׁים thirty, *qere* שְׁלֹשָׁה three); Exod 24:1, 9 (שִׁבְעִים seventy); Lev 26:8 (מֵאָה hundred); 1 Sam 13:2 (שְׁלֹשֶׁת אֲלָפִים three thousand). In Exod 28:10; Lev 26:8; 1 Sam 13:2; 2 Sam 23:13 (*qere*) and 1 Chr 11:15 the numeral referring to the part is in the opposite gender to the noun referring to the whole. Syntactically, it may be said that the numeral is in the correct gender relation, because numerals for the numbers 3 to 10 combine with nouns in reversed gender. Joüon and Muraoka call this

"אֶחָד מִן") in BH sheds light on the form and referential meaning of הָאַחַת מֵהֶם in Dan 8:9a. There, the preposition מִן is a מִן partitive: the entity indicated by the numeral for "one" represents only part of the total of the entity indicated by the prepositional phrase with מִן.[1] For this reason, only אֶחָד מִן constructions with a מִן partitive are listed and examined.[2] In order to facilitate a comparison with Dan 8:9a the following taxonomy notes whether (1) the numeral or numeral word group refers to the part, (2) the phrase following the preposition מִן, which refers to the whole, is a noun or a pronoun, and (3) the numeral is the masculine אֶחָד or the feminine אַחַת. These different forms do not affect the semantic function of the אֶחָד מִן construction.[3] The list contains all seventy-

---

phenomenon the "law of dissymmetry" (323-324 [§100d], 526 [§526d]). The numeral for the number 12 agrees in gender with the noun referring to the whole (2 Sam 2:15), whereas the numbers 70 (Exod 24:1, 9) and 100 (Lev 26:8) do not change the form according to the gender of the noun they refer to.

[1]For the partitive notion of phrases with a cardinal numeral as first member see Takamitsu Muraoka, "'Three of Them' and 'the Three of Them' in Hebrew," *ANES* 38 (2001): 215-216.

[2]The construction numeral/numeral word group + מִן of location + noun (Exod 29:23; Num 6:19; Judg 13:2; 21:6; Josh 21:16; 1 Sam 1:1; Jer 3:14 [2x]; Ezek 33:2; Cant 4:9) is not considered here, though sometimes it functions semantically similar to the construction with a מִן partitive. Furthermore, a מִן partitive may also be preceded by substantives (e.g., 2 Kgs 10:3), or the preceding noun proportion of the part to the whole is unspecified (e.g., Exod 16:27; Dan 8:10).

[3]First, there appears to be no different function when the part is expressed by a numerical word group or when it is expressed by a numeral alone, e.g., compare נַעַר־אֶחָד מֵהַנְּעָרִים "one of the young men" (1 Sam 25:14) with אֶחָד מֵהַנְּעָרִים "one of the young men" (1 Sam 16:18; 26:22). Second, there is no difference in function when after the preposition the total of the entity is expressed by a noun phrase or when it is expressed by a pronoun, e.g., compare מֵאַחַת מֵהֵנָּה (Lev 4:2) with אַחַת מִכָּל־מִצְוֹת יְהוָה (Lev 4:13, 22; 5:17) and אַחַת מִמִּצְוֹת יְהוָה (Lev 4:27). An additional third difference in form is the nominal state of the numeral אֶחָד which may be in absolute or in construct. This feature will not be noted in the taxonomy. Again, there appears to be no difference between the construction אֶחָד מִן + noun (e.g., Lev 13:2; Num 36:3; Judg 21:8; 1 Sam 16:18) and the construction אַחַד מִן + noun (Gen 3:22; Lev 13:2; 1 Sam 9:3; 2 Sam 1:15; 1 Kgs 19:2; 22:13; 2 Kgs 6:12; 9:1; Ezek 18:10; Obad 11)—which has been referred to as extension of the construct state; see König, 3:240 (§278a); Joüon and Muraoka, 470 (§129m.o); *BHRG* 194 (§25.3/1[iii]). Of course, one cannot differentiate whether in the phrase אַחַת מִן the cardinal אַחַת is in the absolute or construct state. Yet, in Dan 8:9 the article before אַחַת indicates that the numeral functions nominally in the absolute state.

five cases of a numeral or numeral word group "אֶחָד/אַחַת + מִן partitive + noun" in BH:[1]

1. numeral אֶחָד + מִן + noun (61x)
   - 1.1 אֶחָד + מִן + non-pronoun[2] (41x)
     - with אֶחָד (31x): Lev 7:14; 13:2; 14:30; 25:48; Num 31:47; 36:3, 8; Judg 17:5,11; 21:8; 1 Sam 9:3; 16:18; 26:22; 2 Sam 1:15; 2:21; 9:11; 2 Kgs 3:11; 4:22;[3] 6:12; 7:13; 9:1; 17:27, 28; Neh 1:2; 11:1; Esth 7:9; Job 33:23; Isa 6:6; Ezek 19:3,5; 46:17.
     - with אַחַת (10x): Gen 2:21; Lev 4:13,22,27; 5:17, 22, 26; Deut 4:42; Josh 20:4; Job 9:3.
   - 1.2 אֶחָד + מִן + pronominal suffix (13x)
     - with אֶחָד (9x): Gen 3:22; Num 16:15; Deut 28:5, 55; 1 Sam 17:36; 1 Kgs 22:13; 2 Chr 28:12; Ps 106:11; Obad 11.
     - with אַחַת (4x): 2 Sam 24:12; Ps 34:21; Isa 34:16; Dan 8:9.
   - 1.3 אֶחָד + מִן + independent personal pronoun or demonstrative pronoun (7x)
     - with אֶחָד (1x): Ezek 18:10.
     - with אַחַת (6x): Lev 4:2; 5:4, 5, 13; 1 Chr 21:10; Ezek 16:5.

2. numeral word group with אֶחָד + מִן + noun (14x)
   - 2.1 numeral word group with אֶחָד + מִן + non-pronoun (10x)
     - with אֶחָד (8x): Num 31:28, 30; Josh 23:14; 1 Sam 25:14; 1 Kgs 8:56; 19:2; 20:35; Eccl 7:28.
     - with אַחַת (2x): 2 Kgs 4:1; Ezek 45:15.[4]
   - 2.2 numeral word group with אֶחָד + מִן + pronominal suffix (1x)
     - with אַחַת (1x): Josh 23:10.
   - 2.3 numeral word group with אֶחָד + numeral word group with אֶחָד + מִן + noun (3x)
     - with אֶחָד (3x): Num 34:18; Josh 4:2, 4.

---

[1]In BA the construction numeral חַד (referring to the part) + מִן + noun (referring to the whole) occurs two times: Dan 6:3 and 7:16. In both verses חַד is not determined and agrees in gender with the noun.

[2]A non-pronoun may be a noun, a noun with pronominal suffix, a relative clause, or a numeral.

[3]Note that in the immediately following וְאַחַת הָאֲתֹנוֹת (one of the donkeys) the preposition מִן seems to be elliptical, so that this may be another numeral + מִן + noun construction.

[4]Note that the designation for the whole, הַצֹּאן, is a common noun.

Syntactic features of מִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֵם. Specific attention is now paid to the question whether (1) the phrase under consideration refers to a previous construct word group, (2) whether there is gender agreement between the numeral (the part) and the noun after the preposition מִן (the whole), and (3) whether the numeral takes the article. For questions (1) and (3) all 75 occurrences of אֶחָד מִן constructions are taken into consideration. For question (2) 60 of the 61 אֶחָד מִן constructions in which אֶחָד occurs alone are considered; excluded are Num 36:8, as well as the 14 occurrences in which אֶחָד is part of a numeral word group.[1] The following observations and conclusions can be drawn from the taxonomy.

1. *Regarding the reference to a construct phrase.* The noun referring to the whole may be a construct phrase[2] or it may refer to one.[3] When the total of the entity is expressed by a pronoun (21 times) it is never found to refer to only one member of a construct phrase. There is no case in which the parts of the אֶחָד מִן construction refer to the different parts of a construct phrase. In other words, in no instance does the numeral refer to the construct of a construct phrase and what follows the preposition מִן to the absolute of the same construct phrase. Leaving the empirical evidence for a moment and

---

[1]The reasons for the exclusion of numeral word group constructions regarding question (2) is that the part and the whole in such a construction could refer to two different, though related entities which may have different genders, e.g., "one man (m.) of the family (f.)." The same is true of the מִן אֶחָד construction in Num 36:8 ("one of the family of the tribe of her father") in which the numeral refers to "one *of the sons* of the family of the tribe of her father." To be sure, in all 14 occurrences of numeral word group אֶחָד מִן constructions, the gender of the numeral and the gender of the whole is the same. This conforms to the results with the other 61 אֶחָד מִן constructions.

[2]For example, Judg 21:8; 2 Sam 9:11.

[3]The only case is Lev 4:2 where הֵנָּה- refers back to מִצְוֹת יְהוָה.

arguing grammatically, a simple insertion test shows that an alleged split in reference to the members of a construct phrase is not viable. In the insertion test the referring element is substituted by its antecedent. Applying this test to Dan 8:9a, and assuming the numeral and the pronoun each refer to one of the two parts of the preceding construct phrase in vs. 8c, מִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם would read "from one wind out of the four heavens," which would not make any sense. On the other hand, if both the numeral and the pronoun refer to the whole construct phrase, מִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם would read "from one wind of the heavens out of the four winds of the heavens," which would be perfectly intelligible. This would invalidate the argument that in the phrase הָאַחַת מֵהֶם in Dan 8:9a הָאַחַת refers to the first member רוּחוֹת and מֵהֶם refers to the second member הַשָּׁמָיִם of the construct phrase רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמָיִם "winds of heaven" in vs. 8c. Rather if הָאַחַת מֵהֶם refers to the "four winds of heaven"—or to the "four (horns)"—both the numeral and the pronominal suffix would refer to the four winds, to the whole construct phrase "four winds of heaven," or to the four horns respectively.

2. *Regarding gender in* מִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם. Out of a total of 60 cases of אֶחָד מִן, the numeral referring to the portion of the part and the word/phrase following מִן referring to the whole agree in gender 58 times.[1] Only in 2 Sam 24:12 and Dan 8:9 does the gender not agree. Therefore, as a rule, the gender of the part and the whole is expected to be the

[1]It should be noted that, first, the gender of the numeral is congruent with the gender of the noun on the syntactic level. For example, in Deut 4:42 and Josh 20:4 the noun הֶעָרִים is morphologically masculine, that is, it has a masculine ending, but syntactically it is feminine; therefore, the numeral is feminine (cf. *BHRG*, 175-178 [§24.2/1]). And second, when אֶחָד מִן is followed by a number (Num 31:28, 30, 47; Job 9:3; 33:23; Eccl 7:28; Neh 11:1), it has to be expected that אֶחָד agrees in gender with the gender of the elliptical noun. For example, in Num 31:28 and Neh 11:1 אֶחָד refers to an elliptical noun which is masculine as the feminine numerals מֵחֲמֵשׁ הַמֵּאוֹת "five hundred" and הָעֲשָׂרָה "ten" indicate.

same, which is natural because both refer to the same antecedent.[1] Regarding Dan 8:9a, two observations are important:

a. If the whole construction refers back to a masculine numeral 3-10 with an elliptical feminine noun, one would expect the numeral and the ePP of the construction to be feminine,[2] as is the case in the following text:

1 Chr 21:10 שָׁלוֹשׁ אֲנִי נֹטֶה עָלֶיךָ בְּחַר־לְךָ אַחַת מֵהֵנָּה

Three (m.) [things] I offer you, choose for yourself *one* (f.) *of them* (f.)

b. The construction אַחַת־מֵהֶם in 2 Sam 24:12, the only other place besides Dan 8:9a where the gender of the part and the whole do not agree, clearly refers back to the masculine numeral שָׁלֹשׁ (three) with an elliptical feminine noun.

2 Sam 24:12 שָׁלֹשׁ אָנֹכִי נוֹטֵל[3] עָלֶיךָ בְּחַר־לְךָ אַחַת־מֵהֶם

Three (m.) [things] I offer you, choose for yourself *one* (f.) *of them* (m.)

For Dan 8:9a both observations lead to the same conclusion: There is no syntactic reason

---

[1]Gender congruence is certainly the reason why in Dan 8:9a several manuscripts and editions of the Hebrew text read מהן instead of מהם. See Giovanni Bernardo De Rossi, *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti librorum: ex immensa manuscriptorum editorumque codicum congerie haustae et ad Samaritanum textum, ad vetustissimas versiones, ad accuratiores sacrae criticae fontes ac leges examinatae*, vols. 3-5, Bibliotheca Rossiana, vol. 7 (Parma: Bodoni, 1786-1798; reprint, Amsterdam: Philo, 1970), 143.

[2]The reason for this is the law of dissymmetry or rule of opposition in gender for the numbers 3-10. The numerals for the numbers 3-10 take the feminine ending if they occur with a masculine noun. If they occur with a feminine noun the numerals have no ending (as is usually the case with masculine nouns). Explanations for this phenomenon have been often suggested; cf. the literature in Richter, *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik*, 2:27 n. 107. Therefore, in אֶחָד מִן־הָעֲשָׂרָה "one out of ten" (Neh 11:1) the whole is referred to by the feminine numeral for the number 10 with an elliptical masculine noun "people" and the part is referred to by the masculine אֶחָד according to the elliptical masculine noun.

[3]The difference between נוֹטֵל "imposing" (2 Sam 24:12) and נֹטֶה "turning" (1 Chr 21:10) and the text-critical issues involved do not play a role in the present discussion.

why the feminine numeral אַחַת could not refer back to the elliptical feminine noun "horns" with the masculine numeral אַרְבַּע "four" (8:8c), because in both 1 Chr 21:10 and 2 Sam 24:12 the feminine numeral אַחַת does refer back to a masculine numeral with its elliptical feminine noun. Indeed, if in Dan 8:9 הָאַחַת־מֵהֶם refers to אַרְבַּע in vs. 8, both the construction אַחַת־מֵהֶם in Dan 8:9 and in 2 Sam 24:12, including their referents, are alike regarding syntax. In other words, the phrase הָאַחַת־מֵהֶם in Dan 8:9a could syntactically either refer to the "four (horns)" or to "the four winds of the heavens" (8:8c).

Nevertheless, the gender disagreement in אַחַת־מֵהֶם needs further explanation. The observation can be made that in BH the pronominal suffix /3plm/ can replace the feminine form.[1] A comparison between 2 Sam 24:12 and 1 Chr 21:10, two parallel texts

---

[1]The pronominal suffix /3plm/ is used instead of /3plf/ in Gen 14:11; 18:20 (cities are usually feminine); 26:15, 18; 32:16; 33:13; 41:23; Exod 1:21; 2:17 (צֹאנָם; the correct ePP/3plf/ is also used in this verse); 8:10 (cf. vss. 5, 7); 25:29; 26:1, 7; 28:9, 11, 14, 26, 27; 35:18; 36:14; 39:7, 18, 20; Lev 18:30; 20:8; 22:31; 24:6; 26:3; Num 10:2, 3; 15:39; 16:17, 18 (cf. Lev 10:1); 17:3; 27:7 (later in the same verse the correct ePP/3plf/ is used twice); 35:2, 3, 6; 36:4, 6; Deut 3:6; 27:2, 4, 5; 33:17; Josh 4:3, 8; 11:13; 13:28; 14:4; 17:4; 24:13; Judg 3:2; 10:4; 16:3 (3x); 19:24 (3x); 21:12, 22 (3x), 23; 1 Sam 6:7 (2x), 10 (בְּנֵיהֶם), 12; 9:20; 17:40; 31:12; 2 Sam 6:22; 20:3; 24:12; 1 Kgs 6:12, 32; 9:13; 22:17; 2 Kgs 16:17; 18:13, 16; 23:14; Isa 3:16; 34:17 (feminine verbs and feminine suffixes are used for the same referent in vss. 16-17); 36:1; 38:16 (both feminine and masculine suffix is used for the same referent); 48:3, 5, 6, 7; 60:8; Jer 10:2; 23:2, 3, 4; 27:2; 33:3, 24 (?); 43:9, 10; 44:2; Ezek 1:6-26 (several masculine and feminine suffixes for the same antecedent אַרְבַּע חַיּוֹת "four living beings" in Ezek 1:5); 5:6; 7:16; 11:17; 13:20; 16:16, 58; 18:19; 20:16, 34, 41; 23:46; 27:9; 32:9; 34:23, 24; 37:2, 4, 8; 42:4, 11; 43:11; 46:22, 23; Hos 2:20; Amos 4:1, 2 (2x) (the expected feminine suffix is also used once in 4:2); 9:14; Zech 5:9; 11:5; Pss 34:20; 78:5; 119:129, 152, 167; Prov 6:21 (2x); 7:3; 20:10, 12; Job 1:14, 15; 15:3; 39:3, 4, 14; 42:15 (3x); Cant 4:2; 5:3; 6:6; Ruth 1:19; 4:11; Lam 2:20; Eccl 2:6, 10; 10:9; 11:8; 12:1; Esth 1:17; Dan 1:5; 8:9; Ezra 10:3, 44(?); Neh 1:9; 11:30; 13:19; 1 Chr 6:49, 50; 8:8; 10:7; 23:22; 28:15; 2 Chr 4:7, 20; 8:2; 11:11, 12; 14:13; 29:3; 32:1; 35:25. See especially Wilhelm Diehl, *Das Pronomen personale suffixum 2. und 3. pers. plur. des Hebräischen in der alttestamentlichen Ueberlieferung* (Giessen: Ricker, 1895), 46-48; Robert Jeffrey Ratner, "Gender Problems in Biblical Hebrew" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew Union College, 1983), 36-44, 51-55; Gary A. Rendsburg, *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew*, AOS, vol. 72 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1990), 45-48. Cf. König, 3:5-6 (§14); GKC, 440 (§135o); Mayer G. Slonim, "The Substitution of the Masculine for the Feminine Hebrew Pronominal Suffixes to Express Reverence," *JQR* 29 (1938-1939): 397-403; idem, "The Deliberate Substitution of the Masculine for the Feminine Pronominal Suffixes in the Hebrew Bible," *JQR* 32 (1941-1942): 139-158; Joüon and Muraoka, 551 (§149b);

with אֶחָד מִן phrases, exemplifies this phenomenon:[1]

2 Sam 24:12 (ePP/3plm/) שָׁלֹשׁ אָנֹכִי נוֹטֵל עָלֶיךָ בְּחַר־לְךָ אַחַת־מֵהֶם

1 Chr 21:10 (ePP/3plf/) שָׁלוֹשׁ אֲנִי נֹטֶה עָלֶיךָ בְּחַר־לְךָ אַחַת מֵהֵנָּה

It should be noted that in Dan 1:5 an ePP/3plm/ in "at the end of *them*" (וּמִקְצָתָם) refers to the syntactically feminine "three years" (שָׁנִים שָׁלוֹשׁ). Here, the masculine rather than the feminine plural suffix is used. The same may be true in Dan 8:9a (similarly in BA in Dan 2:33, 41, 44; 7:8, 19). In fact, both the Hebrew and the Aramaic in the book of Daniel never use feminine plural pronominal suffixes.[2] Thus, the masculine pronominal suffix in

---

Waltke and O'Connor, 302 (§16.4b); and J. C. L. Gibson, *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar, Syntax: 4th Edition* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1994), 3 (§1 R. 3). Different explanations for this gender disagreement have been attempted, mainly in terms of the history of the language (see Ratner, 53-55). For Diehl, the feminine suffixes have been displaced by the masculine forms in the course of the transmission of the text (50-51). Ratner concludes that "*-m* progressively replaced *-n* in the function of third feminine plural pronominal suffix during the biblical period, culminating in the complete disappearance of *-n* in the language of the Chronicler" (55). Rendsburg explains the gender disagreement in Dan 8:9 as "gender neutralization" (48). "Gender neutralization arises from the *total* loss of feminine forms with the corresponding masculine forms becoming epicene" whereas "gender discord, on the other hand, concerns other parts of speech where the masculine forms *may* be used for their feminine counterparts, but there is no consistency and this development is not regular" (69). For Rendsburg this gender neutralization is "one of the main characteristics of spoken dialects throughout Semitic" (35) and thus the usages of the pronominal suffix /3plm/ instead of /3plf/ "are to be explained as colloquialisms that have penetrated the literary creations of Biblical writers" (49). Rendsburg's thesis may be strengthened by the observation that the pronominal suffix /3plf/ never occurs in the book of Daniel and therefore the gender displacement could be regarded as consistent and regular (see below). Regarding the use of the ePP/3plm/ instead of the ePP/3plf/ after verbal forms which end in וּ- (Gen 26:15, 18; 33:13; Exod 2:17; 39:18, 20; Num 17:3, 4; Josh 4:8 [2x]; Judg 3:2; 1 Sam 6:10; 18:27; Neh 13:19; 1 Chr 23:22; 2 Chr 35:25), they appear to be in order "to avoid a confusion with the personal ending וּן" (GKC, 162 [§60h]; cf. Mayer Lambert, *Traité de grammaire hébraïque* [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1946], 147-148 [§329]; Ratner, 52).

[1]Other examples of parallel clauses in which gender disagreement in the pronominal suffix is found are Gen 41:23 and Gen 41:6; 1 Kgs 22:17 and 2 Chr 18:16; Amos 9:14 and Jer 29:5, 28.

[2]Feminine pronominal suffixes occur 12 times in the Hebrew of the book of Daniel: as ePP/3sgf/ in Dan 1:1; 8:8; 9:14; 9:18; 11:6 (3x), 7, 10 (*ketib*), 17 and as ePP/2sgf/ in Dan 10:19; 11:2. On the other hand, masculine plural pronominal suffixes are used 46 times in the BH parts of Daniel (out of a total of 237 occurrences of a masculine pronominal suffix): ePP/3plm/ in Dan 1:2, 4 (3x), 5 (3x), 6, 7, 14 (2x), 15, 16 (3x), 17 (2x), 18 (2x), 19 (2x), 20 (2x); 2:3; 8:9a, 10c, 23; 9:7 (2x); 10:7;

מֵהֶם in Dan 8:9a can refer back to the feminine "winds of heaven"[1] or to the feminine

11:7, 8 (3x), 24, 27 (2x), 34 (2x), 35, 39; and ePP/2plm/ in Dan 1:10 (4x); 10:21. The same lack of feminine plural suffixes is found in the Aramaic of Daniel. All 39 feminine pronominal suffixes in the Aramaic section are in the singular: ePP/3sgf/ in Dan 2:11, 41, 42; 3:6, 15; 4:14 (2x), 22, 27, 29, 30; 5:5, 26; 6:18; 7:4 (2x), 5 (3x), 6 (3x), 7 (4x), 8, 11, 19 (3x), 20 (5x), 23 (2x), 24. Masculine plural pronominal suffixes are used 53 times in the Aramaic of Daniel (out of a total of 340 occurrences of a masculine pronominal suffix): ePP/3plm/ in Dan 2:11, 33 (2x), 35, 38, 41 (2x), 42 (2x),44; 3:8, 12, 14, 21 (4x), 23, 25, 27 (4x), 28 (3x), 29; 4:4; 5:2, 3, 23; 6:3 (3x), 25 (4x); 7:8, 12 (2x), 19, 21, 24; and ePP/2plm/ in Dan 2:5, 9, 47; 3:4, 14, 15 (2x), 31; 6:26. For the Aramaic section it should be noted that instead of an expected ePP/3plf/ always ePP/3plm/ is used (cf. Marti, *Kurzgefasste Grammatik*, 23 [§24b]; Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*, Porta linguarum orientalium: Neue Serie, no. 5 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983], 26 [§49]). Segert has found in Imperial Aramaic only one instance of an ePP/3plf/ and explains the masculine forms either as adaption of the feminine forms to the masculine or as incorrect differentiation of the letters ן and י, which in a specific period have been written alike (*Altaramäische Grammatik*, 174 [§5.1.3.4.8]). In Dan 2:33, 41, 44 six times the *ketib* מִנְּהוֹן "part of them" is written with ePP/3plm/ referring to the feminine "its feet" (רַגְלוֹהִי vs. 33), "the feet and the toes" (רַגְלַיָּא וְאֶצְבְּעָתָא vs. 41), respectively "the toes of the feet" (רַגְלַיָּא אֶצְבְּעָת vs. 42). The *qere* thus reads מִנְּהֵין with ePP/3plf/. Daniel 7:8 is especially interesting, as here a masculine plural pronominal suffix refers to the feminine plural "horns": The prepositional word group "among them" (*ketib* בֵּינֵיהוֹן) is written with ePP/3plm/ referring to the feminine "horns" (קַרְנַיָּא); the *qere* form therefore is בֵּינֵיהֵן with ePP/3plf/. Thus, it could be argued that in Dan 7:8 the Aramaic counterpart to מֵהֶם in Dan 8:9a could be found: Both refer to a plural feminine "horns" by the means of a masculine plural pronominal suffix. In Dan 7:19, the ePP/3plm/ in "from all of them" (*ketib* כָּלְּהוֹן) refers to the feminine plural "the animals" (חֵיוָתָא vs. 17); therefore *qere* כָּלְּהֵין with ePP/3plf/. For the feminine gender of "foot" and "horn" in Aramaic see Rosenthal, 29 (§59); for the masculine form instead of a ePP/3sgf/ in Dan 7:8 and 19 see ibid., 26 (§49). The use of independent personal pronouns in Daniel is similar. In Dan 11:14 the iPP/3plm/ is used in adjectival relationship with the feminine עֵת "time" with plural *îm*-ending: וּבָעִתִּים הָהֵם "and in those times" (on the plural of עֵת see Dieter Michel, *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax*, pt. 1, *Sprachwissenschaftliche Methodik, Genus und Numerus des Nomens* [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1977], 58). In Dan 2:34 in the Aramaic section, the iPP /3plm/ הִמּוֹן is used to refer to the feminine "feet," except if it refers here, in parallel to 2:35, also to the different metals of the statue that are mentioned in 2:32-33. An iPP/3plf/ occurs only once in Daniel (אִנִּין in 7:17). A note of caution needs to be added. These observations cannot function as argument from silence—namely, that the writer by intention never used plural feminine pronominal suffixes—in order to explain why in Dan 8:9a the feminine plural suffix could not be used. However, the usage of pronominal suffixes in the Hebrew and Aramaic parts of Daniel certainly indicates that in Dan 8:9a the masculine plural pronominal suffix indeed could have been written instead of the feminine plural form.

[1]The construct phrase רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמָיִם is feminine; see the masculine אַרְבַּע which takes the reversed gender to the accompanying construct phrase, and also Zech 6:5 where רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם governs a feminine participle. Indeed, as רוּחוֹת is the governing part in the construct relationship, it is clear that elements referring to the construct phrase in fact refer to רוּחוֹת and, if necessary, agree in gender and number with the gender and number of רוּחוֹת.

"horns."[1] It is therefore not necessary to suggest emendation[2] or that the masculine gender of מֵהֶם, as well as other masculine forms in Dan 8:9, 11, is constructed *ad sensum* because the feminine horn would symbolically refer to the masculine realities of a king or kingdom.[3]

3. *Regarding the article in* הָאַחַת. Out of a total of seventy-five cases of אַחַת/אֶחָד + מִן + X, the numeral occurs seventy-three times without the article. This may be due to the fact that אֶחָד refers to an unspecified "one" out of a larger whole or because of the inherent determinateness of the numeral אֶחָד.[4] Only in Lev 14:30 and Dan 8:9a is the numeral in a אַחַת/אֶחָד + מִן construction found with the article.

Normally, numerals are determined by the article when they refer back to a number or list already mentioned.[5] The article then indicates that a specific referent has been mentioned before. For example, in Lev 14:30, הָאֶחָד מִן־הַתֹּרִים "the one of the turtledoves" refers to one of the two turtledoves mentioned in vs. 22.

The function of the article in הָאַחַת in Dan 8:9a can therefore be explained

---

[1]Note that in Deut 33:17 the ePP/3plm/ is used to refer back to the feminine קַרְנָיו "his horns."

[2]מֵהֵן is read for מֵהֶם by Moore, 197; Riessler, *Daniel* (1902), 72; Hasslberger, 7 n. 20.

[3]A construction *ad sensum* is supposed by Rosenmüller, 258; Hävernick, 267; Caesar von Lengerke, *Das Buch Daniel* (Königsberg: Bornträger, 1835), 375; Keil, 294; Meinhold, "Daniel," 307; Tiefenthal, 266; Leupold, 344.

[4]See Joüon and Muraoka, 528 (§142l); Waltke and O'Connor, 283 (§15.2.6a).

[5]GKC, 434 (§134k). Such anaphoric use of the article is in accordance with the general use of the article with particular referential function based on previous mention of the thing or person; see Waltke and O'Connor, 242 (§13.5.1d).

accordingly.[1] The numeral with the article refers to one specific horn or one specific wind of heaven out of the four horns or the four winds of heaven mentioned in vs. 8c[2]; compare the similar function of the article+numeral in 8:3 (הָאַחַת) where it refers to a specific horn in contrast to another horn.[3] An explanation why the narrator of the vision in vs. 9a refers to a specific one out of the four, and therefore employs the article, may be that the narrator was shown from which horn or wind of heaven this one horn went forth. In any case, the anaphoric use of the article creates coherence within the text: It links vs. 9a with vs. 8c. On the other hand, the article in front of a numeral sometimes indicates an ordinal function of אֶחָד, so that וּמִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם could be translated as "and from the first of them," though it is doubtful whether such a function is intended here.[4]

---

[1]It is not necessary to read אַחַת for הָאַחַת (so Arnold B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel: Textkritisches, Sprachliches und Sachliches*, vol. 7, *Hohes Lied, Ruth, Klagelieder, Koheleth, Esther, Daniel, Esra, Nehemia, Könige, Chronik, Nachträge und Gesamtregister* [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1914; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1968], 146).

[2]Hasslberger classifies the article of הָאַחַת as occurring with a word whose first mention was indefinite—(אַרְבַּע (קְרָנוֹת in vs. 8c—and which in following occurrences receives definiteness by the article. Hasslberger also provides all the references of articles in Dan 8 that belong to this category of article usage (26 n. 29).

[3]For the function of הָאֶחָד or הָאַחַת to refer to a specific one out of a group see also Gen 4:19; 10:25; 42:13, 27, 32, 33; 44:28, etc.

[4]For the ordinal function of אחד see Andrew E. Steinmann, "אחד as an Ordinal Number and the Meaning of Genesis 1:5," *JETS* 45 (2002): 577-584; cf. GKC, 434 (§134k), R. J. Williams, 21 (§98); Waltke and O'Connor, 274 (§15.2.1b). Steinmann's investigation of the grammatical usage confirms that אחד is used as an ordinal number for countable items or in numbering units of time. Genesis 2:11 is an example for אחד as an ordinal number for countable items. The text mentions the first of four, where after mentioning that there are four rivers (vs. 10) the name of the first (הָאֶחָד) is given. However, the ordinals in vss. 13 and 14 leave no doubt that הָאֶחָד has ordinal function, whereas the context of Dan 8:9 does not provide such a clear indication. In numbering units of time אחד is used four times with the meaning "first" in the book of Daniel (1:21; 9:1, 2; 11:1), always in conjunction with שָׁנָה "year" (שְׁנַת אַחַת "first year"). However, when אחד is used with another noun, its meaning is "one" (Dan 8:3 [2x], 9, 13 [2x]; 9:27; 10:5, 13 [2x], 21; 11:20, 27; 12:5 [2x]).

Before concluding, one should note that an investigation of the construction "numerals + מִן" with numerals other than "one" does not yield any further data that need to be taken into consideration here.[1]

Conclusion. The syntactic considerations lead to the preliminary conclusion that there are two possible referents of the phrase הָאַחַת מֵהֶם in Dan 8:9a. It can refer to the "four (horns)" or to the "four winds of heaven" (vs. 8c), both of which are feminine. The final question then is, To which entity does the phrase מִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם refer?

Two arguments used previously should not be employed here. One argument is that רוּחוֹת "winds" has a double gender and both הָאַחַת and מֵהֶם in vs. 9 refer to it.[2] This argumentation appears to be flawed for three reasons. First, in Dan 8:8c רוּחוֹת "winds" is clearly marked as feminine by its appositional relationship with the numeral אַרְבַּע "four" that in this form accompanies feminine nouns (cf. Dan 11:4). One cannot advert to other occurrences, where רוּחַ is masculine,[3] in order to infer masculine gender to רוּחוֹת in Dan

---

[1]Such a construction occurs with שְׁנַיִם "two" (Gen 6:19, 20; 7:15; Lev 20:18; Jer 3:14; Eccl 4:9); שָׁלֹשׁ "three" (Ezek 40:10 [2x], 21 [2x]; 1 Chr 11:15); חֲמִשָּׁה "five" (2 Kgs 7:13; 2 Chr 4:6 [2x], 8 [2x]); חָמֵשׁ "five" (1 Kgs 7:49 [2x]; 2 Chr 4:7 [2x]); שֵׁשׁ "six" (Exod 28:10); תֵּשַׁע "nine" (Josh 21:16); שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר "twelve" (2 Sam 2:15). However, in these occurrences the preposition מִן governs a nominal phrase and not a pronominal element. Therefore these constructions are not really comparable with the construction in Dan 8:9a. Also, in none of these cases does the construction refer to a construct phrase.

[2]So Margit Linnéa Süring, *The Horn Motif: In the Hebrew Bible and Related Ancient Near Eastern Literature and Iconography*, AUSDDS, no. 4 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1980), 410-411; and Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 391.

[3]For a discussion of the gender of רוּחַ, see Karl Albrecht ("Das Geschlecht der hebräischen Hauptwörter: (Fortsetzung)," *ZAW* 16 [1896], 42-44), and especially the balanced and meticulous study by Wolfram von Soden ("Der Genuswechsel bei *rûaḥ* und das grammatische Geschlecht in den semitischen Sprachen," *ZAH* 5 [1992]: 57-63). Von Soden correctly observes that the grammatical gender of רוּחַ is identifiable in only about a third of its ca. 378 occurrences. He argues that the gender of רוּחַ is to some degree dependent upon its semantic usage. With the meaning "wind" approximately

8:8 and thereby explain the use of the anaphoric מֵהֶם in vs.9a. The immediate syntactic relationship of רוּחוֹת, namely with the numeral אַרְבַּע, has priority. Further, the word רוּחַ as a masculine noun is only attested in the singular, but whenever the plural form is used, it is the feminine רוּחוֹת (13x in BH).[1] Second, in the Hebrew parts of Daniel רוּחַ is always feminine.[2] Third, an *intentional* difference in gender between the numeral and the ePP in הָאַחַת מֵהֶם should not be assumed, for it is unlikely that the author would refer to the same word once with a feminine and once with a masculine pro-element, especially

---

half of the occurrences of רוּחַ show masculine grammatical gender (ca. 14 times), while with the meaning "breath" (6x fem.; 3x m.; 1x equivocal), "spirit" (32x fem.; 5x m.; 5x equivocal), and "spirit of God" (37x fem.; 4x m.; 5x equivocal) it is predominantly considered to be feminine (*pace* Dieter Michel who could not find a reason for the masculine gender shift of רוּחַ [1:76]). Erasmus Gaß explains the different gender of theological רוּחַ by the lexical and syntactic context in which it is used ("Genus und Semantik am Beispiel von 'theologischem' *rūḥ*," *BN* 109 [2001]: 45-55). Cf. Markus Zehnder, "Variation in Grammatical Gender in Biblical Hebrew: A Study on the Variable Gender Agreements of דֶּרֶךְ, 'Way,'" *JSS* 49 (2004): 21-45.

[1]Num 16:22; 27:16; Jer 49:36; Ezek 37:9; 42:20; Zech 2:10; 6:5; Ps 104:4; Prov 16:2; Dan 8:8; 11:4; 1 Chr 9:24.

[2]In the Hebrew of Daniel, רוּחַ occurs four times and is syntactically feminine (in 2:1, 3 with the meaning "spirit" and feminine verb; in 8:8 and 11:4 with the meaning "wind" in apposition to the numeral אַרְבַּע "four" which accompanies a feminine noun). Note that in 8:8 and 11:4 the same phrase לְאַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמָיִם "toward the four winds of heaven" occurs (elsewhere in the OT in Ezek 37:9; 42:20; Zech 2:10; 6:5; 1 Chr 9:24). In the Aramaic part of Daniel רוּחַ occurs eleven times. Its gender is usually feminine (five times clearly identified by the syntax: 5:12, 20; 6:4; 7:2, 15; five times without such clear syntactic identification: "a spirit of the (holy) gods" in 4:5, 6, 15; 5:11, 14). Only once does its gender appear to be masculine (2:35), but it could be argued that here the verb precedes the subject and therefore the masculine form as *genus potius* is used; see Bauer and Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, 333-334 (§99g); cf. Marti, *Kurzgefasste Grammatik*, 102-103 (§126a.b); Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, 331 (§6.3.1.3.7), 420 (§7.3.2.3). Von Soden regards the gender of רוּחַ in such cases in BH as *anceps* (equivocal) ("Genuswechsel," 58). Note especially that the Aramaic אַרְבַּע רוּחֵי שְׁמַיָּא "the four winds of heaven" in Dan 7:2 is the equivalent to the Hebrew אַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמָיִם in 8:8 and that in 7:2 it is feminine because as subject of the clause it has a feminine plural participle as predicate. This is another reason to regard רוּחוֹת in 8:8 as feminine.

when both elements occur together in a אֶחָד מִן construction.[1]

Another argument put forward previously is that a word which is unexpressed but only alluded to through ellipsis, like "horns" in Dan 8:8, can hardly function as antecedent.[2] However, there seems to be no reason why an elliptical noun cannot function as antecedent of "one of them." In vs. 8c the noun קְרָנוֹת "horns," which is omitted by ellipsis, can be inferred from the context of the sentence, namely from the meaning of vs. 8c in relation to vs. 8b—four came up in the place of the broken large horn—and also from analogy with קֶרֶן חָזוּת in vs. 5. If such an elliptical noun is understood in the text, one should be able to refer to it, particularly since it functions as subject in vs. 8c.[3]

Excursus: The antecedent of "one of them" (Dan 8:9a) from a textual and literary point of view. Based on the analysis above it has become clear that the antecedent to הָאַחַת מֵהֶם has to be decided on other than syntactic considerations. Yet, even on the textual and on the literary level the phrase remains somewhat ambiguous. There are textual and literary arguments for both the "four (horns)" and the "four winds of heaven" as antecedent to הָאַחַת מֵהֶם. The following considerations would imply that the phrase refers to one of the "four (horns)" (ordered from textual to literary character, not according to importance):

---

[1]Cf. the similar argument in "Daniel," *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary*, ed. F. D. Nichol (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1953-1957), 5:841.

[2]So Süring, *The Horn Motif*, 411; and Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 391, 392 n. 35.

[3]In order to provide conclusive statements further investigation is needed on the function of ellipses in BH and on the question whether elements can be anaphoric to ellipses.

1. The theme of vs. 8c is the "four (horns)" which came up in place of the large horn. It seems natural that the theme of vs. 8c would be taken up in the phrase "from one of them" in the next clause that introduces the new topic "one horn."

2. In the vision of Dan 8 the form הָאַחַת is used in vs. 3, which is the only other occurrence of the numeral הָאַחַת with an article in the book of Daniel, and refers to one of the two horns of the ram. In vs. 9a, immediately after the phrase וּמִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם, the numeral אַחַת is again used in a word group with קֶרֶן (קֶרֶן־אַחַת in vs. 9a). Thus, אַחַת is used twice in reference to a horn (8:3, 9). This usage of אַחַת in the vision report of Dan 8[1] may indicate that הָאַחַת מֵהֶם refers to one of the four horns, although it is not clear whether this use of אַחַת is not incidental.

3. It is a peculiar feature of Dan 8:9-11 that the verbal gender of words referring to the horn are both feminine (vss. 9-10) and masculine (vs. 11). One may speculate that the gender incongruence in הָאַחַת מֵהֶם could be the first instance where with regard to horn or horns both genders are used, and therefore the phrase should be understood as referring to one of the four horns.

The following considerations would imply that הָאַחַת מֵהֶם refers to one of the "four winds of heaven":

1. The phrase "the four winds of heaven" is the nearest possible antecedent to "one of them," and so "one of them" should refer to it.[2]

---

[1]The masculine אֶחָד occurs three times in the vision report referring once to the ram (8:3) and twice to one of the holy ones (8:13a; 8:13b).

[2]Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 392 n. 35.

2. Another argument concerns the flow of the two activities of movement expressed in vs. 9. In vs. 9b, the horn grows toward three geographical entities of which two are cardinal directions, "the south" and "the east." This second activity of the horn suggests that the first activity may also be on the geographical plane so that the horn comes out from one of the four points of the compass ("winds of heaven") and grows toward other (compass) directions.

3. The order of gender in הָאַחַת מֵהֶם may be intentional. On the one hand, it has been suggested that the feminine-masculine order is reminiscent of the feminine-masculine order in the previous רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמָיִם and could thus indicate that הָאַחַת מֵהֶם refers to רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמָיִם.[1] Even alliteration of grammatical morphemes may be involved, which results in the parallel endings ת - ם // ת - ם.[2] However, such a literary argument, which is essentially based on choice of expression, is somewhat weakened since for the book of Daniel the construction הָאַחַת מֵהֶם with its feminine-masculine gender seems to be the expected way to refer back to the four horns or the four winds. On the other hand, the feminine-masculine order in הָאַחַת מֵהֶם could be intentionally reversed in the masculine-feminine order of the following יָצָא קֶרֶן־אַחַת, creating a chiastic order of gender (f. - m. // m. - f.) that emphasizes the literary device of gender shift and gender

[1]This possible literary feature should not be confused with gender-matched (synonymous) parallelism. The latter is a poetic device which "consists chiefly of the use of nouns of matching gender within a colon" (Watson, "Gender-Matched Synonymous Parallelism in the OT," 322), though it is also used in prose passages (ibid., 341). Dan 8:8c and 8:9a, however, are not in parallelism, neither syntactically nor semantically. Furthermore, the two nouns in the construct chain of vs. 8c ("winds of heaven") are not exchanged by two other nouns in vs. 9a but rather, if it is the case, referred back to by a numeral and a pronominal suffix.

[2]See Doukhan, *Secrets*, 125.

matching in this passage and may imply that הָאַחַת מֵהֶם refers to a horn. Hence, the literary argument of gender order is ambiguous and does not help to identify the referent of "one of them."

4. The structure of the whole vision in Dan 8 suggests that the horn comes from one of the winds of heaven.[1] To anticipate the conclusion of the structural analysis of the vision in Dan 8, the vision consists of three main parts which show the same structural pattern of introduction and movement, resulting in absolute power and self-magnification, and downfall: the description of the ram (vss. 3-4), the description of the goat (vss. 5-8), and the description of the horn (vss. 9-11). In each of the initial statements of these parts, the main actor—the ram, the goat, and the horn—is introduced in relation to a geographical term or location and its first activity is described as a geographical movement (see table 3). For the sake of consistency, "out of one of them" should refer to one of the compass points expressed by "the four winds of heaven."[2]

---

[1]For a discussion of the structure and a more detailed table of the structure of Dan 8 see "The Structure of Dan 8:9-14" in chapter 3.

[2]In his structural analysis, Koch places the horn mentioned in vs. 9a on the same level as the horns mentioned in vss. 3, 5, 8 and calls them *Teilgegenstand* (subtopic), whereas the ram (vs. 3), the he-goat (vs. 5) and the broken great horn (vs. 8b) he regards as the *Hauptgegenstand* (main topic). Koch, "Visionsbericht," chart inserted after p. 432. According to Koch's structure "out of one of them" then refers to the "four (horns)" in vs. 8c. However, it is rather difficult to see why the broken great horn (vs. 8b) should be considered as the main topic of vss. 8-12. The great horn does not even function once as an actant in these verses. On the contrary, the horn introduced in vs. 9a is the major actant in vss. 9-12 and its activities are referred back to by the question in vs. 13. This horn has to be regarded as the *Hauptgegenstand* (main topic) and, therefore, should be placed on the same structural level as the ram and the he-goat, but not on the same level as the four horns.

Table 3. Introduction of the Main Actors of the Vision in Daniel 8

Main Actor	Ram (8:3-4)	Goat (8:5-8)	Horn (8:9-11)
Location	standing (עמד) before (לִפְנֵי) the canal (vs. 3)	coming (בוא) from (מִן) the west (vs. 5)	came forth (יצא) from (מִן) one of them from (מִן) smallness (vs. 9a)
Movement	butting westward (ה-) northward (ה-) southward (ה-) (vs. 4)	came up to (עַד) the ram which I had seen standing before the canal (vs. 6)	grew toward (אֶל) the south toward (אֶל) the east toward (אֶל) the beauty (vs. 9b)

5. The intertextual relation of Dan 8 and Dan 7 (see below) also favors the horn coming forth from one of the winds of heaven. The parallel order of the protagonists in the two visions does not allow for a sequential connection between the four horns in 8:8c and the horn in 8:9a:[1]

Daniel 7	**Daniel 8**
lion (vs. 4)	—
bear (vs. 5)	ram with two horns (vs. 3)
leopard (vs. 6)	he-goat with large horn (vs. 5)
fourth beast (vs. 7)	—
a horn (vs. 8)	a horn (vs. 9)

6. The phrase "the four winds of heaven" in Dan 8:8c may allude to "the four winds of heaven" in 7:2.[2] The Hebrew (אַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמָיִם) is the exact equivalent of

[1]For a detailed explanation of this point see the analysis of the intertextual relationship between Dan 8 and Dan 7 in chapter 4 below.

[2]Doukhan proposes, "In mentioning that the horn comes from one of the winds, he [Daniel] is implying that it originates in one of the beasts" (*Secrets*, 125). Harald Sahlin also suggests a relation

the Aramaic (אַרְבַּע רוּחֵי שְׁמַיָּא), with the exception of the gender of רוּחַ being feminine in 8:8c but masculine in 7:2. The purpose of such an allusion could be to imply that the horn comes from the four winds of heaven, as the beasts in Dan 7 came from the sea stirred up by the four winds of heaven (7:2-3).

7. Finally, from a zoological viewpoint a horn does not grow out of another horn. Instead, horns are attached individually to the frontal bones of a mammal's skull.[1] So, the

---

between "the four winds of heaven" in Dan 8:8 and 7:2; however, with the unconvincing symbolic interpretation of the four winds as four beings, of which two should be the two holy ones in 8:13 ("Antiochus IV. Epiphanes und Judas Mackabäus: Einige Gesichtspunkte zum Verständnisse des Danielbuches," *ST* 23 [1969]: 52-53).

[1]Both goats and sheep, to which the he-goat and the ram from Dan 8 would belong, are mammal species that belong to the family of *Bovidae*, that is, the horned ungulates (cattle, bison, hartebeests, duikers, reedbucks, waterbucks, impalas, antelopes, gazelles, chamois, sheep, goats, and other related species), under the parent order of *Artiodactyla*, that is, the even-toed ungulates. For classifications of the bovids see G. B. Corbet and J. E. Hill, *A World List of Mammalian Species*, 2d ed. (London: British Museum, 1986), 137-143; Peter Grubb, "Order Artiodactyla," in *Mammal Species of the World: A Taxonomic and Geographic Reference*, 2d ed., ed. by D. E. Wilson and D. M. Reeder (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 393-414 (online: www.nmnh.si.edu/msw). All adult male bovids grow horns, as well as females of most species. For goats, the horns of male goats are stouter, long and heavier, e.g., the male wild goat, found in the mountains from Asia Minor to Afghanistan and Pakistan and in some other places, has horns about 80 to 130 cm long, while the horns of the female wild goat grow up to 30 cm. The Persian male goat grows up to 90 kg, the female only up to 45 kg. Could this offer a zoological reason why the goat in Dan 8 is specifically designated to be a he-goat in order to represent more strength and power? The horns of bovids "are pairs of frontal bone processes which, unlike deer antlers, are not shed annually but remain throughout life" (Fritz Rudolf Walther, "Bovids: Introduction," in *Grzimek's Encyclopedia of Mammals* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990], 5:290). They are composed of a bony core, attached to the frontal bones of the skull, and are covered with a hard sheath of horny material, keratin. For a zoological understanding of Dan 8:8-9 it is important that the "horn bones appear as independent bones in the deeper layers of skin (mesoderm) in the forehead" (ibid.). Thus, the horns of these animals are "simple unbranched structures" (*Encyclopedia Britannica: Micropædia*, 15th ed., s.v. "horn"). In contrast, the antlers of deer are not "true" horns. They are entirely composed of bone and shed yearly. Such a distinction between horns and antlers is not only a modern classification but was already known in the ancient world, e.g., to Aristotle in the 4th cent. B.C.E. (Anthony B. Bubenik, "Epigenetical, Morphobiological, Physiological, and Behavioral Aspects of Evolution of Horns, Pronghorns, and Antlers," in *Horns, Pronghorns, and Antlers: Evolution, Morphology, Physiology, and Social Significance*, ed. G. A. Bubenik and A. B. Bubenik [New York: Springer, 1990], 3). On bovids, especially goats, see *Grzimek's Encyclopedia of Mammals* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990), 5:288-567, esp. 510-560 (on horns: 290-295); and Ronald M. Nowak, *Walker's Mammals of the World*, 6th

horn's activity of coming forth "from one of them" (Dan 8:9a) more logically refers better to the movement of coming from one of the four winds that describe the four points of the compass, rather than growing out of one of the four horns of the goat. Note again that the verb יצא in vs. 9a is often used in the Hebrew Bible to describe the activity of movement in reference to location, whereas it is not used to describe the growing of a horn, an activity usually designated by עלה (cf. Dan 8:3, 8).

One may wonder whether it is really wise to base an argument concerning any aspect of this vision on the zoological reality from which the symbolic language of the vision is chosen. After all, a symbolic vision that includes animals should not be expected to concur with zoological reality. Though the language used in vss. 3-8 generally remains within the limits of the possible, there are already signs here indicating that the vision transcends the zoological reality. The goat does not touch the ground and has first one horn and later four horns, while normally all goats move on the ground and carry two horns.[1] Then the language used for the description of the horn's activities in vss. 9-11 becomes highly symbolic and is in itself detached from reality. In the end, zoological concerns should probably not play a role in interpreting the vision of Dan 8.

This rather lengthy discussion on the antecedent of הָאַחַת מֵהֶם "one of them" in Dan 8:9a shows, how at times, the different levels of analysis are interrelated. Syntactic arguments alone have been found insufficiently convincing to decide on the antecedent. Contextual, literary, and structural considerations have to be added to illuminate this

---

ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 2:1135-1238, esp. 1220-1228.

[1]Only the four-horned antelope (*Tetracerus*) is unique among bovids in having four horns.

syntactic function of הָאַחַת מֵהֶם. Although some ambiguity still remains, it seems clear that on the whole the arguments for "the four winds of heaven" as referent outweigh the arguments for the "four (horns)" as referent. It is not the number of arguments, however, that is decisive. Rather it is the literary-structural arguments in particular that are the determining factors for the referential relation between הָאַחַת מֵהֶם and the four winds of heaven. Hence, Dan 8:9a presents a case of referential meaning that can be decided only on higher levels of analysis. (End of excursus.)

קֶרֶן־אַחַת

Another grammatical problem in vs. 9a is the semantic function of the numeral in the phrase קֶרֶן־אַחַת.[1] The numeral can function as a substitute for the indefinite article—"a horn" or "a certain/specific horn"—or it can function as the cardinal "one"—"one horn." In favor of indetermination it can be said that the phrase אַיִל אֶחָד in Dan 8:3, which also introduces a new topic, is indeterminate: "a ram."[2] For the cardinal "one" it can be mentioned that in the immediate context, in which three numerals—אַרְבַּע "four" (twice in vs. 8c) and אַחַת "one" (vs. 9a)—all function as cardinals, קֶרֶן־אַחַת seems

[1]Samuel Krauss emends to יָצָא קֶרֶן־אַחוֹתָם הַצְּעִירָה "a small horn of their sisters [referring to the four horns] grew up" ("Some Remarks on Daniel 8.5 ff.," *HUCA* 15 [1940]: 306-307).

[2]See Meinhold, "Daniel," 307; Georg Behrmann, *Das Buch Daniel übersetzt und erklärt*, HKAT, vol. 3/3, 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1894), 53; Hartman and Di Lella, 225. For the indeterminate function of אֶחָד see GKC, 401 (§125b), and Joüon and Muraoka, 513 (§137u), who quote Dan 8:3 as an example, but do not mention Dan 8:9. However, *DCH* classifies אֶחָד in Dan 8:3 both as an adjective of quantity ("one, single") and as a particularizing adjective ("a certain, a") (1:180-181). To argue that the indeterminate function of אַחַת is an Aramaism and should therefore be preferred (so Goldingay, *Daniel*, 197) overlooks the fact that in the Aramaic of the book of Daniel the corresponding numeral חַד can indicate also the specific number "one" (6:3; 7:16).

to be used in contrast to the numeral "four."[1] Both alternatives are possible.

מִצְּעִירָה

The expression מִצְּעִירָה is best analyzed as preposition מִן with the noun/sgf/ צְעִירָה "smallness/littleness"[2] although it has also been understood as preposition מִן with a substantivized adjective/sgf/ צְעִירָה from צָעִיר "small, little"[3] Both options result in the same meaning "from smallness/littleness." This refers to the small beginnings of the horn,[4] in comparison to the conspicuously large horn (8:5, 8) and to the four notable ones before (8:8). In this sense, the expression מִצְּעִירָה "contrasts very well and above all with the verbs in 9b and 10a, especially with the intensification יֶתֶר at תִּגְדַּל in 9b."[5]

Because צְעִירָה, either as a noun or an adjective in substantive use, is rarely

---

[1]See Keil, 295; Tiefenthal, 266; Leupold, 344 ("one single horn"); Hasslberger, 53.

[2]See *HALOT*, 3:1041. Dieter Michel cites צְעִירָה under abstract nouns that are formed by the ending ־ָה (70). Cf. Magne Sæbø, "צָעִיר *ṣāʿîr*," *TDOT*, 12:427. For a feminine noun צְעִירָה "smallness, youth" see Gen 43:33.

[3]See BDB, 859. The preposition has also been regarded as מִן comparative with substantive or adjective צְעִירָה, which then can designate either the smallness ("a horn less than small/smallness"; so Ch. B. Michaelis [cited in von Lengerke, 375]; König, 3:477 [§352z]; cf. 2:196 [§99.1]; 3:148 [§244f]) or the greatness of the horn (Old Greek—that is the combined witness of Papyrus 967, Codex 88, and the Syro-Hexaplar—and Theodotion may have understood the Hebrew like this when they read ἰσχυρὸν "strong"; Ewald [cited in Kliefoth, 251] renders מִצְּעִירָה with "more than small"), or the expressions with מִן comparative functions as adverb describing the infamous manner of the horn's growth ("very wretched, small"; Hävernick, 269). However, these explanations are arduous.

[4]So von Lengerke, 375; Kliefoth, 251; Kranichfeld, 292; Keil, 295; Hasslberger, 8 n. 22, 53; Süring, *The Horn Motif*, 413; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 394. Delcor regards מִצְּעִירָה as an explicative gloss to מִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם "out of one of them" (172), and translates "from the one of them, from the little" (176).

[5]Hasslberger, 53.

attested in BH, several text-critical emendations for מְצְעִירָה have been suggested.[1] The difficulty with all of these conjectures is that there are no Hebrew variants, and the Old Greek and Theodotion could represent an emended text in light of vs. 9b or may be based

---

[1]Several conjectures can be identified. First, it has been suggested to omit the initial מ and read צְעִירָה "little" (Heinrich Graetz, "Beiträge zur Sach- und Worterklärung des Buches Daniel," *MGWJ* 20 [1871]: 352; Delitzsch, 96; Hartman and Di Lella, 221; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 159; Niditch, 219; Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 325; Gzella, 35). Second, it has been conjectured that the מ was originally a ת at the end of the preceding word, and the text should be read as קֶרֶן־אַחֶרֶת צְעִירָה "another horn, a little one" in analogy to BA קֶרֶן אָחֳרִי זְעֵירָה "another horn, a little one" in Dan 7:8 (A. A. Bevan, *A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1892], 131; A. Kamphausen, *The Book of Daniel: Critical Edition of the Hebrew and Aramaic Text Printed in Colors Exhibiting the Bilingual Character of the Book, with Notes*, The Sacred Books of the Old Testament, pt. 18 [Leipzig: Hinrichs; Baltimore: Hopkins; London: Nutt, 1896], 33; August von Gall, *Die Einheitlichkeit des Buches Daniel: Eine Untersuchung* [Giessen: Ricker, 1895], 48; Moore, 197; J. Dyneley Prince, *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel: Designed Especially for Students of the English Bible* [Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate; New York: Lemcke & Buechner, 1899], 241; Marti, *Daniel*, 57; Riessler, *Daniel* (1902), 72; G. Jahn, *Das Buch Daniel nach der Septuaginta hergestellt: übersetzt und kritisch erklärt* [Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1904], 77; Ehrlich, 146; Montgomery, 333, 338; Charles, 203; H. W. Obbink, *Daniël*, Tekst en uitleg: Praktische Bijbelverklaring [Groningen: Wolters, 1932], 65; Frank Zimmermann, "Some Verses in Daniel in the Light of a Translation Hypothesis," *JBL* 58 (1939): 350; idem, "Hebrew Translation in Daniel," *JQR* 51 [1960-61]: 201; C. Lattey, *The Book of Daniel*, The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures [Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1948], 85; J. T. Nelis, *Daniel: uit de grondtekst vertaald en uitgelegd*, De Boeken van het Oude Testament, vol. 11, no. 2 [Roermond: Romen & Zonen, 1954], 95; Plöger, *Daniel*, 122). A close relation between Dan 7:8 and Dan 8:9a seems evident. However, there is no manuscript or version evidence for either of the suggested readings. Third, because the Old Greek and Theodotion read ἰσχυρὸν "strong," it has been suggested that their *Vorlage* read עָצוּם "strong" (Jeansonne, 55; McLay, *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel*, 171). However, the Greek versions might have read exactly as the MT but on contextual basis interpret it as ἰσχυρὸν (so Gzella, 36-37). Fourth, other emendations are to read a noun מִצְעָרָה "small thing" with reference to מִצְעָר in Gen 19:20 (Hartman and Di Lella, 221 [who also regard צְעִירָה as possible]; Lucas, *Daniel*, 205), or to revocalize into a Hiphil participle מַצְעִירָה "decreasing, appearing small" (so J. D. Michaelis, cited in Hävernick, 267-268; Heinrich Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des alten Bundes*, 8th ed. [Göttingen: Dieterich, 1870], 664 n. 1 [§270b]; idem, *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament*, vol. 5, *Commentary on the Books of Haggái, Zakharya, Mal'aki, Yona, Barûkh, Daniel* [London: Williams and Norgate, 1881], 320; Kamphausen, 33; a 14th-century Babylonian-Yemenite Daniel manuscript, which was edited 1973, reads מַצְעִירָה [Morag, xii]), or into a feminine mĭqtîl adjective מִצְּעִירָה "a little" with *dagesh euphonicum* in צ (Jacob Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, 2d ed. [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1967], 252 [§165]). However, all emendations are hypothetical at best, for none of these forms is attested elsewhere.

on another *Vorlage* that is not available for us.[1] Thus, no textual emendation is necessary.

מִצְּעִירָה is another prepositional phrase with a מִן of direction that is dependent upon the verbal root יצא. Similar to מִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם "*from* the one of them" which describes the starting point of the horn's expansion as coming forth from one of the four winds or four horns in vs. 8c, מִצְּעִירָה describes that the horn went out "from littleness," meaning it separated itself from its status of insignificance.[2]

Semantic Analysis of Words and Phrases

Symbolic meaning of קֶרֶן

As previously in Daniel the noun קֶרֶן "horn" is used symbolically here.[3] In Daniel's symbolic visions, the horn stands for kings, either as an individual (7:24; 8:21)[4] or as rulers of a dynasty or empire (8:20), or for kingdoms (8:22).[5] Thus, horns can symbolize both kings and kingdoms.[6] In addition, the horn-motif has associations of

[1]See Hasslberger, 8 n. 22.

[2]See Baldwin, 157.

[3]Daniel 8:3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9a, 20, 21; in Aramaic in Dan 7:7, 8 (4x), 11, 20 (2x), 21, 24.

[4]It should be noted that the singular noun מֶלֶךְ "king" in 8:21 could also represent a kingdom with many individual kings. See, e.g., Dan 7:17 where such an interpretation is usually taken.

[5]On the fusion of the concepts "king" and "kingdom" see Süring, *The Horn Motif*, 420-421.

[6]As Seymour Gitin remarks with reference to Dan 7:8 and 8:21: "In prophetic symbolism, horns signify royal or military power" ("The Four-Horned Altar and Sacred Space: An Archaeological Perspective," in *Sacred Time, Sacred Space: Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, ed. B. M. Gittlen [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002], 99).

presumptuous craving for dominion and power.[1] Its use on what Süring calls the "horizontal level" designates an "aggressive, attacking, evil and even persecuting power."[2] The horn in Dan 8:9-14 therefore stands for a power hostile to God's people and even to God himself against whom the activities of the horn are directed.[3]

Clause 9b

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

9b [וַתִּגְדַּל־יֶתֶר] [אֶל־הַנֶּגֶב וְאֶל־הַמִּזְרָח וְאֶל־הַצֶּבִי]

waw+Qal-ipf/3sgf/ adv prep+art+noun/sgm/ waw+prep+art+noun/sgm/
waw+prep+art+noun/sgm/

wayyiqtol(waw+Qal-ipf/3sgf/) adv PWG(prep+ArtWG(art+noun/sgm/))
waw+PWG(prep+ArtWG(art+noun/sgm/))
waw+PWG(prep+ArtWG(art+noun/sgm/))

P.Sy [+1.Sy] +6.Sy[dislocative: directive]
predicate [+subject] +description of change of location

Clause type: *wayyiqtol.*

In contrast to vs. 9a, the feminine verbal form וַתִּגְדַּל is now gender congruent

---

[1]See Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein, "קֶרֶן *qeren*," *TDOT*, 13:172; cf. also Jürg Eggler, "Iconographic Motifs from Palestine/Israel and Daniel 7:2-14," D.Lit. thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1998, TMs (photocopy) 2d ed. (Neyruz, Switzerland, 1999), 281-283.

[2]Süring, *The Horn Motif*, 443 (see her extended discussion on the horn-motif in apocalyptic texts in pp. 383-422); idem, "The Horn-Motifs of the Bible and the Ancient Near East," *AUSS* 22 (1984): 338; Porter, *Metaphors*, 64-69. On the "vertical level" the horn-motif refers in a prophetic-messianic setting to the divinely promised Righteous One (Süring, *The Horn Motif*, 443-444; idem, "The Horn-Motifs," 335-338). The horn is then "a symbol of power and victory" (Kedar-Kopfstein, 13:173). Again, on a horizontal level the idea of strength and victory also plays a role, for the horn in Dan 8, as the one in Dan 7, is victorious in its evil doings (see esp. 8:12c-d).

[3]See Porter, *Metaphors*, 65-69.

with its feminine subject "horn" which has to be supplied from vs. 9a. In general, the verbal root גדל expresses movement or expansion.

The adverbial function of יֶתֶר[1] is also found in Isa 56:12 in גָּדוֹל יֶתֶר מְאֹד "very great indeed" and in Ps 31:24 as עַל־יֶתֶר "exceedingly" (cf. BA יַתִּירָא in Dan 3:22; 7:7, 19).[2] Note that in Isa 56:12 יֶתֶר is found in apposition to גָּדוֹל. In Dan 8:9b it modifies the verb וַתִּגְדַּל and describes the manner of the action. Thus, the phrase can be translated as "and it became exceedingly great."[3]

The series of three prepositional word groups with אֶל "to" and a geographical term functions as object describing a directional change of location. This represents the only place in the Hebrew Bible where גדל is used with אֶל. The preposition marks the goal of the horn's movement in reference to הַנֶּגֶב "the South," הַמִּזְרָח "the East," and הַצֶּבִי "the Beauty." The article in front of each term designates the uniqueness of the referent. The three similar prepositional phrases and the fact that הַנֶּגֶב and הַמִּזְרָח designate cardinal points[4] suggest that הַצֶּבִי could also denote a geographic entity, or at

---

[1]The noun יֶתֶר, "remnant, rest" but also "excess, abundance" (Ps 17:14; Prov 17:7; Job 22:20), can function as adverb (see Hans Bauer and Pontus Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testamentes* [Halle: Niemeyer, 1922; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1962], 632 [§80l], for adverbs which are recognized as original nouns).

[2]See, e.g., Bevan, 131; Behrmann, 53; Marti, *Daniel*, 58; Montgomery, 339; Charles, 203; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 159.

[3]According to Arthur Jefferey, וַתִּגְדַּל־יֶתֶר could also mean "he acted big" ("The Book of Daniel: Introduction and Exegesis," *IB*, 6:437).

[4]According to the principles for the nomenclature of the cardinal points, הַנֶּגֶב falls into the category of local-geographical orientation using for the South a word that designates the Palestinian arid depression south of the Shephela, whereas הַמִּזְרָח "the East" falls into the category of solar orientation using for the East a word that designates the place where the sun rises. See Knut Tallqvist, "Himmelsgegenden und Winde," *StudOr* 2 (1928): 105-185; O'Connor, "Cardinal-Direction Terms in Biblical Hebrew," 2:1140-1157.

least an entity that can be geographically located.[1] Indeed, הַצֶּבִי "the beauty" occurs in the similar but fuller expression אֶרֶץ־הַצְּבִי "the land of (the) beauty" in Dan 11:16, 41. The longer expression obviously refers to Palestine, and so seems the shorter one,[2] although it is also possible that הַצְּבִי with the article refers to the city of Jerusalem,[3] Mount Zion,[4] or to the sanctuary in particular,[5] as the phrase הַר־צְבִי־קֹדֶשׁ "the beautiful holy mountain" or "the mountain of the beauty of the holy" (Dan 11:45) may suggest.[6] In fact, the following verses (vss. 10-12) with their cultic terminology strengthen the view

---

[1]There are also other explanations given for the phrase וְאֶל־הַצֶּבִי. The OG reads καὶ ἐπὶ βορρᾶν "toward the North" (from Hebrew וְאֶל־הַצָּפוֹן or צָפוֹנָה) (so also Graetz, 385; and Jahn, 78). Theodotion reads καὶ πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν and the Vulgate *fortitudo* (both from צָבָא). It has also been suggested to delete the phrase as gloss from Dan 11:41 (Moore, 197; Plöger, *Daniel*, 122) or as gloss to the following עַד־צְבָא (Montgomery, 339), or to interpret the phrase as epexegetical addition to אֶל־הַמִּזְרָח (Kranichfeld, 293).

[2]Cf. the description of the land promised to Israel as צְבִי (Jer 3:19; Ezek 20:6, 15) and the "beauty of his ornament" in Ezek 7:20 which may refer to the land and the city Jerusalem (cf. vss. 21-23); cf. also "Babel, the beauty of kingdoms" (Isa 13:19). A similar expression for the land of Israel is אֶרֶץ חֶמְדָּה "land of desire" (Jer 3:19 [in parallelism to נַחֲלַת צְבִי צִבְאוֹת גּוֹיִם "the most beautiful inheritance of the nations"]; Zech 7:14; Ps 106:24; cf. Jer 12:10). צְבִי is understood as the land of Israel by most commentators.

[3]צְבִי can certainly be used to designate a specific place or city of pride in a land, such as the major cities of Moab (Ezek 25:9).

[4]Mount Zion, the holy mountain, is "beautiful (יָפֶה) in height" (Ps 48:2-3), "the perfection of beauty (יֹפִי)" (Ps 50:2; Lam 2:15; cf. the use of יֳפִי for Jerusalem in the "extended metaphor" in Ezek 16:14, 15, 25).

[5]הַצֶּבִי is understood as sanctuary, specifically as the temple in Jerusalem, by Jürgen-Christian Lebram ("König Antiochus im Buch Daniel," *VT* 25 [1975]: 768; Lebram gives a different interpretation, namely "land of beauty," in his later commentary [*Daniel*, 23, 94]), H. Madl ("צְבִי *ṣ*ᵉ*bî*," *TDOT*, 12:237), and Seow (*Daniel*, 122). Collins takes הַצֶּבִי as "the glorious [land]" and points out that "from the visionary's viewpoint, the goal of the little horn's action was the Jerusalem Temple" (*Daniel* [1993], 331).

[6]The phrase הַר־קֹדֶשׁ is common for Mt. Zion: Isa 11:9; 27:13; 56:7; 57:13; 65:11; 65:25; 66:20; Jer 31:23; Ezek 20:40; 28:14 (heavenly abode?); Joel 2:1; 4:17; Obad 16-17; Zeph 3:11; Zech 8:3; Pss 2:6; 3:5; 15:1; 43:3; 48:2; 87:1; 99:9; Dan 9:16, 20.

that הַצֶּבִי in vs. 9b connotes more than just a geographical location and specifically indicates the growing of the horn towards the sanctuary in a hostile manner. Such a qualitative distinction between הַצֶּבִי and the previous terms seems also to be hinted at by the use of the disjunctive *tifḥā* under הַמִּזְרָח, an accent that divides vs. 9b in two with וַתִּגְדַּל־יֶתֶר אֶל־הַנֶּגֶב וְאֶל־הַמִּזְרָח on the one side and וְאֶל־הַצֶּבִי on the other side. In short, one may say, the horn grows exceedingly towards "the beauty" (vs. 9b), and the rest is commentary (vss. 10-12).

Clause 10a

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

10a [וַתִּגְדַּל] [עַד־צְבָא הַשָּׁמָיִם]

waw+Qal-ipf/3sgf/ prep+noun/cssgm/ art+noun/plm/

wayyiqtol(waw+Qal-ipf/3sgf/) PWG(prep+CsWG(noun/cssgm/ ArtWG(art+noun/plm/)))

P.Sy[transitive] [+1.Sy(ergative)] +6.Sy[dislocative: directive]
predicate [+subject] +description of expansion of location

Clause type: *wayyiqtol*.

The understood subject of וַתִּגְדַּל is the "horn" (vs. 9a). After a verb of movement the preposition עַד indicates "spatial positioning" and "marks a point up to which a movement occurs,"[1] as in Dan 8:10a "*up to* the host of heavens" or "*as far as* the host of

[1]*BHRG*, 291 (§39.18). The temporal meaning of עַד, which indicates a point in time up to which events occur, appears to have been transferred to activities of movement toward a goal. See Ernst Jenni, "Die Präposition *min* in zeitlicher Verwendung bei Deuterojesaja," in *Werden und Wirken des Alten Testaments: Festschrift für Claus Westermann zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. R. Albertz et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1980), 291.

heaven."[1] The difference between עַד (vss. 10a,11a) and אֶל (vs. 9b) is that the former includes the limit and thus expresses movement up to (terminative) whereas the latter indicates direction and thus expresses movement toward or against (allative).[2] The assumption that אֶל describes movement in a horizontal direction, whereas עַד is used for the movement in a vertical dimension,[3] would fit vss. 9-11 and could be regarded as a stylistic intensification of the horizontal-vertical movement there. However, such a distinction between אֶל and עַד cannot be maintained in regard to the whole vision because both אֶל and עַד are used to express horizontal movement (8:6).

The combination גדל + עַד with גדל in the Qal stem occurs seven times. In all seven instances עַד designates the extent to which one becomes great, either in temporal (Gen 26:13; 2 Sam 7:26; 1 Chr 17:24; 2 Chr 17:12) or geographical dimension (Mic 5:3; Dan 8:10; Ezra 9:6). The latter references are syntactically similar: "Our guilt has grown even up to (עַד לְ) the heavens" (Ezra 9:6); "It grew up to (עַד) the host of heaven" (Dan 8:10); and "He will be great unto (עַד) the ends of the earth" (Mic 5:3). The two occurrences of גדל + עַד in which גדל occurs in the Hiphil stem show the same semantic function of the preposition עַד, namely to designate the extent to which something grows in geographical dimension: "The male goat magnified himself exceedingly (עַד־מְאֹד)" (Dan 8:8a) and "It magnified itself up to (עַד) the prince of the host" (Dan 8:11a).[4]

---

[1]Driver, *Daniel*, 116; Redditt, 139.

[2]Cf. Waltke and O'Connor, 215 (§11.2.12a); Joüon and Muraoka, 485 (§ 133b).

[3]So Shea, "Spatial Dimensions," 508.

[4]Therefore, it is difficult to assume a subjective sense for the Qal וַתִּגְדַּל in vs. 10a (Driver, *Daniel*, 116: "supposed himself to touch the stars of heaven"; cf. Zöckler, 175; Meinhold, "Daniel,"

The definite article with שָׁמַיִם should not come as a surprise. In the book of Daniel שָׁמַיִם always has an article (8:8,10; 9:12; 11:4; 12:7); the same is true for שְׁמַיִן in the Aramaic part.[1] Further, in the Hebrew Bible the phrase צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם occurs always with an article.[2]

The syntactic-semantic relationship[3] of the construct phrase צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם could either be an adverbial relationship of origin—"the host (entity) of/from heaven (source)"—or a relationship of possession—"the host (possession) of heaven (possessor)" or "the host (is/belongs) to the heaven." The context allows for both notions. The geographical term "heavens" in the construct phrase suggests that in the vision the movement of the horn is directed upwards.

Semantic Analysis of Words and Phrases

Meaning of צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם

Interpretations. Different interpretations for the meaning of the צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם in

---

308), whereas for the Hiphil הִגְדִּיל in vs. 11a such a meaning is certainly possible.

[1]In BA שְׁמַיִן is always determinate שְׁמַיָּא (38x): Jer 10:11 (2x); Ezra 5:11, 12; 6:9, 10; 7:12, 21, 23 (2x); Dan 2:18, 19, 28, 37, 38, 44; 4:8, 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 19, 20 (2x), 22, 23, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34; 5:21, 23; 6:28; 7:2, 13, 27.

[2]Cf. König 3:280 (§292c). A construct word group with הַשָּׁמַיִם in the postconstructus occurs 76 times in the OT (the seven occurrences of כָּל־הַשָּׁמַיִם are not considered to be construct word groups), whereas a construct word group with שָׁמַיִם in the postconstructus occurs 17 times, with the possible exception of Jer 33:25 all in poetic texts: Gen 49:25; Deut 33:13; Jer 33:25; Pss 68:34; 78:23, 24; 89:30; 105:40; Job 11:8; 22:12, 14; 26:11, 13; 38:29, 33, 37; Lam 4:19.

[3]For examples of different syntactic-semantic relationships in construct relationships see Jan H. Kroeze, "Underlying Syntactic Relations in Construct Phrases of Biblical Hebrew," *JSem* 5, no. 1 (1993): 68-88; idem, "Semantic Relations in Construct Phrases of Biblical Hebrew: A Functional Approach," *ZAH* 10 (1997): 27-41; and *BHRG*, 197-200 (§25.4). Cf. also F. B. Denio, "The Relations Expressed by the Genitive in Hebrew," *JBL* 19 (1900): 107-113; and Jan H. Kroeze, "Die chaos van die genitief in Bybelse Hebreeus," *JSem* 3, no. 2 (1991): 129-143.

Dan 8:10a have been rendered. They can be grouped in the following categories.

1. *Humans: saints.* In this interpretation the "host of heaven" is understood to signify the people of God or the saints, which are usually identified with Israel or the Jewish people.[1] More explicitly, the host is sometimes understood to be a specific group

---

[1]Jerome, *Commentariorum in Danielem, libri III (IV)*, ed. F. Glorie, Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina, vol. 75A; S. Hieronymi Presbyteri opera, pars I: opera exegetica, 5 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1964), 854; John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Book of the Prophet Daniel*, 2 vols., trans. T. Myers (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1852-1853), 97-98; Leonhard Bertholdt, *Daniel aus dem Hebräisch-Aramäischen neu übersetzt und erklärt: mit einer vollständigen Einleitung und einigen historisched und exegetischen Excursen*, 2 pts. (Erlangen: Palm, 1806, 1808), 490; Rosenmüller, 263; von Lengerke, 377; Maurer, 143; Ferdinand Hitzig, *Das Buch Daniel: Erklärt*, Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch, vol. 10 (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1850), 131; Kliefoth, 254-255; Kranichfeld, 293; Keil, 296; A. R. Fausset, "Job-Malachi," *A Commentary, Critical and Explanatory on the Old and New Testaments*, vol. 1, *Old Testament*, by R. Jamieson, A. R. Fausset, and D. Brown (New York: Scranton, 1873), 637 (mentions in particular the priests); Ewald, *Daniel*, 261; Aug. Rohling, *Das Buch des Propheten Daniel: Uebersetzt und erklärt* (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1876), 238; Zöckler, 175; Johannes Meinhold, *Die Composition des Buches Daniel* (Greifswald: Abel, 1884), 78; Meinhold, "Daniel," 308; Joseph Knabenbauer, *Commentarius in Danielem Prophetam, Lamentationes et Baruch*, Cursus Scripturae Sacrae, pt. 3, vol. 4 (Paris: Lethielleux, 1891), 212; Bevan, 132; Milton S. Terry, *The Prophecies of Daniel* (New York: Hunt and Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston and Curts, 1893), 60; Tiefenthal, 267-268; von Gall, 51; Riessler, *Daniel* (1902), 72, 75; G. Stokmann, *Die Erlebnisse und Gesichte des Propheten Daniel* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1922), 127-128; Johann Goettsberger, *Das Buch Daniel: übersetzt und erklärt*, HSAT, vol. 8, pt. 2 (Bonn: Hanstein, 1928), 61-62; Charles, 204; Obbink, 109; Leupold, 346; Edward J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949), 171; Judah J. Slotki, *Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah: Hebrew Text & English Translation with an Introduction and Commentary*, Soncino Books of the Bible (London: Soncino, 1951), 67; P. P. Saydon, "Daniel," *A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*, ed. B. Orchard et al. (London: Nelson, 1953), 635; John F. Walvoord, *Daniel: The Key to Prophetic Revelation* (Chicago: Moody, 1971), 185-186; Wood, 213; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 161-162; Hersh Goldwurm, *Daniel: A New Translation with a Commentary Anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic and Rabbinic Sources*, 2d ed. (Brooklyn: Mesorah, 1980), 223; Maier, 304; Archer, 7:99 (admits that צָבָא can be used for the armies of angels as well as for the people of God); Hartmut Gese, "Die dreieinhalb Jahre des Danielbuches," in *Ernten, was man sät: Festschrift für Klaus Koch zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. D. R. Daniels, U. Gleßmer, and M. Rösel (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991), 408; Lust, "Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel," 290; Miller, *Daniel*, 226; Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 171; Alexander Di Lella, *Daniel: A Book for Troubling Times; Spiritual Commentaries* (Hyde Park: New City, 1997), 160. For Lacocque, the saints are depicted as stars because of the close correspondence between heaven and earth. This he interprets as a process of demythologization by which God's throne is not surrounded by a pantheon of gods but by the saints (*The Book of Daniel*, 161-162).

of God's people: the true faithful Israelites (not all the Jews),[1] the priests,[2] the priests and rulers of Israel,[3] or the Jewish troops.[4] Others regard the host as referring "in a secondary sense to earthly monarchs" so that "some of the host" in vs. 10b refers to "rival kings" (cf. Isa 24:21).[5]

2. *Celestial beings*. Another interpretation is that the "host of heaven" signifies God's angels, often understood as guardian or patron angels.[6] Reference is being made to

---

[1]Hävernick, 273; C. P. Caspari, *Zur Einführung in das Buch Daniel* (Leipzig: Dörffling and Francke, 1869), 137; Driver, *Daniel*, 116.

[2]Martinus Adrianus Beek, *Das Danielbuch: Sein historischer Hintergrund und seine literarische Entwicklung, Versuch eines Beitrages zur Lösung des Problems* (Leiden: Ginsberg, 1935), 84.

[3]Chr. Wordsworth, *The Book of Daniel: With Notes and Introduction*, 2d ed., Holy Bible: With Introduction and Notes: Old Testament, vol. 6, pt. 1. London: Rivingtons, 1871), 39; Albert Barnes, *Daniel*, 2 vols., Notes on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1950), 2:110, 112. It is not clear whether Barnes believes that only the stars represent the priest and rulers and that the host stands for the people, or whether both expressions refer to the people of Israel.

[4]Buchanan, 243, 414-415.

[5]Baldwin, 157; an option for Redditt, 139.

[6]Prince, *Daniel*, 146; J. E. H. Thomson, *Daniel: Exposition*, new ed., The Pulpit Commentary, vol. 23 (London: Funk & Wagnallis, 1913), 247-248; Aage Bentzen, *Daniel*, 2d ed., HAT, vol. 19 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1952), 70; Hasslberger, 55, 91 ("God's retinue"); Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, 206; Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, "YHWH SABAOTH—The Heavenly King on the Cherubim Throne," in *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays: Papers Read at the International Symposium for Biblical Studies, Tokyo, 5-7 December, 1979*, ed. T. Ishida (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1982), 124 ("divine council"); Lebram, *Daniel*, 95; Towner, 121 (guardian angels of Israel); Michael Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabinischer Zeit*, TSAJ, no. 34 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992), 25, 173 (heavenly council); Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 332; Cornelis Houtman, *Der Himmel im Alten Testament: Israels Weltbild und Weltanschauung*, OtSt, no. 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 202 ("council of the heavenly patrons of the nations"); Smith-Christopher, 113-114; Longman, *Daniel*, 204; Redditt, 139; Matthias Albani, "'Kannst du die *Sternbilder* hervortreten lassen zur rechten Zeit ...?' (Hi 38,32): Gott und Gestirne im Alten Testament und im Alten Orient," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. B. Janowski and B. Ego, FAT, no. 32 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 201 (heavenly warriors); Lucas, *Daniel*, 215; Gzella, 140; Seow, *Daniel*, 123 ("divine council").

the existence of an associative or spiritual connection between these angels and the saints so that oppression of the saints is also oppression of the angels.[1] Still, the primary reference of the host of heaven is to angels and not to humans. This is often based on an implied mythological background in the language of Dan 8:10,[2] or even an allusion to the myth of fallen angels.[3]

3. *Both human and supernatural beings*. Goldingay allows for a double intention of the expression "heavenly army." On the one hand, it may represent the Jewish people or the priesthood in particular, and on the other hand it points to supernatural beings so that "perhaps . . . an attack on the Jerusalem temple, the people of Israel, and the priesthood is presupposed to be implicitly an attack on the God worshiped there and on his supernatural associates who identify with Israel."[4] The background for this understanding is found in the ancient Near Eastern worldview, also reflected in the Hebrew Bible, in which "warfare was conducted on both the human and divine levels. For this reason it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a term for YHWH's army

---

[1]For example, Prince refers to the "heavenly people of Israel . . . a divinely appointed angel-nation" (*Daniel*, 146); Thomson believes "when a nation was defeated or oppressed, its angel or star was regarded as thrown to the earth and trodden underfoot" (248); Towner speaks of "guardian angels" of Israel (121); and Collins states that "the empirical tribulation of the Jewish people is understood to have its counterpart in the heavenly battle" (*Daniel* [1993], 335); cf. also Smith-Christopher, 114; and Seow, *Daniel*, 124.

[2]See, e.g., Rüdiger Bartelmus, "שָׁמַיִם *šāmajim*," *ThWAT*, 8:219 (cf. idem, "*šāmajim* – Himmel: Semantische und traditionsgeschichtliche Aspekte," in *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Beate Ego, FAT, no. 32 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001], 101-102); Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 169-170.

[3]Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien*, 176.

[4]Goldingay, *Daniel*, 209-210.

designates a human or supernatural group. . . . The use of 'host of heaven' in Dan. 8:10 reflects this confusion."[1]

4. *Stars in a mythological meaning: gods.*[2] From the interpretation of the host of heaven as guardian/patron angels and the identification of mythical language it is not a far stretch to suggest that the "host of heaven" represents gods. In this view, the "host of heaven," as well as the "stars," refers to "heavenly bodies, especially as the objects of heathen worship, and as the celestial rulers of the heathen world."[3] The standard explanation is that the horn can fight against the heavenly gods by overthrowing in sacrilegious attacks the religion and the gods of the kingdoms and nations on earth.[4] In a different explanation, the horn attempts to bring stars as objects of worship down to earth.[5] Similar to this interpretation is the view that the "host of heaven" refers to heavenly beings—either angels or pagan deities—in connection with astral worship.[6]

5. *Literal stars used in hyperbolic language.* The expression "host of heaven"

---

[1]Freer, 152.

[2]Moore, 194; Marti, *Daniel*, 58; Montgomery, 334; Joseph Linder, *Commentarius in librum Daniel: quem exaravit*, Cursus Scripturae Sacrae, vol. 23 (Paris: Lethielleux, 1939), 336; Lattey, 85; Jeffery, 474; Emil G. Kraeling, *Commentary on the Prophets*, vol. 2, *Daniel-Malachi* (Camden: Nelson, 1966), 57; Delcor, 173; Hartman in Hartman and Di Lella, 236; Russell, 144; H. L. Ginsberg, "The Book of Daniel," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 2, *The Hellenistic Age*, ed. W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 518; cf. Hammer, 85-86.

[3]Moore, 194.

[4]Ibid. The עֲצוּמִים "strong ones" in 8:24 are then the Gentile nations, and the expression "prince of the host" signifies that God is the supreme ruler among the host of heaven, that is, the pantheon of gods (see also Montgomery, 333-334).

[5]Marti, *Daniel*, 58. Marti then interprets vs. 10 as the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to hellenize the Jews.

[6]Porteous, 125; Philip R. Davies, *Daniel*, OTG (Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 102, 104.

refers to the haughtiness of the horn[1] or denotes the cosmic aspect of the battle.

6. *Meteorites.* J. A. Goldstein suggests that the "host of heaven" and the fallen stars are meteorites used as idolatrous equipment (an "Abomination from Desolation") upon the sacrificial altar of the temple.[2]

7. *Uncertain.* Finally, some are not certain as to what the "host of heaven" refers.[3]

In analyzing the meaning of the "host of heaven" it is important to note that first of all one needs to determine what Daniel saw before one should inquire about the meaning and interpretation thereof.[4] Here the distinction between different levels of meaning of symbolic language bears upon the discussion. The lexical meaning of the "host of heaven" has to be established before one attempts to determine its symbolic meaning. I believe that an analysis of the usage of צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם in the Hebrew Bible provides the necessary data for both decisions.

---

[1]Behrmann, 53; Carl G. Howie, *The Book of Ezekiel, the Book of Daniel*, The Layman's Bible Commentary, vol. 13 (Atlanta: Knox, 1961), 125.

[2]Jonathan A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, AB, vol. 41 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 145-146; see also idem, "The Persecution of the Jews by Antiochus IV," in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem 13-19 August 1973 under the Auspices of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, ed. A. Shinan (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1977), 1:141-143; and idem, *Peoples of an Almighty God: Competing Religions in the Ancient World*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 2002), 455.

[3]For example, Hasslberger notes all occurrences of the phrase צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם in the Hebrew Bible, but he does not find concrete evidence for a connection of Dan 8:10a to any of these texts. He concludes that Dan 8:10a uses this expression as an already established *terminus technicus*, but he does not indicate to which entity this technical term refers (91). Anderson presents the interpretations that the host of heaven could refer to angelic beings or to the people of God but does not decide which one he prefers ("The Michael Figure," 311-313). Similarly, Redditt does not decide whether the host of heaven are angels (like in 1 Kgs 22:19; 2 Chr 18:18; 1 Enoch 104:2, 4, 6) or kings (parallelism in Isa 24:21) (139).

[4]This caution has also been voiced by Kliefoth (253).

"Host of heaven" in the Hebrew Bible. Besides Dan 8:10a, the construct phrase צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם occurs seventeen times in the Hebrew Bible with the following two meanings:[1]

1. Celestial bodies = stars
   a. In non-worship context: Isa 34:4; Jer 33:22.
   b. In worship context: "Host of heaven" is the object of worship; celestial bodies are regarded as gods: Deut 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3, 5 (= 2 Chr 33:3, 5); 23:4, 5; Jer 8:2; 19:13; Zeph 1:5.

2. Celestial beings
   a. In non-worship context: 1 Kgs 22:19 (= 2 Chr 18:18).
   b. In worship context: "Host of heaven" worships YHWH: Neh 9:6.[2]

First, the lexical meaning of צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם "host of heaven" clearly refers to celestial or

---

[1]For discussions of the "host of heaven," see G. Westphal, "צבא השמים," in *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag (2. März 1906) gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. C. Bezold (Gießen: Töpelmann, 1906), 2:719-728; Freer, 149-152; Hermann Spieckermann, *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit*, FRLANT, no. 129 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 221-225; Helmer Ringgren, "צָבָא ṣābāʾ," *TDOT*, 12:213; Houtman, *Der Himmel im Alten Testament*, 194-205; Herbert Niehr, "Host of Heaven צבא השמים," *DDD*, 428-430; cf. also Mettinger, 123-128; and Albani, 201-203. The expression כָּל־צְבָאָם "all their host" after the mentioning of "heaven" also refers to the host of heaven (Isa 34:4; 45:12; Ps 33:6; Neh 9:6; and possibly Gen 2:1).

[2]Whereas in Neh 9:6 צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם certainly refers to heavenly beings, it is not clear whether וְכָל־צְבָאָם "and all their host," mentioned earlier in this verse, refers to the stars or to heavenly beings. Usually, scholars take וְכָל־צְבָאָם as referring to the stars and point to Gen 2:1, although there, too, it is disputed whether the expression stands for the celestial bodies—sun, moon, and stars—or for all living inhabitants of the earth (and the heavens), in the sense of "all that is in them" (cf. Exod 20:11), or for both (for the problems of understanding צָבָא in Gen 2:1 and a survey of different views see Manfred Görg, "Das Übersetzungsproblem in Gen 2,1," *BN* 95 [1998]: 5-11 [he suggests to take צָבָא as a homonym to צָבָא "host" and to regard it as an Egyptian loanword, influenced by <u>d</u>b3, with the meaning "ornament" or "outfit"]; and Hans-Georg Mutius, "Der hebräische Text von Genesis 2,1 im Licht der Septuaginta und der rabbinischen Schriftauslegung," in *Sachverhalt und Zeitbezug: Semitische und alttestamentliche Studien Adolf Denz zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. R. Bartelmus and N. Nebes, Jenaer Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient, no. 4 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001], 107-112). However, that וְכָל־צְבָאָם in Neh 9:6 refers to heavenly beings could be supported by the occurrence of צָבָא in the same verse (Neh 9:6) designating the angels and also by a possible structure in which the tripartite division of the cosmos in heaven, earth, and sea is expressed by mentioning each area and the beings belonging to that area (cf. the clause "you give life to all of them" right after the tripartite creation is mentioned).

astral bodies, more specifically to the stars (#1). In other words, the "host of heaven" and the stars refer to one and the same.[1] In a non-worship context צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם occurs twice in its literal meaning, in conjunction with other terms of the natural world,[2] where in Jer 33:22 it is used as a simile for the descendants of David (#1a). In a context where the "host of heaven" is the object of worship it still refers to celestial bodies, but takes on an extended meaning insofar as worshipers consider the "host of heaven" to be gods (#1b). The worship context can be established by terms that express an act of worship or are associated with worship.[3] Several times the "host of heaven" is mentioned on the same

---

[1]A comparison between the close passages in Deut 4:19 and 17:3—Deut 17:3 refers back to the initial command not to worship the heavenly bodies in 4:13 by the phrase "which I have not commanded"—shows that the host of heaven and the stars are identical. In Deut 17:3 the host of heaven substitutes the term "stars" in Deut 4:19. Furthermore, in Deut 4:19 the three terms sun, moon, and stars are each introduced by the object marker אֶת־, and the phrase "all the host of heaven" is added after "the stars" without introducing it by the object marker. Syntactically, the addition of "all the host of heaven" could stand in apposition to all three expressions (sun, moon, stars) or only to the last one (stars). Here again, Deut 17:3 is a reason to identify in 4:19 "all the host of heaven" as an alternative expression to "the stars":

	III. Stars/Host of Heaven	II. Moon	I. Sun
Deut 4:19	וְאֶת־הַכּוֹכָבִים כֹּל צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם	וְאֶת־הַיָּרֵחַ	אֶת־הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ
Deut 17:3	אוֹ לְכָל־צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם	אוֹ לַיָּרֵחַ	וְלַשֶּׁמֶשׁ

Deuteronomy 4:19 could then be translated ". . . the sun // and the moon // and the stars, which is: all the host of heaven" (so also Houtman, *Der Himmel im Alten Testament*, 196). Thus, the three terms sun, moon, and stars (Gen 37:9; Deut 4:19; Isa 13:10; Jer 31:35; Ezek 32:7; Joel 2:10; 4:15; Ps 148:3; Eccl 12:2) find their correspondent in the three terms sun, moon, and all the host of heaven (Deut 17:3; Jer 8:2). Similarly, on the day of divine judgment, the יוֹם־יְהוָה "day of YHWH," the four entities affected are the stars of heaven, their constellations (כְּסִילֵיהֶם), the sun and the moon (Isa 13:10) which are the entities the Israelites had worshiped—"the sun and moon and constellations (מַּזָּלוֹת) and all the host of heaven" (2 Kgs 23:5)—except that the stars of heaven stand for the host of heaven.

[2]In Isa 34:4 with הַשָּׁמַיִם "heaven/sky"; in Jer 33:22 in parallelism with חוֹל הַיָּם "sand of the sea."

[3]שׁחה hithpalel/II חוה hištaphel "worship" (Deut 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3; Jer 8:2; Zeph 1:5; 2 Chr 33:3), עבד "serve" (Deut 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3; Jer 8:2; 2 Chr 33:3), "to built/erect an altar for" (2 Kgs 21:3, 5 = 2 Chr 33:3, 5), קטר "burn incense/sacrifices" (2 Kgs 23:5; Jer 19:13), נסך נֶסֶךְ "pour out drink offerings" (Jer 19:13), and אהב "to love," הלך אחרי "to go after," דרשׁ "to seek" (Jer 8:2).

level as Baal and Asherah (2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3, 5; 23:4, 5; 2 Chr 33:3, 5; cf. also Zeph 1:4-5) or "other gods" (Jer 19:13).[1] However, its combination with sun, moon, and other terms of the natural world (Deut 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kgs 23:5; Jer 8:2) still indicates that the "host of heaven" refers to astral bodies.[2]

In yet another lexical meaning, the "host of heaven" can also refer to "the heavenly entourage of Yahweh"[3] or the heavenly army (#2). In a non-worship context

---

[1]M. Weinfeld concludes that the worship of the host of heaven penetrated into Judah through the Assyrian influence in the time of Ahaz and Manasseh in the 8th and 7th cent. B.C.E. (M. Weinfeld, "The Worship of Molech and of the Queen of Heaven and Its Background," *UF* 4 [1972]: 149-151; so also Spieckermann, 223-224; Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998], 370, cf. 316-319). On the other hand, John Day suggests that the sun cult was Canaanite (*Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan*, JSOTSup, no. 265 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000], 151-1155). However the sun cult may have entered Judah, the thesis by J. Glen Taylor that the worship of the host of heaven was a Yahwistic phenomenon and in some contexts YHWH was worshiped as the sun appears to over-interpret the biblical evidence (*Yahweh and the Sun: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sun Worship in Ancient Israel*, JSOTSup, no. 111 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993], 105-107, 172-183). For YHWH as sun god and solar elements in the worship of YHWH see also Hans-Peter Stähli, *Solare Elemente im Jahweglauben des Alten Testaments*, OBO, no. 66 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1985), esp. 30-51; Herbert Niehr, *Der höchste Gott: Alttestamentlicher JHWH-Glaube im Kontext syrisch-kanaanäischer Religion des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, BZAW, no. 190 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990), 150-161; Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, "Jahwe und die Sonnengottheit von Jerusalem," in *Ein Gott allein? JHWH-Verehrung und biblischer Monotheismus im Kontext der israelitischen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. W. Dietrich and M. A. Klopfenstein, OBO, no. 139 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1994), 269-306, esp. 292-300; and the recent suggestion of the development of the image of YHWH as a sun god in an anti-Assyrian context by Martin Arneth, *"Sonne der Gerechtigkeit": Studien zur Solarisierung der Jahwe-Religion im Lichte von Psalm 72*, BZAR, no. 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000). Against the equation of YHWH with the sun see John Day, "Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan," in *Ein Gott allein? JHWH-Verehrung und biblischer Monotheismus im Kontext der israelitischen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. W. Dietrich and M. A. Klopfenstein, OBO, no. 139 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1994), 188-191; idem, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan*, 156-161.

[2]*Pace* Spieckermann who regards the astral triad "sun, moon, and host of heaven" as a list of gods (222).

[3]*HALOT*, 3:995.

(#2a), "all the host of heaven" is standing to the left and right of YHWH who is sitting on his throne (1 Kgs 22:19 = 2 Chr 18:18). In a worship context (#2b), the "host of heaven" worships YHWH (Neh 9:6). In these texts, צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם certainly designates celestial beings and cannot be understood as stars since they act as persons (cf. the verbs "stand" and "worship").[1]

In light of such usage of צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם in the Hebrew Bible, the lexical meaning of the "host of heaven" in Dan 8:10 can therefore be identified as celestial entities, either as stars or as angels.[2] The Greek versions reflect these possibilities, without providing further help.[3]

---

[1]One member of the host of heaven in 1 Kgs 22:19 is designated as רוּחַ "spirit" (1 Kgs 22:21). For the concept of the heavenly army/armies see, e.g., Gen 32:2-3; 2 Kgs 6:17 (cf. 2:11); Ps 68:18. On the celestial host of YHWH and YHWH as leader see K. Merling Alomia, "Lesser Gods of the Ancient Near East and Some Comparisons with Heavenly Beings of the Old Testament" (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1987), 375-402; Day, *Yahweh and the Gods*, 22-24.

[2]In a sense the two possible meanings—celestial bodies (stars) and celestial beings (angels)—do not lie very far apart and are connected in two other texts (Isa 14:13; Job 38:7). For Mach, the expression צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם links angels with the stars (*Entwicklungsstadien*, 25, 173, referring to Ps 148:1-3; Job 38; and Judg 5:20) and is one of the designations used for the heavenly council (16; Mach also lists Seraphim, Cherubim, Sons of God, and Holy Ones as group names for the heavenly council). Keel and Uehlinger suggest that the Judahite designation for individuals of the host of heaven is the title מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה "angel/messenger of YHWH" (*Gods*, 347). For Patrick D. Miller, the term צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם is a "technical term referring to a fixed and specific group usually associated with astral elements" (*The Divine Warrior in Early Israel*, HSM, no. 5 [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973], 154; see his discussion on יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת on pp. 151-155) and may function "as a part of the divine assembly" (67). It is not necessary here to engage in a study of the *Begriffsgeschichte* of the "host of heaven." Such studies have been undertaken, e.g., by Westphal and by Houtman. Westphal argues that the history of the phrase צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם developed from the designation of natural stars to the idea that there is a supernatural, yet humanlike, host of heaven which was understood as the heavenly army. For him, צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם combines two developments: from stars to heavenly beings, and from the human army to the heavenly army (719-728). In contrast, Houtman asserts that from the beginning צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם had been understood by the Israelites both as heavenly council and as stars without drawing sharp differences between the two (*Der Himmel im Alten Testament*, 194-198, 204-205). Cf. also Niehr, "Host of Heaven," *DDD*, 428-429.

[3]Old Greek reads ἕως τῶν ἀστέρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ "unto the stars of heaven," while Theodotion reads ἕως τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ "unto the powers of heaven." However, "the

Before proceeding to the discussion of the symbolic meaning of the "host of heaven," two equivalent or similar terms need to be considered briefly: "host of YHWH" and "host." The host of heaven seems to be closely related to the host of YHWH, not in a euphemistic but in a conceptual way.[1] The expression "host of YHWH" (צְבָא־יְהוָה) can refer both to the heavenly army (Josh 5:14, 15) as well as to the Israelite host which YHWH himself calls "my host" (Exod 7:4) and is described as "the hosts of YHWH" (Exod 12:41). The simple term "host" (צָבָא)[2] can represent military service (Num 1:3, etc.) or military troops (Num 2:4, etc.), the people of God (Exod 6:26; 12:17, 51), the service at the tent of meeting (Num 4:3, 23, 30, 35, 39, 43, etc.),[3] the celestial bodies (Isa 40:26;

---

translation of *ṣbʾ* in the LXX is wholly inconsistent" (Ringgren, "צָבָא," 12:215), and it seems that the readings of the Greek versions for צָבָא in Dan 8:10-13 exhibit the same inconsistency.

[1]It has been argued that in Dan 8:10a הַשָּׁמַיִם "the heaven" is a symbol for God (Goldwurm, 223; Buchanan, 243: "Heaven was a euphemism for God" [cf. 414 n. 37]) so that the "host of heaven" is actually the "host of God." Heaven as a synonym for God himself is found in Dan 4:26; also in 1 Macc 3:18; 4:10, 24, 55; 12:15; 2 Macc 7:11. However, in Dan 8:9a and its context there are no indicators that "heaven" should be taken as synonym for God. Elsewhere in the Hebrew of Daniel הַשָּׁמַיִם always refers to the natural heaven (Dan 8:8; 9:12; 11:4; 12:7). And even if "the heaven" should be a symbol for God, this does not help in determining the symbolic meaning of the host of heaven (*pace* Buchanan who identifies the host or army of God as referring to the Jewish army).

[2]For the different connotations of צָבָא see B. N. Wambacq, *L'épithète divine Jahvé Sᵉba'ôt: Étude philologique, historique et éxégétique* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1947), 109-135; A. S. van der Woude, "צָבָא *ṣābāʾ* army," *TLOT*, 2:1041-1042; Ringgren, "צָבָא," 12:212-214; cf. the renderings in *HALOT*, 3:995.

[3]Note that the phrase לִצְבֹא צָבָא in Num 4:23 and 8:24 means "to perform service" and is in 4:23 synonymous with לַעֲבֹד עֲבֹדָה בְּאֹהֶל מוֹעֵד "to do the work in the tent of meeting" so that צָבָא is best understood as the sanctuary service but not as the sanctuary personnel (cf. Baruch A. Levine, *Numbers 1-20*, AB, vol. 4 [New York: Doubleday, 1993], 134). Still, the line between צָבָא designating the sanctuary work itself ("service") on the one hand and designating the personnel responsible for that work ("work force") on the other hand sometimes cannot be drawn sharply, as is, e.g., evident in Levine's consistent translation of צָבָא in Num 4 with "work force" (163-165).

45:12), or the angelic host (Pss 103:21; 148:2).[1] It is evident that the specific meaning of these terms with צָבָא must be determined by the context in which they are used.

"Host of heaven" in Dan 8:10a and its symbolic meaning. The expression צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם "host of heaven" in Dan 8:10a has of course a lexical and a symbolic meaning. On the lexical level, the host of heaven denotes celestial bodies (i.e., stars), and it is easy to imagine that in the vision the host of heaven appeared as stars. However, symbolically the host of heaven does not refer to literal celestial bodies. Both the military expression שַׂר־הַצָּבָא "commander of the host" in vs. 11a, which designates the leader of that host,[2] and the host connoting an army suggest strongly that beings are involved. Also, the trampling (רמס) of some of the host and some of the stars (vs. 10c) implies that the object of the trampling are persons (cf. 8:7).[3] Besides, it would not make much sense to have the horn fight against literal stars. Thus, beyond the lexical meaning the host of heaven has a symbolic meaning in which it refers to beings.

The question that remains is: Does צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם in Dan 8:10a refer to stars, which symbolically could stand for human beings, as will be shown in the discussion of הַכּוֹכָבִים in vs. 10b, or to angels?[4] There are supportive arguments for both sides.

---

[1]The parallelisms in Pss 103:20-21 and 148:2-3 suggest that the host can be identified with the angelic host. In Ps 103:20 the angels are called attributively גִּבֹּרֵי כֹחַ "warrior of strength," alluding to the angels as army. See Mettinger, 123-124; Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien*, 25.

[2]Cf. Westphal, 720.

[3]So Houtman, *Der Himmel im Alten Testament*, 202-203. See my grammatical-syntactic comments on רמס below.

[4]Collins refutes correctly the view that the host of heaven and the stars represent pagan gods (so Moore, Marti, Montgomery, Delcor, Hartman) on the grounds that pagan gods would not be

1. *The host of heaven as symbol for saints.* After the host of heaven is mentioned in vs. 10a the first contextual factor to determine its meaning is the immediately following phrase וּמִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים "and from the stars" in vs. 10b, which is syntactically parallel to מִן־הַצָּבָא "from the host." The host of heaven and the stars seem to be interchangeable[1] so that one is inclined to argue that "the host appears as stars in the vision."[2] The symbolic meaning of the host of heaven has therefore to be identified with the symbolic meaning of the stars. The term "stars" in its symbolic meaning refers to human beings, more specifically to God's covenant people (see the analysis of vs. 10b). The joining of "some of the host" with "some of the stars," whatever the exact relationship between the two phrases may be, suggests that the host falls into the same category as the stars. If the relationship is marked by a *waw explicativum* the host would be identical with the stars, and thus the host would also refer to God's covenant people. In fact, it seems that the expression צָבָא "is not metaphorical in itself."[3] Therefore, the stars should be considered as an explication of the host of heaven, which connects the host to the symbolic meaning of the stars, that is, to God's covenant people.[4]

---

described as "holy ones" in the interpretation (Dan 8:24) (*Apocalyptic Vision*, 140; cf. *Daniel* [1993], 331-332).

[1]Spieckermann notes that the synonymity of צבא השמים and כוכבים is demonstrated in Jer 33:22 and Dan 8:10 (225).

[2]Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 332.

[3]Zöckler, 176.

[4]Van der Woude keenly observes that "*sᵉbāʾ haššāmayim* has an entirely different meaning when used to imitate the terminology of the patriarchal promise of descendants instead of *kô kābîm* 'stars' to designate the innumerable stars (Jer 33:22; cf. also Dan 8:10)" ("צָבָא," 2:1042).

In BH the verbal root רמס used with a personal object implies destruction or death.[1] In Dan 8:10c the verbal root רמס is used with some of the host and some of the stars as personal object. The clause obviously refers to the destruction or annihilation of beings to which the host and the stars refer. It therefore makes more sense to interpret host and stars as human beings who are being terrorized, rather than to believe that angels are destroyed by the horn.[2]

A stylistic link, though a weak one, is the observation of a possible alliteration and assonance between the construct צְבָא "host" (vs. 10a) and the noun צֶבִי "beauty, beautiful (land)" in the previous clause (vs. 9b). The growing of the horn toward the beauty (צֶבִי) results in a growing of the horn up to the host (צְבָא), which could indicate that the host of heaven is associated with the beauty, either that the inhabitants of the promised land are called the host,[3] or that the people in association with the sanctuary/temple (צֶבִי) are called the host.

Finally, in the interpretation of the vision, both expressions for those who are the object of the king's aggression can refer to human beings: עֲצוּמִים "strong ones" is associated with humans and עַם־קְדֹשִׁים "people of holy ones" can denote either humans or

[1]See the comments in the analysis of vs. 10c below.

[2]See von Gall, 51.

[3]So or similarly Hitzig, 131; Kranichfeld, 293; Zöckler, 175; Meinhold, "Daniel," 308; Prince, *Daniel*, 241; Goettsberger, 61; Stahl, *Weltengagement*, 173. Interestingly, the noun צְבִי "beauty" occurs once in the plural construct as צִבְאוֹת (Jer 3:19) from צְבָאוֹת, which is the same form as the plural of צָבָא "host."

angels (see analysis under הַכּוֹכָבִים in vs. 10b).[1] Since these terms obviously correspond to the host and the stars in the vision, those should also be associated with human beings.

The conclusion that the host of heaven in its symbolic meaning refers to the people of God does not automatically mean that one has to identify them with the Jewish people. Indeed, the text in vs. 10 itself does not indicate who the people of God were. Here again, it is important to differentiate between the symbol (heavenly bodies; physical stars), its symbolic meaning (people of God), and the interpretative meaning, that is, the historical application of the symbolic meaning (people of Israel, Jews, God's people in NT times, etc.). Kliefoth correctly points out that the interpretation of who the people of God are depends upon one's conclusion as to what time the vision refers to.[2]

---

[1]Two lines of argumentation would eliminate Dan 8:24 as a possible help in establishing the identity of the host of heaven. First, Collins claims that Dan 8:24-25 "is plainly corrupt" and suggests with the help of the LXX a different Hebrew reading in which he then suspects a dittography of עַם־קְדֹשִׁים. "Consequently the reference to the people of the holy ones must be regarded as textually suspect and no conclusions as to its meaning can be based on this verse" (*Apocalyptic Vision*, 139; cf. also 141: "In view of the corruption of the text [Dan 8:24-25], it is not possible to decide whether or not Israel is included in the interpretation"). For Collins, the holy ones are equivalent with the host of heaven and the stars, but "since 'host' and 'stars' refer unequivocally to heavenly, angelic beings, the natural inference is that the holy ones are angels too" (ibid.). This conclusion is dependent upon Collins's understanding of Dan 8:24. Collins can only uphold the view that the host of heaven and the stars refer to celestial beings by removing the possibility that 8:24 could help in the identification of the ones attacked by the horn. However, there is no evidence and no necessity for a negative evaluation of vs. 24 as "corrupt." Second, Houtman sees a difference in language between the vision (vss. 10-11) and the interpretation (vs. 24). For him, instead of צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם vs. 24 mentions עֲצוּמִים, the mighty heathen nations and/or their (earthly) leaders. And the attack on the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא, the God of Israel, is mentioned in vs. 24 as an attack on עַם־קְדֹשִׁים, that is Israel. Houtman concludes that Dan 8:10, 24 highlights the concept that "there exists a correspondence between gods/patrons and nations": The end of the autonomous existence of the nations and their cult means the end of the gods, which is expressed by the falling down of the astral bodies (*Der Himmel im Alten Testament*, 202-203). However, Houtman's analysis cannot convince since the correspondences, which he identifies, are questionable. In the interpretation the corresponding term to שַׂר־הַצָּבָא is not עַם־קְדֹשִׁים but certainly שַׂר־שָׂרִים "prince of princes." This means that עַם־קְדֹשִׁים corresponds to the host of heaven and/or the stars. And the host of heaven and the stars are referred to as עֲצוּמִים וְעַם־קְדֹשִׁים in the interpretation.

[2]Kliefoth, 254-255.

2. *The host of heaven as symbol for angels.* Immediately following vs. 10 the host is mentioned in the expression שַׂר־הַצָּבָא "commander of the host" (vs. 11a) in which it seems to refer primarily to the celestial army. One would expect the host in vs. 11a to be the same host mentioned previously in vs. 10a and 10b, particularly as it carries the definite article.[1] There are several reasons why צָבָא in the title "commander of the host" appears to refer to angels. First, if the phrases שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in the vision and שַׂר־שָׂרִים "prince of princes" in the interpretation (8:25) designate the same being and are parallel expressions, the host would be equated with שָׂרִים "princes" which are angels, as they are mentioned elsewhere during a vision or audition in the book of Daniel.[2] Of course, it may be that the interpretation uses different language from the vision or employs a different title for the same being. In the vision this being could be referred to as the leader of the saints, while in the interpretation the same being is identified as the leader of the angels. Second, the heavenly שַׂר־הַצָּבָא is reminiscent of the epithet of YHWH as "YHWH of hosts" (יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת) in which the hosts are usually considered to be a reference to the heavenly armies. And third, the analysis of the phrase שַׂר־הַצָּבָא shows that it is intertextually linked to the "commander of the host of YHWH" in Josh 5:14-15. There, the host of YHWH is again the heavenly army. In addition, the commander of the heavenly army assumes the role of the actual leader of the Israelites and is recognized as such by Joshua, since he commands Joshua what to do and Joshua carries out his orders.

---

[1]There is no reason to assume with Goldwurm a difference in meaning between צָבָא in the title of the prince of the host (angels) and צָבָא in the phrase "host of heaven" (people of Israel) (223).

[2]Dan 8:11a, 25; 10:13 (2x), 20 (2x), 21; 12:1; for further discussion see the section "The term שַׂר in the book of Daniel" (below).

It is thus possible that intertextually the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in Dan 8:11a should be understood primarily as the heavenly commander of the heavenly army but by extension as the heavenly leader of the earthly host also. In sum, the "host" in the title שַׂר־הַצָּבָא, though it seems to designate the angelic host, can also refer to the earthly host of God's people.

A further consideration that may suggest that angelic beings are involved with the activities of the horn is the mentioning of "holy ones" (i.e., angels) in Dan 8:13-14. A holy one asks the question עַד־מָתַי "until when?"—a question that always expresses concern and some kind of involvement on the part of the one who asks that question. The angels therefore seem to be somehow affected by the activities of the horn. But again, this does not necessarily mean that the host of heaven in vs. 10a refers to angels, simply because the idea that the angelic world takes part in what is happening in the human world is portrayed elsewhere in the book of Daniel (see esp. Dan 10:10-21; 12:1).

In view of the above discussion the possibility arises that צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם "host of heaven" has a double meaning in the vision of Dan 8. It could refer symbolically to the saints of God and also to the angels of God.[1] In the book of Daniel such a linkage

---

[1]Houtman elaborates the idea that in relation with the concept of צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם there is a correspondence between the heavenly world and the earth (*Der Himmel im Alten Testament*, 194-205). Keil comments regarding Dan 8:10-11: "As in heaven the angels and stars, so on earth the sons of Israel form the host of God; and as the angels on account of the glory of their nature are called קְדוֹשִׁים (*holy ones*), so the Israelites by virtue of their being chosen to be the holy nation of God, forming the kingdom of heaven in this world. As God, the King of this people, has His throne in heaven, so there also Israel have their true home, and are in the eyes of God regarded as like unto the stars" (297). The connection between the people of God and the angels in Dan 8:10 was already pointed out by Jerome, *Commentariorum in Danielem*, 854: "id est filios Israel, qui angelorum uallabantur auxilio" ("that is the children of Israel, who were safeguarded by the assistance of angels"). Compare Lacocque's view, for whom the intimate relation between heaven and earth explains why an attack on the saints on earth can be described as an attack of the host of heaven or the stars, and even as "an attack on the divine majesty" (*The Book of Daniel*, 162).

between the angelic world and the human world is found explicitly in chap. 10 and implicitly by the interest of angels shown in human affairs. In fact, there seems to be the concept of a war pact between angels and humans, between the angelic host and the host of God's people. Biblical examples for the cooperation of human and angels in war are the "prince of the host of YHWH" in Josh 5 and the celestial princes in the book of Daniel (8:25; 10:13, 20, 21: 12:1), both closely associated with Dan 8:10-11.[1] In view of the increasing use of cultic terminology in Dan 8:9-14, it is also noteworthy that the connection between the angelic and human world may not only exist on a military level but could also be effective on a cultic level.[2]

---

[1]Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien*, 241, 251. Patrick D. Miller comments that "from earliest times on Israel viewed its battles as under the aegis of Yahweh and with the participation of the various cosmic forces which he commanded as the divine warrior, general of the heavenly armies." The exodus and the conquest are intimately linked with "Yahweh going forth at the head of the armies of heaven and Israel (e.g., Deut 33:2-5, 26-29; Judg 5; Ps 68, esp. vss. 8-13 and 18; Hab 3; cf. Josh 5:13-15, a most important reference)" ("The Divine Council and the Prophetic Call to War," *VT* 18 [1968]: 101). Miller summarizes the function of the encounter between Joshua and the שַׂר־צְבָא־יְהוָה in Josh 5:13-15 succinctly: "The general of Yahweh's heavenly armies had come to the general of Yahweh's earthly armies to indicate that the holy war against Canaan had begun and that the armies of heaven were joined with those of earth in the enterprise" ("Cosmology and World Order in the Old Testament: The Divine Council as Cosmic-Political Symbol," *HBT* 9, 2 [1987]: 58). Likewise, Marjo Christina Annette Korpel, in discussing "divine warrior" imagery in relation to the armies of YHWH, notes: "The divine name YHWH Seabot should be seen as a comprehensive designation including all creatures, whether on earth or elsewhere. There is insufficient reason to suppose that this designation of YHWH originally referred to either the divine or the human armies" (*A Rift in the Clouds: Ugaritic and Hebrew Descriptions of the Divine*, UBL, no. 8 [Münster: UGARIT-Verlag, 1990], 513).

[2]Koch believes that Dan 8:8-12 (as 7:8, 20-25 and 9:26-27) presupposes that the Israel cult is connected closely with the angelic world: "Whoever attacks the sanctuary and the celebrations, throws stars to earth." He calls this concept of a projected higher level of events "angelic meta-history" (*angelologische Metahistorie*) (*Das Buch Daniel*, 144-145). There is, of course, also the connection between the heavenly and earthly sanctuaries. See Martin Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," *UF* 2 (1970): 139-158; R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, "The Temple and the Origin of Jewish Apocalyptic," *VT* 20 (1970): 1-15, esp. 4-8; Niels-Erik Andreasen, "The Heavenly Sanctuary in the Old Testament," in *The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical, and Theological Studies*, ed. A. V. Wallenkampf and W. R. Lesher (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1981), 67-86; James R. Davila, "The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *DSD* 9 (2002): 1-19.

It seems that the battle between supernatural forces remains a constant theme in the background of the text. The expression צְבָא הַשָּׁמָיִם hints at this cosmic battle. The horn is certainly a human power. Such an understanding is obviously supported by the succession of earthly kingdoms in Dan 7 and 8. As a human power the horn apparently fights against other human powers. Thus, the צְבָא הַשָּׁמָיִם should be understood as referring to God's people. Still, on a larger scale, the horn as human power typifies the role of a transcendent, anti-divine demon who rages war against the good angels and against God himself.[1] In a similar way, the expression the "host of heaven" refers to the host of saints which is God's army on earth, but at the same time hints at the heavenly army that is also involved in this cosmic battle.

Clause 10b

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

10b [וַתַּפֵּל] [אַרְצָה] [מִן־הַצָּבָא וּמִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים]

waw+Hiphil-ipf/3sgf/ noun/sgf/+He *locale* prep+art+noun/sgm/
waw+prep+art+noun/plm/

wayyiqtol(waw+Hiphil-ipf/3sgf/) noun/sgf/+He *locale*
PWG(prep+ArtWG(art+noun/sgm/)) waw+PWG(prep+ArtWG(art+noun/plm/))

P.Sy [+1.Sy] +6.Sy[dislocative: directive] +2.Sy
predicate [+subject] +description of change of location +object

Clause type: *wayyiqtol*.

[1]One needs to be careful not to imply that the horn symbolizes a demon. For example, Lewis O. Anderson expresses the idea that the horn is not "simply a self-magnifying earthly power but also a transcendent demon which the earthly Little Horn power embodies" ("The Michael Figure in the Book of Daniel" [Th.D. diss., Andrews University, 1997], 312). Rather, it appears that the horn is empowered by demonic forces, and would typify in its actions the demonic forces behind it.

The understood subject of וַתַּפֵּל is the "horn" (vs. 9a). The noun אֶרֶץ with *he locale* (or *he* of direction) refers to the place to which the object is transported to, namely "to the earth." Both prepositions מִן before each part of the object function as *min* partitive and thus the prepositional phrases refer to a part of a greater whole, "*some* of the host and *some* of the stars."[1] The article in מִן־הַצָּבָא refers to the previous mention of צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם in vs. 10a. The article of הַכּוֹכָבִים is apparently placed in analogy to the article in מִן־הַצָּבָא and refers to the whole group of stars. Furthermore, the article is conditioned by the prose character of this text for כּוֹכָבִים, when it refers to the stars as a group in general (34 out of 37 times),[2] is always definite when used in prose,[3] whereas in poetry it may be definite[4] or indefinite.[5]

It is not possible to determine the relationship between the "stars" and the "host of heaven" on syntactic grounds. Rather semantic and textual considerations determine the meaning of both stars and host first, and then, as a consequence, clarify their relation.

---

[1]The partitive use of מִן is sometimes considered under the larger concept of separation; cf. N. Zerweck, *Die hebräische Präposition* "min" (Leipzig: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1894), 30; König, 2:288 (§112.2), 3:27-28 (§81); GKC, 382 n.2 (§119w); Joüon and Muraoka, 489 (§133e); and Gibson, 148 (§118 R. 1). Other occurrences of *min* partitive in the book of Daniel are found in Dan 1:2, 3, 5, 19; 8:9; 11:5, 7, 35; and in Aramaic in Dan 2:42. It is not necessary to assume an ellipsis of "some of" or "a few of" before the prepositional phrases (Schindele, "Textkonstituierung," 8).

[2]In three occurrences the expression does not refer to the stars as a group in general: The singular כּוֹכָב is found in Num 24:17 and Amos 5:26, and the expression "eleven stars" refers symbolically to Joseph's eleven brothers in Gen 37:9.

[3]With article: Gen 1:16; 15:5; Deut 4:19; Dan 8:10; 12:3; Neh 4:15; in construct relation with a definite noun: Gen 22:17; 26:4; 32:13; Deut 1:10; 10:22; 18:62; 1 Chr 27:23; Neh 9:23.

[4]With article: Judg 5:20; Isa 47:13; Ps 147:4; Eccl 12:2; in construct relation with a definite noun: Isa 13:10; Nah 3:16; Job 3:9; with pronominal suffix: Ezek 32:7.

[5]Isa 14:13; Jer 31:35; Joel 2:10; 4:15; Obad 4; Pss 8:4; 136:9; 148:3; Job 9:7; 22:12; 25:5; 38:7.

Semantic Analysis of Words and Phrases

Meaning of הַכּוֹכָבִים

Interpretations. There are various options on how to interpret the relationship between the phrase וּמִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים and the previous מִן־הַצָּבָא, which of course affects the understanding of the symbolic and interpretative meaning of the stars.

1. *The stars are synonymous to the host.*[1] The conjunction *waw* is explicative: "some of the host, *that is* some of the stars" or "some of the host, *namely* of the stars."[2] In other words, the stars are simply an explanation of the host of heaven.

2. *The stars and the host designate different entities.* The conjunction *waw* is coordinative:[3] either the stars are totally separate from the host ("some of the host *and* some of the stars") or the stars are part of the host ("some of the host *and [even] including* some of the stars").[4]

3. *The phrase "and some of the stars" is a secondary addition or was originally a*

---

[1]Bertholdt, 489; Hävernick, 272; von Lengerke, 378; Hitzig, 131; Kliefoth, 253; Kranichfeld, 293; Keil, 296; Rohling, *Daniel*, 238; Zöckler, 175-176; Meinhold, "Daniel," 308; Bevan, 132; Behrmann, 53; Tiefenthal, 267-268; Prince, *Daniel*, 146, 242; Montgomery, 340; Aalders, *Het boek Daniël*, 162; Goettsberger, 61; Charles, 204; Linder, 335; Lattey, 85; Leupold, 346; Young, *Daniel*, 171; Slotki (1951), 67; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 175; Delcor, 173; Walvoord, 186; Wood, 213; Hartman and Di Lella, 225, 236; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 161-162; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" [1986], 398 (offered as alternative); Goldingay, *Daniel*, 197, 209-210; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 332; Haag, *Daniel*, 64; Miller, *Daniel*, 226; Smith-Christopher, 113; Di Lella, *Daniel*, 160; Redditt, 139; Gowan, *Daniel*, 120; Lucas, *Daniel*, 205; cf. Houtman, *Der Himmel im Alten Testament*, 196.

[2]For such an explanatory *waw* in Dan 8:10b see BDB, 252; David W. Baker, "Further Examples of the *Wāw Explicativum*," *VT* 30 (1980): 135; *DCH*, 2:597.

[3]Ewald, *Daniel*, 261; Meinhold, *Composition*, 78; von Gall, 51; Hasslberger, 55; Goldwurm, 223; Süring, *The Horn Motif*, 414; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 397 (offered as alternative).

[4]Compare as background Deut 4:19 where the stars (הַכּוֹכָבִים) are part of all host of heaven (כֹּל צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם).

gloss for "from the host of heaven."[1] From the viewpoint of a text-oriented approach, such a solution is the weakest.

With regard to the meaning of the stars, similar interpretations are found as with the host of heaven. Since the host of heaven and the stars are usually regarded as synonymous, their symbolic meaning as well as their interpretative meaning is considered to be the same also. Thus there are again several possible interpretations for the meaning of the stars: human beings (God's people), celestial beings, heathen idols/gods, or literal stars in metaphoric imagery.[2] Those who consider the stars not synonymous with the host of heaven assert that, if the host of heaven represents God's people, the stars represent only the faithful or pious ones of God's people[3] or a special group among the people of God,[4] or, if the host of heaven represents celestial beings, the stars represent the people of God.[5]

---

[1]Moore, 197; Riessler, *Daniel* (1902), 72; H. Louis Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, no. 14 (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1948), 52; Kraeling, 57; Hartman and Di Lella, 221, 225, 236; Niditch, 219 (noted as possible by Goldingay, *Daniel*, 197; Stahl, *Weltengagement*, 173). To excise וּמִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים as a gloss requires first to delete the preceding *waw* for no other reason (so Hartman and Niditch).

[2]For references see the list of interpretations regarding the "host of heaven."

[3]Meinhold, "Daniel," 308; Driver, *Daniel*, 116; Leupold, 346; Young, *Daniel*, 171; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 162 (refers to the passage in 1 Enoch 43:1-4 in which a vision of "stars of heaven" is interpreted by an angel as "the names of the holy ones who dwell upon the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of the Spirits forever and ever"); Goldwurm, 223.

[4]These prominent members of God's people (Ewald, *Daniel*, 261; Maier, 304) are suggested to be "high officials" (Beek, 94); "great civil and religious powers" (Fausset, 427); "either important military commanders [Num 24:17] or prominent faithful ones [Dan 12:3]" (Meinhold, *Composition*, 78); Levites (Grotius, cited in Thomson, 241); or teachers and leaders of God's people (von Gall, 51; Stokmann, 127 n. 3; Hardy, 287-288).

[5]Süring, *The Horn Motif*, 414-415; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 398 (offered as alternative).

"Stars" in the Hebrew Bible. In order to bring light to this issue it is important to investigate the use of כּוֹכָבִים in Dan 8:10b and how כּוֹכָבִים is used figuratively or symbolically in the Hebrew Bible.[1]

Without being mentioned before or afterwards, the stars appear rather suddenly as an affected object of the horn's action in Dan 8:10b. Syntactically, כּוֹכָבִים is on the same level as צָבָא. Both occur with an article in a prepositional phrase with *min* partitive and both form part of the object. The host is the host of heaven (vs. 10a); the stars should also be thought of as "stars of heaven." The clause itself makes this clear by mentioning that both "some of the host" and "some of the stars" are thrown down to earth, obviously from heaven.[2]

The noun כּוֹכָב occurs thirty-seven times in BH and its lexical meaning is clearly "star,"[3] thus also in Dan 8:10b. Like the expression "host of heaven," "stars" could be objects of worship, which, of course, does not mean that the term "stars" would have the meaning of divine beings, rather the physical elements may have been thought of as worthy of worship.[4] The question that begs to be answered here is what kind of

---

[1]For the figurative meaning of "stars" see R. E. Clements, "כּוֹכָב *kô kāb*," *TDOT*, 7:81-83.

[2]So a supplementary reading of vs. 10b would be "and he cast down to the earth some of the host *of heaven* (supplied from vs. 10a) and some of the stars *of heaven* (in analogy to the host of heaven)." To be sure, this is not to suggest a textual emendation.

[3]Only in Amos 5:26 כּוֹכָב may designate a royal ensign in the phrase "the star of your gods."

[4]For example, Ida Zatelli investigated the astrological beliefs and practices of ancient Israel and argued that a classematic analysis of כּוֹכָב / כּוֹכָבִם distinguishes between the classes "physical / natural elements" and "divinities" ("Astrology and the Worship of the Stars in the Bible," *ZAW* 103 [1991]: 93-94). In other words, for Zatelli "stars" could be deified (she cites Judg 5:20; Isa 14:13; Job 25:5; 38:7; and also Ps 121:6 and Num 24:17). She assumes that these "astrological" references are

metaphoric or symbolic meaning, if any, lies behind the כּוֹכָבִים in the vision of Dan 8.[1] A summary of the uses of כּוֹכָבִים in the Hebrew Bible is displayed in table 4.

In addition to Dan 8:10b, כּוֹכָבִים is used only one other time in Daniel, namely in Dan 12:3 where figuratively (indicated by the preposition כ) the brightness of the stars is compared with the מַשְׂכִּלִים and those who lead many to righteousness, both denoting a specific group of believers.[2] The phrase כּוֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם "the stars of heaven"—which may be what the author had in mind in Dan 8:10b when הַכּוֹכָבִים appears together with הַצָּבָא which refers to the host of heaven—occurs ten times in BH: Once in non-figurative language (Isa 13:10), once as a point of comparison to the merchants of Nineveh (Nah 3:16), and eight times in the phrase כְּכוֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם "like the stars of heaven" where the number of God's covenant people is compared to the countless number of the stars (Gen 22:17; 26:4; Exod 32:13; Deut 1:10; 10:22; 28:62; Neh 9:23; 1 Chr 27:23).[3] Thus the expression "the stars of heaven" is used eight of ten times as a simile for God's chosen

---

archaic elements which then underwent "attempts at a Yahwistic censorship, harmonization, or reinterpretation" (87), thereby affirming that in the biblical context itself the lexical meaning of "stars" should be understood to refer to the natural elements. On the existence of astral cults and star worship mentioned in the Hebrew Bible see also Fabrizio Lelli, "Stars כוכבים," *DDD*, 811-813.

[1]In non-symbolic language כּוֹכָב designates the astronomical entity "star," which may also include the planets: Gen 1:16; Deut 4:19; Isa 13:10; 47:13; Jer 31:35; Ezek 23:7; Joel 2:10; 4:15; Obad 4; Nah 3:16; Pss 8:4; 136:9; 147:4 (the immediate context leaves the possibility open that כּוֹכָבִים refers symbolically to human beings); 148:3; Job 3:9; 9:7; 22:12; 25:5; Eccl 12:2; Neh 4:15.

[2]For the question whether the astral imagery in Dan 12:3 indicates that the saints in their post-resurrection state are considered to be celestial beings see the intertextual analysis of Dan 10–12 in chapter 4 (below).

[3]Ernst Jenni lists the function of the preposition כ in Deut 1:10; 10:22; 28:62 under the semantic category of "comparability" (*Vergleichbarkeit*: "x is the same as / similar to y") (*Die hebräischen Präpositionen*, vol. 2, *Die Präposition Kaph* [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1994], 62) and the function of כ in Gen 22:17; 26:4; Exod 32:13; Neh 9:23; 1 Chr 27:23 under the semantic category "similarity" (*Gleichartigkeit*: "x fares as y fares") (69).

Table 4. Meaning of כּוֹכָבִים "Stars" in the Hebrew Bible

Lexical Meaning "Stars" + Refers to Literal Stars		Lexical Meaning "Stars" + Used as Simile (with Preposition כְּ)		Lexical Meaning "Stars" + Additional Metaphoric Meaning	
		simile for number			
Gen 1:16	the stars	Gen 22:17	seed of Abraham	Gen 37:9	"eleven stars"
Gen 15:5	the stars	Gen 26:4	seed of Abraham	Num 24:17	(sg) "a star"
Deut 4:19	the stars	Exod 32:13	seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel	Isa 14:13	"stars of God"
Judg 5:20	stars signifying supernatural assistance in war	Deut 1:10	Israelites	Job 38:7	"morning stars"
Isa 13:10	the stars of heaven	Deut 10:22	Israelites	Dan 8:10	"some of the stars"
Isa 47:13	the stars	Deut 28:62	Israelites		
Jer 31:35	stars	Neh 9:23	Israelites		
Ezek 32:7	their (the heavens') stars	1 Chr 27:23	Israelites		
Joel 2:10	stars				
Joel 4:15	stars	*simile for brightness*			
Amos 5:26	"star (sg) of your gods"	Dan 12:3	leaders of many to righteousness		
Obad 4	stars figuratively for great height				
Nah 3:16	stars figuratively for large number				
Ps 8:4	stars				
Ps 136:9	stars				
Ps 147:4	stars				
Ps 148:3	all stars of light				
Job 3:9	stars of its twilight				
Job 9:7	stars				
Job 22:12	stars				
Job 25:5	stars				
Eccl 12:2	the stars				
Neh 4:14	the stars				

people. This specific figure of speech originated with God's covenant promise to Abraham in Gen 15:5 where the stars were used to represent the numerous descendants of Abraham. As a metaphor, כּוֹכָבִים is used at least five times (Gen 37:9; Num 24:17; Isa 14:13; Job 38:7; Dan 8:10). In Gen 37:9, the "stars" in the divinely inspired dream of Joseph represent human beings (cf. vs. 10). In Num 24:17, the "star" in the divinely inspired vision given to Balaam represents a human being who will deliver Israel from its enemies. In Isa 14:13, the "stars of God" appear to refer to heavenly beings. In Job 38:7 the "stars of the morning" stand in parallelism to "the sons of God" which in this instance refers to heavenly beings. In Gen 37:9 and Num 24:17 (and also in Dan 8:10b) כּוֹכָב and כּוֹכָבִים are not qualified by a construct relation, whereas in Isa 14:13 and Job 38:7 כּוֹכָבִים stands in a construct relation. The enigmatic description in Judg 5:20 that the "stars fought from heaven" is probably figurative language and should not be considered as metaphorical for YHWH's angelic host.[1]

---

[1]To be sure, it is difficult to determine the meaning of the stars fighting from heaven in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:20). The victory of the Israelites is described by referring to two forces opposing the enemy: the stars (vs. 20) and the torrent of Kishon (vs. 21). Why are the stars mentioned here? Three different kinds of solutions have been suggested. First, the stars are taken as real stars, either in a mythopoetic or in a literal sense. Usually, the stars are understood as the source of rain in the light of the ancient Near Eastern mythic context, especially in reference to Ugaritic sources. Such an interpretation would enhance the following lines on the flooding Kishon river (e.g., J. Blenkinsopp, "Ballad Style and Psalm Style in the Song of Deborah: A Discussion," *Bib* 42 [1961]: 73; Hans-Peter Müller, "Der Aufbau des Deboraliedes," *VT* 16 [1966]: 448; J. Alberto Soggin, "Bemerkungen zum Deboralied, Richter Kap. 5: Versuch einer neuen Übersetzung und eines Vorstoßes in die älteste Geschichte Israels," *TLZ* 106 [1981]: 631). John F. A. Sawyer suggests that the author of Judg 5 witnessed the total eclipse on Sept. 30, in 1131 B.C.E. when familiar stars could have been seen unexpectedly during the day in the wrong part of the sky, which is then not during their normal course ("'From Heaven Fought the Stars' [Judges v 20]," *VT* 31 [1981]: 87-89). Clements takes the participation of the stars to "expresses the idea that all elements of the created world stand at Yahweh's disposal" so that the forces of nature, commanded by YHWH, figuratively wage war on Israel's behalf (Clements, "כּוֹכָב," 7:82). Second, some consider the stars to be a mythological reference to the heavenly army of YHWH (e.g., G. W. Ahlström, "Judges 5:20f. and History," *JNES* 36 [1977]: 287; E. Theodore Mullen, Jr., *The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature,*

Incidentally, when "stars" appear in a dream or vision given by God they represent human beings, or even prominent individuals (Gen 37:9; Num 24:17).[1] This is noteworthy and could provide additional help in the interpretation of the symbolic meaning of the stars in Dan 8:10b. Nevertheless, the evidence of only two additional texts in which stars symbolically occur in a vision should make one careful in arguing that the "stars" in Dan 8 are therefore a symbol for human beings, though this line of argumentation may very well be cogent.

To sum up, the figurative or symbolic use of כּוֹכָבִים in the Hebrew Bible shows that (1) the term is used as a simile only for human beings (nine times), almost exclusively for God's covenant people (eight times), (2) the term is used as a metaphor both for human beings (twice) and heavenly beings (twice), (3) the term is used in a vision for prominent individuals, and (4) in the only other place in the book of Daniel

---

HSM 24 [Chico: Scholars, 1980], 194-195; Heinz-Dieter Neef, *Deboraerzählung und Deboralied: Studien zu Jdc 4,1-5,31*, BThSt 49 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2002], 44, 151). The motif of the smiting star has been traced through the ancient Near Eastern literature and applied to the stars in Judg 5:20, which then are said to be "heavenly bodies which serve as God's emissaries and servants" (Moshe Weinfeld, "Divine Intervention in War in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East," in *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures*, ed. H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983], 124-130; citation on p. 130). A third solution is cautiously offered by P. C. Craigie who argues tentatively that the stars fighting from heaven may be a poetic allusion to the participation of the Hebrew warriors of Deborah in the battle ("Three Ugaritic Notes on the Song of Deborah," *JSOT* 2 [1977]: 33-38; idem, "Deborah and Anat: A Study of Poetic Imagery [Judges 5]," *ZAW* 90 [1978]: 379-380). A thorough evaluation of these suggestions is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, arguing from the context of Judg 5:20 it is clear that the first and third interpretations are preferable. Either the immediate context of rainstorm and flash food suggests that the stars from heaven designate a natural force, or the wider context of Judg 4 suggests that the stars could be identified as the Hebrew warriors. To interpret stars as celestial beings is perhaps the least possible, since such a force is neither mentioned in the narrative in Judg 4 nor in the immediate context of the stars from heaven in Judg 5:20, nor elsewhere in Deborah's song.

[1]So also pointed out by Robert C. Newman, "כּוֹכָב (# 3919)," *NIDOTTE*, 2:611, who extends this to prophetic contexts and includes Isa 14:12-13 (king of Babylon referred to as star[?]) and Dan 12:3 (stars referring to the wise).

(12:3) the term is used as a simile for righteous, insightful humans.[1] Such evidence then suggests that כּוֹכָבִים in Dan 8:10b with its lexical meaning "stars" may well be used as a symbolic reference to human beings, specifically to the covenant people of God.

A comparison between the vision and the angelic interpretation confirms this conclusion. If Dan 8:10b and 8:24f refer to the same activity of the horn, and of the king respectively, the stars and the host of the vision are therefore connected with the עֲצוּמִים "mighty" or "numerous" and the עַם־קְדֹשִׁים "people of holy ones" of the interpretation. Important for the present discussion is that there can be little doubt that both expressions in 8:24f denote a group of human beings, specifically the people of God, and thus the equivalent terms in the vision should also refer to that group of human beings.[2]

Clause 10c

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

10c [וַתִּרְמְסֵם]

waw+Qal-ipf/3sgf/+ePP/3plm/

wayyiqtol(waw+Qal-ipf/3sgf/+ePP/3plm/)

P.Sy [+1.Sy] +2.Sy
predicate [+subject] +object

Clause type: *wayyiqtol*.

---

[1]Michael Stone's brief overview of the meaning of "stars" in Intertestamental literature confirms that stars can symbolize angels or the righteous (Michael Edward Stone, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990], 245). For him, the stars in Dan 8:10 refer to the righteous (245 n. 56).

[2]For a more detailed discussion see chapter 4 "Intertextual Analysis."

The understood subject of וַתִּרְמְסֵם is the "horn" (vs. 9a). The verbal root רמס requires a direct object[1] and describes the action of trampling with one's feet on this object or crushing it to pieces. Sometimes the object is first brought to the ground (אֶרֶץ) and then trampled upon.[2] When the object is animate the effect of the trampling is highly destructive, often resulting in death.[3]

In Dan 8:10c the pronominal suffix /3plm/, which marks the object of this clause, refers back to the object of vs. 10b מִן־הַצָּבָא וּמִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים "some of the host and some of the stars." As these terms are symbolic for beings, the implied effect of the trampling by the horn would imply destruction and death. The use of the root רמס is thus another indication that the symbols of the host and the stars in the vision of Dan 8 in reality do refer primarily to human beings rather than to celestial beings, for it would be rather inconceivable that a power or being belonging to the human realm (the horn) could devastate and destruct celestial beings. However, inasmuch as the heavenly world takes part in earthly events, one could view an attack on God's people on earth as indirectly also affecting the celestial beings.

---

[1]The verb occurs 19 times in the Hebrew Bible. Seventeen times the direct object is explicitly stated; two times it is silently understood by the context (Isa 16:4; Mic 5:7).

[2]Isa 26:5-6 (שפל "lay low" with עַד־אֶרֶץ); 28:2-3 (נוח "cast/set down" with לָאָרֶץ); Dan 8:7 (שׁלך "throw down" with אַרְצָה), 10c (נפל "cause to fall" both אַרְצָה). In Ps 7:6 the life is trampled to the ground (רמס with לָאָרֶץ); in Ezek 26:11 trampling all the streets and bringing the strong pillars to the ground (ירד "come down" with לָאָרֶץ) go hand in hand.

[3]Second Kgs 7:17, 20; 9:33; Ezek 26:11 Mic 5:7; Ps 7:6; Dan 8:7; with inanimate objects symbolically for human beings: 2 Kgs 14:9 = 2 Chr 25:18; Isa 63:3: and here in Dan 8:10c.

Clause 11a

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

11a [וְ[עַד שַׂר־הַצָּבָא] [הִגְדִּיל]

waw+prep noun/sgm/ art+noun/sgc/ Hiphil-pf/3sgm/

waw+PWG(prep +CsWG(noun/sgm/ ArtWG(art+noun/sgc/))) Hiphil-pf/3sgm/

waw+C.Sy[dislocative: directive] P.Sy [+1.Sy]
waw+optional description of expansion of location +predicate [+subject]

Clause type: *x-qatal.*

The verb הִגְדִּיל is masculine in gender. The subject is still the horn, which has been the subject in all clauses since vs. 9a. The gender incongruence between the masculine predicate and the feminine subject "horn" has been explained by textual emendations[1] or by other solutions.[2] It is obvious that the different gender cannot be

[1]Two different emendations have been suggested. The first is to read הִגְדִּילָה instead of הִגְדִּיל (so von Gall, 48, 51; Moore, 196; Prince, "On Daniel viii. 11, 12," 204; Prince, *Daniel*, 242; Marti, *Daniel*, 58; Charles, 205; translation by Niditch, 217). The second is to read תַּגְדִּיל instead of הִגְדִּיל, as suggested by Ginsberg (*Studies in Daniel*, 50) and Hartman and Di Lella (221), who assume that the verbal gender in vs. 11 was originally feminine and that the present masculine forms were introduced by a later copyist who identified the feminine horn symbol with Antiochus Epiphanes.

[2]Most commentators believe that the masculine gender refers to the masculine realities for which the feminine horn symbolically stands. Redditt assumes that the masculine הִגְדִּיל is perhaps partly under the influence of the other masculine verbs in vs. 11b and 11c, and, as a Hiphil perfect, may have also been used in vs. 11a because it was used earlier in 8:4, 8 (139). Another, ingenious suggestion comes from Goldstein who reads הגדיל as infinitive absolute הַגְדֵּיל with *plene* spelling, arguing that the infinitive is used here like a finite verb. He also reads the other verbs in vs. 11 as Hiphil infinitives: *plene* הָרֵים and normal וְהַשְׁלֵךְ (*I Maccabees*, 145-146 n. 251; "The Persecution of the Jews," 142 n. 28). The use of an infinitive absolute instead of a finite verb is indeed a possible feature in BH (see GKC, 345-347 [§113y-gg]; A. Rubinstein, "A Finite Verb Continued by an Infinitive Absolute in Biblical Hebrew," *VT* 2 [1952]: 362-367; John Huesman, "Finite Uses of the Infinitive Absolute," *Bib* 37 [1956]: 284-295; E. Hammershaimb, "On the So-called *Infinitive Absolutus* in Hebrew," in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday, 20 August 1962*, ed. D. W. Thomas and W. D. McHardy [Oxford: Clarendon, 1963], 89-94; Waltke and O'Connor, 594-597 [§35.5.2]; Joüon and Muraoka,

explained on the syntactic level, but it will be addressed later from a literary-structural viewpoint. To suggest that the masculine שַׂר־הַצָּבָא "the prince of the host" could function as subject of the masculine הִגְדִּיל, either by applying a temporal sense to the preposition עַד with subsequent textual emendation[1] or by placing a clause demarcation between וְעַד שַׂר־הַצָּבָא and הִגְדִּיל, is both syntactically and semantically highly

---

2:429-432 [§123u-y]). Yet, Goldstein's proposal is unconvincing for several reasons. First, though a thorough linguistic investigation of the use of the infinitive absolute in place of a finite verb is still outstanding, it seems that in such instances the infinitive absolute regularly occupies the initial position of the clause, especially if the infinitive absolute stands in a clause that is sequential to a previous clause with a finite verb form (such is the case in the more than sixty passages cited in the different works above, except in the textually and lexically difficult Ezek 1:14 where the infinitives, if not read differently, could stand as participles [see Waltke and O'Connor, 597 (§35.5.3)]). The major problem with Goldstein's suggestion of an infinitive הַגְדֵּיל in Dan 8:11a then is that the infinitive absolute in clause 11a, which seems to be sequential after the *wayyiqtol* וַתִּרְמְסֵם (vs. 10c), would not stand at the beginning of the clause where it should be expected. Second, there is no question that the *plene* writing of a Hiphil infinitive is possible in BH (I found 23 occurrences: Deut 15:14; Josh 4:3; 6:3; 7:7; Judg 1:28; 1 Kgs 9:25; Isa 59:4; Jer 3:15; 7:5; 10:5, 23; 23:32; 35:15; 36:16; 44:4, 17, 25; Ezek 7:14; Amos 9:8; Job 34:35; Prov 27:14; Eccl 10:10; Neh 7:3; cf. GKC, 146 [§53k]). However, it would be surprising to find a Hiphil infinitive in *plene* writing two times in one verse without any Masoretic indication whatsoever, followed immediately by another Hiphil infinitive, again not marked as such, but this time without *plene* writing. There is no obvious reason why the third Hiphil infinitive would be written differently from the first two. Just as a further note here, the only clear Hiphil infinitive absolute form in Daniel (הַשְׂכֵּל in 1:17) is not spelled *plene*. Third, Goldstein also has to propose a different clause division. He takes וּמִמֶּנּוּ as belonging to the end of vs. 11a, interpreting the preposition מִן as indicating spatial positioning of a mark beyond which a movement occurs and translating vs. 11a with "It grew, until it equaled the Prince of the Host, and beyond." However, the preposition מִן has no such meaning, neither with a verb of motion (here גדל) nor after the preposition עַד. The clause division proposed by Goldstein must be regarded as implausible. In sum, Goldstein fails to provide cogent evidence for his extensive revocalization of the verbal forms in vs. 11. To be sure, he points out that the different features he suggests can occur in Hebrew, but he does not show how his reading fits the syntactic reality in Dan 8:10-12. His proposal faces too many difficulties and thus has to be rejected.

[1]Because of the masculine gender of the verbs, Thomson is convinced that the prince of the host is the subject of the three clauses in vs. 11. He therefore translates vs. 11, starting with a temporal עַד, "Until the prince of the host magnify [*sic*] himself (1 Sam. xii. 24), and by himself he shall offer the daily sacrifice. And he shall cast down the foundation of his holy place." By two emendations—reading מִמֶּנּוּ וְהֵרִים instead of וּמִמֶּנּוּ הֵרִים and, with the Peshitta, הִשְׁלִים instead of MT הֻשְׁלַךְ—he obtains a description of the successes of Judas the Maccabee: "'Until the prince of the host shall make himself greater than he'—viz. the tyrant represented by 'the little horn'—'and shall offer the daily sacrifice. . . . He shall complete the place of his sanctuary'" (242). Thomson is followed by Bloomfield, who suggests curiously enough that "the prince of the host is Satan" (168).

problematic.[1] As in vs. 10a, the preposition עַד marks the extent to which the horn makes itself grow. However, whereas in vs. 10a עַד carries a spatial-geographical meaning ("as far as"), in vs. 11a it should rather be understood to have a metaphoric spatial or comparative meaning ("to the degree of").[2]

Semantic Analysis of Words and Phrases

Meaning of שַׂר־הַצָּבָא[3]

The meaning and the identity of "the commander of the host" are currently being

---

[1]See the discussion against such a clause demarcation in Pröbstle, "A Linguistic Analysis of Daniel 8:11, 12," 82-86. For several reasons separating וְעַד שַׂר־הַצָּבָא from הִגְדִּיל and taking "the prince of the host" as the subject of הִגְדִּיל is problematic: First, to take "the prince of the host," which probably refers to a celestial being, as the subject of הִגְדִּיל in Dan 8:11a is contrary to all the other 16 examples where a human being is the subject of a גדל hif.-clause without an object. Second, in 15 out of 16 times the Hiphil of גדל without object designates a negative activity ("magnify onself," "boast"). Such an activity cannot be harmonized with the noble figure of "the prince of the host" as agent. Third, beside Dan 8:11a, the root גדל occurs five more times in Dan 8 (vss. 4, 8, 25 in the Hiphil; and vss. 9b, 10a in the Qal), always specifying a negative activity. It is difficult to see why it should then involve a positive connotation in vs. 11a. Fourth, the horn/king is the subject of גדל in vss. 9b, 10a, and 25, and thus fits also in vs. 11a as subject of הִגְדִּיל. Fifth, the occurrences of גדל in the vision of Dan 8 (vss. 4, 8, 9, 10, 11) line up to an intentional literary *crescendo* of boastful activity by adding stronger dimensions to גדל. If the prince of the hosts is the subject of הִגְדִּיל in vs. 11a, the *crescendo* of presumption would be disturbed and would come to an abrupt end with no further qualifications of הִגְדִּיל. Sixth, if הִגְדִּיל starts a new clause, it needs to be proposed that the phrase וְעַד שַׂר־הַצָּבָא resumes the verbal idea of vs. 10a, with the clauses in vs. 10b and c being a digression that functions not on the main line. However, the three *wayyiqtol* forms in vs. 10, denoting narrative succession, do not allow for such a hypothetical construction. And finally, the possible intertextual link of Dan 8:11-12 to 11:36-37 suggests that הִגְדִּיל in 8:11a denotes a negative activity, as do the two Hitpael forms of גדל in 11:36-37. Most arguments presented here can also be applied to refute the view that suggests a temporal עַד construction in vs. 11a.

[2]See Redditt, 139. This nuance in meaning is dependent upon the use of the root גדל in different verbal stems—Qal in vs. 10a and Hiphil in vs. 11a (*pace* Lucas who regards the difference between the Qal and Hiphil of גדל as "probably stylistic" [*Daniel*, 205])—and upon the meaning of שַׂר־הַצָּבָא.

[3]Cf. the investigation of the terms שַׂר־הַצָּבָא and שַׂר־שָׂרִים by Anderson, "The Michael Figure," 296-317; and by Donata Dörfel, *Engel in der apokalyptischen Literatur und ihre theologische Relevanz: Am Beispiel von Ezechiel, Sacharja, Daniel und Erstem Henoch*, Theologische Studien (Aachen: Shaker, 1998), 150-153.

debated.[1] The majority of exegetes agree that שַׂר־הַצָּבָא designates YHWH.[2] Others believe that שַׂר־הַצָּבָא refers to a being subordinated to YHWH, namely Michael[3] or even an otherwise unnamed celestial being,[4] which at least once is suggested to be a divine

---

[1]On the scholarly discussion see Anderson ("Michael Figure," 306-309, 314-315), who concludes that "the prince of the host appears to be a veiled manifestation, as is Michael, seemingly to occupy a position subordinated to God as God's highest intermediary, or as God in a veiled manifestation" (317).

[2]So Calvin, 99; Bertholdt, 490; Hävernick, 275; Rosenmüller, 262; von Lengerke, 378-379; Maurer, 143; Hitzig, 132; Kliefoth, 255; Keil, 297; Wordsworth, 39; Fausset, 427; Rohling, *Daniel*, 238; Zöckler, 176; Ewald, *Daniel*, 262; Meinhold, *Composition*, 78; idem, *Daniel*, 309; Terry, 60; Tiefenthal, 268; von Gall, 51; Kamphausen, 33; Moore, 193-194; Prince, *Daniel*, 146; Driver, *Daniel*, 116; H. J. Rose and J. M. Fuller, "Daniel: Introduction, Commentary, Critical Notes and Excursus," in *The Holy Bible according to the Authorized Version (A.D. 1611) with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation*, vol. 6, *Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets*, ed. F. C. Cook (London: Murray, 1900), 344; Marti, *Daniel*, 58; Riessler, *Daniel* (1902), 76; Montgomery, 335; Aalders, *Het boek Daniël*, 162; Goettsberger, 62; Charles, 207; Obbink, 109; Lattey, 86; Leupold, 347; Young, *Daniel*, 172; Slotki (1951), 67; Bentzen, 70; Saydon, 635; Nelis, 96; Jeffery, 474; Barnes, 2:110; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 175; Porteous, 125; Delcor, 173; Walvoord, 187; Wood, 214; Freer, 143-145; Hasslberger, 99; Baldwin, 157; Hartman and Di Lella, 236; Anderson, *Signs*, 95; Archer, 7:100; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 210-211; Ringgren, "צָבָא," 12:213; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 333; René Péter-Contesse and John Ellington, *A Handbook on the Book of Daniel*, UBS Handbook Series (New York: United Bible Societies, 1993), 212; Miller, *Daniel*, 226; Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 170; Smith-Christopher, 113; Di Lella, *Daniel*, 160; Redditt, 140; Gowan, *Daniel*, 120; Lucas, *Daniel*, 216; Seow, *Daniel*, 123.

[3]Ibn Ezra (cited in Montgomery, 335); Wilhelm Lueken, *Michael: Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1898), 30; Koch, "Visionsbericht," 422; Porter, *Metaphors*, 58; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 403; Smith-Christopher, 113; Dörfel, 151, 160, 162, 246; C. L. Seow, "The Rule of God in the Book of Daniel," in *David and Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J. J. M. Roberts*, ed. B. F. Batto and K. L. Roberts (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 242-243. Koch was first cautious to identify the prince of the host with the highest angel, that is Michael (*Das Buch Daniel*, 144, 207). Later, with reference to Josh 5:14 as support, he is more certain about such an identification and declares it to be fitting that an angel is associated with the cult in Zion since in regard to angelic liturgy "angels are the actual subjects of the cultic activities at the Jerusalem temple" ("Visionsbericht," 422). Hence, Koch proposes a cultic concept determined by angelology.

[4]For Gillian Bampfylde the phrase שַׂר־הַצָּבָא refers to a being subordinated to YHWH, but neither to Michael nor to Gabriel. Rather the prince of the host is an anonymous figure which is "the supreme arch-angel, the chief of the patron princes and warrior for heaven" ("The Prince of the Host in the Book of Daniel and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *JSJ* 14 [1983]: 131). She comes to this conclusion by examining the identity of the figure of Dan 10:2-21 and 12:5-13—which according to her "remains deliberately anonymous in the Book of Daniel" (129). Bampfylde apparently assumes that the man

"vice-regent" or YHWH's co-ruler.[1] Some have identified שַׂר־הַצָּבָא as the high priest Onias III[2] or as the legitimate high priest, which, at the time the vision supposedly refers to, was Onias III.[3] Here and there, it has been suggested that the expression "commander of the host" refers to Judas the Maccabee, the leader of the Jewish troops (host of

---

dressed in linen in Dan 10:2-9 is the same person as the one who speaks to Daniel in Dan 10:10-21—a view which agrees with the majority of scholars. She then argues that the figure in Dan 10:2-9 is the one who had spoken to Gabriel (8:16) and is the man dressed in linen in 12:6-7 and therefore cannot be Gabriel. Further, in 10:21 the figure speaks about Michael and thus, the man in Dan 10 cannot be Michael either. "He is therefore to be identified with the 'Prince of the host' (8:11)," concludes Bampfylde (130). The part of Bampfylde's interpretation which is open for discussion is her assumption of one and the same figure in Dan 10:2-9 and 10-21. If it is possible to identify more than one celestial being in Dan 10, her argumentation is seriously flawed. There seems to be agreement that the man in linen (10:2-9) is not Gabriel. However, Dan 10:12 suggests that the angel who touched and strengthened Daniel was indeed Gabriel, as he introduces himself in the same way as previously (9:22-23). In contrast to Bampfylde, one would then have to argue that there are indeed two different celestial figures in Dan 10: the man in linen seen by Daniel (vss. 4-9) and the one who touched Daniel and spoke to him (vss. 10-14). In this case, there is no reason to equate the two. Of course, the question of whether one or two celestial figures appear in Dan 10 has to be dealt with on a more elaborate basis. Cf. Benedikt Otzen, "Michael and Gabriel: Angelological Problems in the Book of Daniel," in *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honor of A. S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. F. Garcia Martínez, A. Hilhorst and C. J. Labuschagne, VTSup, no. 49 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 115-117, who argues that Gabriel is the *angelus interpres* in 10:1-15 and Michael is the celestial figure in 10:16-21 quoting in vs. 21 a divine remark about him; Anderson, "The Michael Figure," 182-194, who concludes that the celestial figure in Dan 10:10-14 is the angel Gabriel.

[1]Michael S. Heiser, "The Divine Council in Late Canonical and Non-Canonical Second Temple Jewish Literature" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2004), 171-175. Heiser believes that the book of Daniel contains the concepts of divine plurality and vice-regency: The Son of Man figure in Dan 7, the "prince of the host" and the "prince of princes" in Dan 8, and the celestial figure in Dan 10 should be identified with a second deity figure, the "king of the gods" of the divine council (cf. 153-154). For Heiser, the supposed Ugaritic provenance of Dan 7 allows the comparison of this figure with Baal so that the two divine beings in Daniel are "Yahweh-El" and "Son of Man-Baal" (165). In arguing that the vice-regent is not Michael but a being superior to him, Heiser follows the argument by Bampfylde with regard to the celestial being in Dan 10 (172-173). While Heiser's recognition of divine-like characteristics of the celestial figure(s) in Dan 7:13-14; 8:11, 25; and 10:5-6 should not be dismissed easily, his rejection of Michael as possible referent on the basis of Bampfylde's argument should be reassessed (see the previous note).

[2]Grotius, Ephraem the Syrian (both cited in Montgomery, 335); Charles, 204 (but cf. 207).

[3]Beek, 84; cf. 80; Maier, 305.

heaven),[1] or that it "refers to the Holy Temple, which is the House of God, the Prince of the host,"[2] or even to the sun.[3] Still others suggest a double reference: to the high priest and to the angel Michael,[4] or to the high priest and in a secondary sense to God,[5] or to the angel Michael and to God.[6]

In the face of such a plethora of options it might be best to determine the meaning and identity of "the commander of the host" by paying close attention to the immediate context of the expression, and by an examination of the use of שַׂר in the book of Daniel and the use of the fixed expression שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in the Hebrew Bible.

Immediate context of Dan 8:11a. The cultic imagery associated with the prince of the host suggests that the figure is divine.[7] The pronominal suffix in מִקְדָּשׁוֹ (8:11c) refers back to the prince of the host. Because the prince of the host has a sanctuary or

---

[1]Thomson, 242; Buchanan, 244.

[2]Rashi and Moshe Alshich, *The Book of Daniel* = ספר דניאל = *Shield of the Spirit: The Commentaries of Rashi and Rabbi Moshe Alshich on Sefer Daniel*, trans. R. Shahar, The Alshich Tanach Series (Jerusalem: Feldheim, 1994), 382.

[3]Goldstein interprets the host and the fallen stars as referring to meteorites (*I Maccabees*, 146).

[4]Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 162. On the one hand, he detects a cultic background to the use of שַׂר (Ezra 8:24; 1 Chr 16:15; 24:5) which allows one "to understand שר in the sense of '(High) Priest,'" which then is Onias III. On the other hand, the word שַׂר in the book of Daniel "always designates an angel" and in 8:11 it is then referring to the archangel Michael.

[5]So Maier (305), because the high priest is the representative of God.

[6]So Goldwurm, 223-224. For Hammer (85) and Russell (144-145) the term שַׂר indicates that the prince of the host should be the chief of the angel host, who is Michael, whereas the context of the horn's attack on "his sanctuary" and the worship of God seems to support that the prince of the host is God (cf. Beyerle, 34 n. 40).

[7]Smith-Christopher, 113.

sacred area, he can be identified with God, who is the only one mentioned explicitly in the Hebrew Bible to have a sanctuary and the only name used in relationship with a מִקְדָּשׁ.[1] Further, in vs. 11b the "commander of the host" is connected to הַתָּמִיד, a cultic term that again indicates that this prince is not merely an angelic being but rather divine.[2] At the same time, the military terminology in 8:9-10 as well as the military connotation of the title itself suggests that the commander of the host is a warrior—an angelic warrior or even the divine warrior.

The term שַׂר in the book of Daniel.[3] In the book of Daniel, the term שַׂר "prince" occurs eighteen times. It is used nine times for a human leader or a person of note (chaps. 1, 9, 11)[4] and nine times for a celestial being or an angel (in chaps. 8, 10, 12).[5]

---

[1]See Freer, 143; Hasslberger, 99. The only examples of the 75 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible in which מִקְדָּשׁ does not refer to a sanctuary of God are a sanctuary in Moab (Isa 16:12), and the city Bethel which is called a sanctuary for the king (Amos 7:13). Furthermore, the sanctuaries or sacred places in Israel (plural of מִקְדָּשׁ) could be holy places for God or holy places for other deities or idols (Lev 26:31; Ezek 7:24; 21:7; 28:18; Amos 7:9; Ps 73:17).

[2]See the discussion on the "Meaning of הַתָּמִיד" further below under "Clause 11b."

[3]See Udo Rüterswörden, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit: Eine Studie zu śr und vergleichbaren Begriffen*, BWANT, no. 117 = Series 6, no. 17 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1985), 54-55; Herbert Niehr, "שַׂר *śar*," *TDOT*, 14:211, 213-214; Anderson, "The Michael Figure," 130-131; John J. Collins, "Prince שׂר," *DDD*, 662-663. Cf. also the excursus on the term שׂר by Nili Sacher Fox, *In the Service of the King: Officialdom in Ancient Israel and Judah*, HUCM, no. 23 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2000), 158-163, esp. 159.

[4]The technical term שַׂר הַסָּרִיסִים "the commander of the officials" (1:7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 18; also called רַב סָרִיסָיו "chief of his officials" in 1:3), "our princes" (9:6, 8), "one of his princes" (11:5).

[5]"The prince of the host" (Dan 8:11a); "the prince of princes" (8:25); "the prince of the kingdom of Persia" (10:13), "the prince of Persia" (Dan 10:20); "the prince of Jawan" (10:20); "Michael, one of the chief princes" (10:13), "Michael, your prince" (10:21), and "Michael, the great prince" (12:1). Some have argued that the phrases of שַׂר with a geographical term in 10:13, 20 refer to human rulers of the Persian and Greek empires: William H. Shea argues from the Hebrew and presents three, unfortunately unconvincing, arguments against an angelic interpretation ("Wrestling

Interestingly, all references of שַׂר to a celestial being occur in a visionary context, whereas שַׂר referring to a human being is found only once in such a setting (11:5), which, being part of the angelic discourse, is arguably more like a literal explanation of historical material than a vision. This observation strengthens the view that the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in the vision of Dan 8 refers to a celestial being. Besides Dan 8:11a, שַׂר is used in the book of Daniel for Michael, the guardian שַׂר of God's people (10:13, 21; 12:1), for guardian and fighting supernatural beings (10:13, 20), and for the "prince of princes" (8:25).

---

with the Prince of Persia: A Study on Daniel 10," *AUSS* 21 [1983]: 225-250, esp. 234; cf. Alomia, "Lesser Gods," 457), and Tim Meadowcroft refers to the use of שַׂר for humans in Dan 1 and 11:5 and to the OG translation of στρατηγός in 10:13, 20 in contrast to ἄρχων used for Michael in 10:13 ("Who Are the Princes of Persia and Greece [Daniel 10]? Pointers Towards the Danielic Vision of Earth and Heaven," *JSOT* 29 [2004]: 99-113, esp. 102; cf. idem, *Aramaic Daniel*, 253-254). However, the Greek might be ambiguous (Meadowcroft does not take into account that Theodotion uses ἄρχων in all instances in Dan 10 and that in both Greek versions the celestial being in 8:11 is called ἀρχιστράτηγος implying that στρατηγός can refer to celestial beings) and the Hebrew phrases in 10:13, 20 most probably designate supernatural beings since nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible is שַׂר used for a human king. In 10:13 there is a clear distinction between שַׂר מַלְכוּת פָּרַס "the prince of the kingdom of Persia" and מַלְכֵי פָּרָס "the kings of Persia." The singular use of שַׂר in contrast to the plural use of מֶלֶךְ suggests that the prince of the kingdom of Persia is a single angelic being responsible for the Persian Empire throughout different rulers, whereas the kings of Persia are the human rulers of this empire. Furthermore, the mentioning of the prince of Persia and the angelic prince Michael on the same level (10:20-21) suggests that the prince of Persia is an angelic being. Cf. the refutation of Shea's arguments by David E. Stevens, who opts for the view that the princes of Persia and Greece in Dan 10 were national angels or demons ("Daniel 10 and the Notion of Territorial Spirits," *BSac* 157 [2000]: 410-431; cf. already Rayner Winterbotham, "The Angel-Princes of Daniel," *Exp* 1 [1911]: 50-58, who proposes rather unconvincingly on philosophical and theological reasons that angels oversee the nations and represent their special interests in the divine council). Recently, Ernst Haag traces the concept of national angels or angel princes back to the idea of a heavenly council (cf. Deut 32:8, 9, 43 LXX)—following the Canaanite mythological idea of a heavenly retinue—in which YHWH claims special ownership of Israel, and suggests that conflicts on this earth between Israel as inheritance of YHWH and the nations as inheritance of the sons of God correspond to the armed conflicts among angelic powers ("Der Kampf der Engelmächte in Daniel 10-12," in *Textarbeit: Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels; Festschrift für Peter Weimar zur Vollendung seines 60. Lebensjahres*, ed. K. Kiesow and T. Meurer, AOAT, no. 294 [Münster: Ugarit, 2003], 249-252). For Haag, the significance of such national angels in Dan 10-12 is that they point to a "Fall" in the angelic world and that Michael, the prince of God's people, in fighting for the people assigned to him, opposes the anti-YHWH and proves to be successful (252-253).

The expression שַׂר־שָׂרִים "prince of princes" in the angelic interpretation (8:25) corresponds to שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in the vision.[1] Since שַׂר is used in Daniel for chief angels, the שַׂר־שָׂרִים is very likely a reference to the commander of these angels, who may thus be identified as God—although this is less likely, for God is never designated as שַׂר in the Hebrew Bible—or as the highest of the angels, most likely Michael, the "great prince" (12:1; cf. 10:13). It is a characteristic feature of the book of Daniel that the term שַׂר is used for a supernatural being since such a usage is found only in the book of Daniel, in Josh 5:14-15, which is dealt with below, and perhaps in Isa 9:5[2] (and quite frequently at Qumran).[3]

The phrase שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in the Hebrew Bible. It is important to consider the phrase שַׂר־הַצָּבָא on its own, since in the Hebrew Bible the use of שַׂר crosses civil, military, and religious administrative divisions and the attached qualifying noun is

---

[1]Cf. Behrmann, 58; Freer, 145; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 333. Only a few scholars argue that the expressions שַׂר־הַצָּבָא and שַׂר־שָׂרִים refer to different entities (so, e.g., Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 146). However, as Lust correctly observes, the difference in the title can easily be explained by their use in different contexts, the one in the symbolic vision and the other in the interpretation (Lust, "Cult and Sacrifices in Daniel," 291).

[2]In Isa 9:5 שַׂר־שָׁלוֹם is used for a Messiah-like figure. The context is not clear whether this being was thought of as human or as divine or both. In any case, the names this child or son is called—of which שַׂר־שָׁלוֹם is one—each seem to contain both a divine and a human element in an obvious AB-AB // BA-BA order: פֶּלֶא יוֹעֵץ "Wonderful [divine] Counselor [human]," אֵל גִּבּוֹר "God [divine] Mighty [human]," אֲבִיעַד "Father [human] Eternal [divine]," and שַׂר־שָׁלוֹם "Prince [human] of Peace [divine]."

[3]In the following texts the term שַׂר is used for a celestial being at Qumran: "prince" in 1Q33 (1QM) XIII,14; "prince of light(s)" in CD V,18; 1QS III,20; 1Q33 (1QM) XIII,10; 4Q266 3ii5; 4Q267 2,1; "prince of gods" in 1QH[a] XVIII,8; "prince of his angels" in 4Q491 1-3,3; "prince of animosity" in 4Q225 2i9; 2ii13-14; 11Q11 II,4; and "prince of the dominion of evil" in 1Q33 (1QM) XVII,5.

particularly important to establish the exact meaning of a particular phrase.[1] The construct relation of שַׂר and צָבָא occurs thirty-seven times in the Hebrew Bible.[2] The phrases can be grouped according to the morphological appearance of שַׂר and צָבָא:[3]:

1. שַׂר in the singular
    a. צָבָא is indefinite (4x):
        2 Sam 2:8; 19:14; 1 Kgs 16:16; 1 Chr 27:34.
    b. צָבָא is definite, by the article (10x):
        1 Sam 17:55; 1 Kgs 1:19; 11:15, 21; 2 Kgs 4:13; 25:19; Jer 52:25; Dan 8:11; 1 Chr 19:18; 27:5.
    c. צָבָא is definite, either by pronominal suffix or by a definite noun following in construct relation (16x):
        Gen 21:22, 32; 26:26; Josh 5:14, 15; Judg 4:2, 7; 1 Sam 12:9; 14:50; 26:5; 2 Sam 10:16, 18; 1 Kgs 2:32 (2x); 2 Kgs 5:1; 1 Chr 19:16.

2. שַׂר in the plural
    a. צָבָא is indefinite (1x):
        Deut 20:9.
    b. צָבָא is definite, by the article (5x):
        1 Kgs 1:25; 1 Chr 25:1; 26:26; 27:3; 2 Chr 33:11.
    c. צָבָא is definite, by a definite noun following in construct relation (1x):
        1 Kgs 2:5.

With regard to the meaning of שַׂר־הַצָּבָא, it needs to be pointed out first of all that this phrase is a technical military term. The expression שַׂר־הַצָּבָא is a "warrior title"[4] that designates the supreme commander of the army, "the commander of the levies,"[5] whereas

---

[1]Fox, 150.

[2]It also occurs once in the Lachish ostraca no. 3, line 14 (*HAE* 1:418; *DNWSI*, 2:1191).

[3]Cf. the analysis of שַׂר־הַצָּבָא by Rüterswörden, *Beamten*, 35-37 (cf. Freer, 143-145).

[4]George W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr., *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*, HTS, no. 26 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 14 n. 20.

[5]*HALOT*, 3:1352. The commander-in-chief of the Israel army is in 1 Chr 27:3 referred to as הָרֹאשׁ לְכָל־שָׂרֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת "the chief of all the commanders of the armies."

the plural שָׂרֵי־הַצָּבָא usually refers to somewhat lower military officials.[1] In one instance it may be possible that the plural refers to those overseeing the work in the temple, though the exact meaning is uncertain (1 Chr 25:1; cf. vs. 6).

Second, in almost all texts the army is specified in relation to a human being, a people, a city, or a land, and the commander of the army naturally is a human, military commander. Only in Josh 5:14, 15 is the army explicitly designated as belonging to YHWH (שַׂר־צְבָא־יְהוָה) and the commander of the army is a celestial being, which makes this text an important parallel to שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in Dan 8:11a who is also a celestial being.

Third, in the human realm it is never mentioned that the army is the commander's army, rather the additions to the title שַׂר־הַצָּבָא show whose army it is. The commander's name is thus often found along with the king's name or along with the name of the political entity or area from where the army originates, that is, a city or a land.[2] The

---

[1]The plural forms שָׂרֵי הַצָּבָא "commanders of the army" (1 Kgs 1:25; 1 Chr 26:26; 2 Chr 33:11), שָׂרֵי צְבָאוֹת "commanders of armies" (Deut 20:9), and שָׂרֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת "the commanders of the armies" (1 Chr 27:3) refer obviously to military officials or commanders of military entities, but not to the supreme commander of the army; compare the phrases "the third commander of the army" (1 Chr 27:5), "commanders in the army" (שָׂרִים בַּצָּבָא; 1 Chr 12:22), or "the commanders (שָׂרֵי) of thousands and commanders (שָׂרֵי) of hundreds" (Num 31:14; 1 Chr 27:1). Only in 1 Kgs 2:5 does the plural שְׁנֵי־שָׂרֵי צִבְאוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל "the two commanders of the armies of Israel" clearly refer to two supreme commanders, but here it is the context that is decisive and the specific wording is markedly different from the other plural forms.

[2]This is especially obvious when צָבָא is followed by a definite noun in construct relation or when a pronominal suffix is affixed to צָבָא: Phichol, commander of the host of Abimelech (Gen 21:22, 32; 26:26); commanders of the hosts of Israel (Deut 20:9); Sisera, commander of the host of Jabin (Judg 4:2, 7); Sisera, commander of the host of Hazor (1 Sam 12:9); Abner, commander of the host of Saul (1 Sam 14:50; 26:5; 2 Sam 2:8); Shobach the commander of the army of Hadadezer (2 Sam 10:16; 1 Chr 19:16); Shobach the commander of the army of Aram (2 Sam 10:18); Amasa, commander of the army "before me (David)" (2 Sam 19:14); Abner and Amasa, the two commanders of the armies of Israel (1 Kgs 2:5); Abner, commander of the army of Israel (1 Kgs 2:32); Amasa, commander of the army of Judah (1 Kgs 2:32); Omri, commander of the army [of Israel] (1 Kgs 16:16); Naaman, captain of the army of the king of Aram (2 Kgs 5:1); Joab, commander of the army of (belonging to) the king (1 Chr 27:34). Cf. David M. Howard, Jr., *Joshua*, NAC, vol. 5 (Nashville:

commander of the army was regarded as the most powerful person in the nation second to the king only, to whom he was subordinated.

Fourth, as mentioned earlier, Josh 5:14, 15 and Dan 8:11a are the only passages where the technical military term שַׂר־הַצָּבָא is used for a supernatural being. Two factors, that is, the fixed expression שַׂר־הַצָּבָא and its reference to a transcendent being, strongly suggest an intertextual relation. The use of שַׂר־הַצָּבָא for a supernatural being in Josh 5:14, 15 may very well have influenced the specific use of שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in Dan 8:11a,[1] and in order to understand its function and meaning in Dan 8:11a it may be helpful to determine as far as possible its referential meaning in Josh 5:14, 15.[2] The significance of these titles as applied to a celestial being can hardly be underestimated.[3]

Since in the human military system שַׂר־הַצָּבָא refers to the commander-in-chief who is subordinate to the king, it seems to make sense that some argue that by analogy "the commander of the army of the Lord" (Josh 5:14, 15) is not the Lord himself but

---

Broadman & Holman, 1998), 156-157.

[1]So Freer, 143-144; Anderson, "The Michael Figure," 300-301, 420, 436; Dörfel, 151; Seow, "The Rule of God," 240. Collins calls the "prince of the army of YHWH" in Josh 5:14 "a precedent for the title 'prince' applied to an angel" ("Prince," *DDD*, 663). Lelli, who supports an astral understanding of the host of heaven, also notes the close association between the two princes when he explains that "at the head of the heavenly host stands a 'Prince of the army' (Josh 5:14-15; Dan 8:11), probably the highest star and the farthest from the earth, even if the actual leader is God, to whom the starry army belongs" ("Stars," *DDD*, 813).

[2]On the appearance of the captain of the host of YHWH in Josh 5:13-15 see the commentators and Aug. Rohling, "Über den Jehovaengel des Alten Testaments," *TQ* 48 (1866): 527-530; and especially Félix M. Abel, "L'apparition du chef de l'armée de Yahveh à Josué (Jos. V, 13-15)," in *Miscellanea Biblica et Orientalia: R. P. Athanasio Miller completis LXX annis oblata*, ed. A. Metzinger, SA, no. 27-28 (Rome: "Orbis Catholicus," Herder, 1951), 109-113.

[3]Since in Josh 5 the title שַׂר־צְבָא־יְהוָה "is very specific and unusual and must be taken seriously" (Patrick Dwight Miller, Jr., "Holy War and Cosmic War in Early Israel" [Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1963], 253), the title שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in Dan 8 must receive the same attention.

rather his commander-in-chief.[1] Nevertheless, the commander of the army of the Lord appears to be indeed a divine being.[2] Several textual indicators lead to such a conclusion.

1. The commander of YHWH's army first gives Joshua the order to remove his sandals, "for the place where you are standing is holy," which is reminiscent of YHWH's command to Moses with almost identical wording (Exod 3:5). The position and continuation of these two incidents in their respective narratives are also similar. Thereby the commander of the Lord's army and the Lord appearing to Moses, as well as Moses and Joshua, enjoy the same intertextual level.

2. Holiness is a manifestation of the divine presence.

3. Joshua's body language expresses deference, submission, and worship. His prostration before the commander of YHWH's army is described with the verbal root חוה which in this context denotes at least acknowledgment of a position of honor and authority but probably also a gesture of submission and worship.[3]

---

[1]See, e.g., Hasslberger, 98-99; Volkmar Fritz, *Das Buch Josua*, HAT, Reihe 1, no. 7 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1994), 64; Richard D. Nelson, *Joshua: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 81-83; Howard, *Joshua*, 157-159, though he also admits that "the distinction between Yahweh and his commander is not a sharp one" (ibid., 159). A Targum of Joshua 5 identifies the commander of YHWH's army with Uriel (Heinz Fahr and Uwe Gleßmer, *Jordandurchzug und Beschneidung als Zurechtweisung in einem Targum zu Josua 5: (Edition des Ms T.-S. B 13,12)*, Orientalia biblica et christiana, vol. 3 [Glückstadt: Augustin, 1991], 86-87). An ambivalence of angel and God, which makes it sometimes difficult to decide who is meant, is recognized by Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien*, 14, 43-45.

[2]See, e.g., Gordon Mitchell, *Together in the Land: A Reading of the Book of Joshua*, JSOTSup, no. 134 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1993), 48-49; Richard S. Hess, *Joshua: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC, vol. 6 (Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity, 1996), 127; Anderson, "The Michael Figure," 302-304. J. Alberto Soggin believes that "the angel is not a being distinct from Yahweh, but in a sense is one of his hypostases" (*Joshua: A Commentary*, OTL [London: SCM; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972], 78).

[3]Miller, *Divine Warrior*, 129. For George E. Mendenhall, the activity expressed by חוה "is essentially the response to power, and is a symbolic acknowledgment of the authority and rule of the

4. Joshua's words make it clear that he is ready to listen to and to obey this commander whom he serves. The address אֲדֹנִי "my lord" does not indicate whether Joshua regarded this commander as divine or only as a superior being.[1] The self-designation of Joshua as עַבְדּוֹ "his servant" with the reverential third-person pronominal suffix referring to the commander of the Lord's army is especially interesting as Joshua is elsewhere called עֶבֶד יְהוָה "the servant of the Lord" (Josh 24:29; Judg 2:8) and the title "servant" in the book of Joshua is used almost exclusively in relationship to YHWH.[2] It is therefore likely that the use of עַבְדּוֹ indicates that Joshua himself regarded this commander as divine.

5. If the episode in Josh 5:13-15 continues with the message given to Joshua in 6:2-5 and thus Josh 5:13-6:5 functions as the first episode of the Jericho story,[3] the

---

person or god thus worshiped" ("Biblical Faith and Cultic Evolution," *LQ* 5 [1953]: 239), and in the case of Joshua, who sees the angel, prostration is a response to God's power (241), and should not only be understood as the reverence paid to the higher person (*pace* Rohling, "Über den Jehovaengel," 529-530).

[1]The expression אֲדֹנִי "my lord" is used as a polite address and often refers to human superiors. For God the term אֲדֹנָי is used instead (see Howard, *Joshua*, 158). However, one should not argue that the use of אֲדֹנִי excludes the commander as divine, for elsewhere in the book of Joshua the word אֲדֹנִי occurs only in the proper name Adoni-zedek (Josh 10:1, 3), where it probably refers to a god, and the word אֲדוֹן "lord" is used only in Josh 3:11, 13, where in the phrase אֲדוֹן כָּל־הָאָרֶץ "Lord of all the earth" it refers to God.

[2]The phrase עֶבֶד יְהוָה "servant of the Lord" is a title of honor which is in the Hebrew Bible used only for Moses (Deut 34:5; Josh 1:1, 13, 15; 8:31, 33; 11:12; 12:6 [2x]; 13:8; 14:7; 18:7; 22:2, 4, 5; 2 Kgs 18:12; 2 Chr 1:3; 24:6) and Joshua. Cf. other titles used for Moses in the book of Joshua: עַבְדִּי (Josh 1:2, 7 used by YHWH), עַבְדּוֹ "his (YHWH's) servant" (Josh 9:24; 11:15). Cf. also עֶבֶד־הָאֱלֹהִים "servant of God," used only for Moses (Dan 9:11; Neh 10:30; 1 Chr 6:34; 2 Chr 24:9). "Servants" (plural) is in the book of Joshua used only in relation to someone other than YHWH when the Gibeonites designate themselves as "your servants" in relation to Joshua and the Israelites (Josh 9:8, 9, 11, 23; 10:6).

[3]Nicolai Winther-Nielsen, *A Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua: A Computer-Assisted Rhetorical Structure Analysis*, ConBOT, no. 40 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1995), 193-194,

commander of YHWH's army (5:15) and YHWH (6:2) appear to be the same person.[1]

To sum up, in Josh 5:13-15 the expression שַׂר־הַצָּבָא designates the supreme commander of the "host of YHWH" who in the text is distinctly marked as divine, as YHWH. On grounds of the specific usage of שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in the human realm, it is not clear whether in Josh 5 he should be designated as the Most High. The context gives ample reason why this divine being identifies himself with the highest military title: YHWH, the divine warrior, will fight in the impending battle to conquer the promised land, starting here at Jericho, on the side of Joshua and Israel (cf. 1 Sam 17:45). He is not only the leader of the heavenly armies but also the supreme commander of the armies of Israel, giving Joshua and the Israelites specific instructions for the impending battle. It is reasonable to conclude that the title שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in the vision of Dan 8 is used specifically because of its referential meaning to Josh 5:14, 15 so that in the context of the offensive war of the horn שַׂר־הַצָּבָא refers to the heavenly commander who is divine, "a Manifestation of God in person,"[2] and yet at the same time might be distinct from God the Most High.[3] This supreme commander leads both the "host of angels" as well as the

---

204. Others, of course, believe that Josh 6:1-5 cannot be regarded as a continuation of Joshua's encounter with the commander of YHWH's host and so the message of the heavenly commander "has been lost or omitted from the text" (Mullen, 199).

[1]Winther-Nielsen also argues that the formula וַיֹּאמֶר שַׂר־צְבָא יְהוָה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (Josh 5:15a) with nominal speaker and proper noun addressee recurs in וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (6:2a) and thus highlights the continuation of the divine commander's speech (204).

[2]Seow, *Daniel*, 123.

[3]The relation between Dan 8:11a and Josh 5:14 has also been pointed out by van der Woude who comes to the same conclusion regarding the nature of the commander of YHWH's host in Josh 5:14: "Dan 8:10 [*sic*] describes God himself as the prince of this *ṣābāʾ* [host of heaven], while Josh 5:14 mentions the prince of Yahweh's host in the context of a theophany, a reference to a *malʾak*

"host of believers." The title may even add the idea that the prince of the host "will in the end be as victorious over his enemy (the Little Horn power) as Yahweh was in the days of Joshua."[1]

In addition, some scholars have suggested that the use of the word שַׂר in Dan 8:11a (also) has a priestly connotation and could even refer to the high priest.[2] Indeed, the term שַׂר, which usually denotes (higher) officials,[3] can designate specific priests or Levites as leading priests or officers of the sanctuary:

---

yhwh-like figure who, as Yahweh's messenger, is envisioned as simultaneously distinct from and identical with him" ("צָבָא," 2:1042). In contrast to van der Woude, I take the intertextual reference to Josh 5:14 in Dan 8:11a as indication that the commander of the host in Dan 8:11a is of similar nature as the commander of the host in Josh 5:14; in fact, it is the same being.

[1]Anderson, "The Michael Figure," 304.

[2]For Lacocque, שַׂר refers both to the high priest and to the angel Michael (*The Book of Daniel*, 162). Doukhan mentions that שַׂר "is the technical term for high priest (Ezra 8:24). In the context of the book of Daniel the word refers to Michael (Dan. 10:5, 13, 21; 12:1) who is dressed with linen clothes like the high priest officiating during the Day of Kippur (Lev. 16:4)" (*Secrets*, 126; cf. already idem, *Daniel: The Vision of the End*, 37-38). Beate Ego delineates a major tradition in the Rabbinic understanding, that prince Michael should be identified with the heavenly high priest. Reasons for this are that Michael, the great prince (Dan 12:1), stands before God (so in bHag 12b). In the continuation of this clause the cultic meaning of "standing before God" is expressed (Deut 10:8; Judg 20:28), and the term שַׂר can be used for the priest (1 Chr 24:5). Further, the heavenly high priest and Michael fulfill the same tasks and functions, especially the task of intercession ("Der Diener im Palast des himmlischen Königs: Zur Interpretation einer priesterlichen Tradition im rabbinischen Judentum," in *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult: im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt*, ed. M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer, WUNT, no. 55 [Tübingen: Mohr, 1991], 366-372; cf. Alberto R. Treiyer, *The Day of Atonement and the Heavenly Judgment: From the Pentateuch to Revelation* [Siloam Springs: Creation Enterprises, 1992], 347-348).

[3]Rüterswörden, *Beamten*, 20-95; Niehr, "שַׂר," 14:196-198, 204-212; Rainer Kessler, *Staat und Gesellschaft im vorexilischen Juda: Vom 8. Jahrhundert bis zum Exil*, VTSup, no. 47 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 140, 165-189; Hermann Michael Niemann, *Herrschaft, Königtum und Staat: Skizzen zur soziokulturellen Entwicklung im monarchischen Israel*, FAT, no. 6 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1993), 41-56; cf. Sophia Katharina Bietenhard, *Des Königs General: Die Heerführertraditionen in der vorstaatlichen und frühen staatlichen Zeit und die Joabgestalt in 2 Sam 2-20; 1 Kön 1-2*, OBO, no. 163 (Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitäts-Verlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 63-64.

Priests: שָׂרֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים (Ezra 8:24, 29; 10:5; 2 Chr 36:14)
שָׂרֵי־קֹדֶשׁ (Isa 43:28; 1 Chr 24:5)
שָׂרֵי הָאֱלֹהִים (1 Chr 24:5)

Levites: הַשָּׂר (1 Chr 15:5-10, 27)
שָׂרֵי הַלְוִיִּם (1 Chr 15:16; 2 Chr 35:9; perhaps Ezra 8:29)
שַׂר־הַלְוִיִּם (1 Chr 15:22)

Obviously, there was more than one priestly שַׂר at the same time. For example, in 1 Chr 15:5-10, six Levites are called שַׂר, and in the other texts שַׂר is used in the plural, whereas the designation for the high priest should be in the singular. It is also noteworthy that שַׂר is used regularly as head of a construct phrase together with a noun referring to the group or entity in which the person functions as שַׂר. Thus, if צָבָא refers to a priestly host, שַׂר־הַצָּבָא designates the leader of a priestly host. However, in the Hebrew Bible the phrase שַׂר־הַצָּבָא never refers to the high priest or to priests. It is rather difficult therefore to sustain a primarily priestly connotation for the term שַׂר or the phrase שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in Dan 8:11a. Nonetheless, given the strong presence of cultic terminology in vs. 11b and 11c, a priestly connotation of שַׂר, respectively שַׂר־הַצָּבָא, seems possible at least in a secondary sense.

Conclusion. The use of the title שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in Dan 8:11a, as well as the appellation שַׂר־שָׂרִים in 8:25, implies no less than divine status.[1] It refers to the divine supreme commander. As a military term, שַׂר־הַצָּבָא emphasizes the war-like character of the activities of the horn and its attack against this heavenly warrior. In fact, the הַצָּבָא־שַׂר should be understood in the concept of the "Divine Warrior." To sum up, the

[1]So also the observation by Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 375.

expression שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in Dan 8:11a presents the combination of two strands of thinking: (1) שַׂר־הַצָּבָא is a military term in the Hebrew Bible and (2) שַׂר in a visionary context in the book of Daniel refers to a celestial being. In addition, a priestly connotation cannot be excluded.

The question remains, who is this divine-like commander of the host? Most likely, Michael is the commander. First, the title שַׂר links both the prince of the host and Michael. Of all the occurrences of שַׂר in the book of Daniel, the phrase הַשַּׂר הַגָּדוֹל "the great prince" (12:1), which identifies Michael, is most similar to שַׂר־הַצָּבָא. Second, regarding terminology, it is noteworthy that the Greek ἀρχιστράτηγος "commander-in-chief," which renders שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in Dan 8:11a, is repeatedly used as an attribute to Michael in the Pseudepigrapha.[1] This is a later tradition, of course, but it confirms the

[1]The Greek translation of שַׂר־הַצָּבָא is fifteen times the term ἀρχιστράτηγος "commander-in-chief." Both in Josh 5:14, 15 and in Dan 8:11a this title occurs. Out of the ca. 73 occurrences of the term ἀρχιστράτηγος in the Pseudepigrapha, which always refers to celestial beings, this title is most frequently used for Michael (ca. 71 times), only once for Raphael (Greek Apocalypse of Ezra 1:4) and once for a man of heaven not identified (Joseph and Asenath 14:7). The phrases "Michael, the ἀρχιστράτηγος" and "the ἀρχιστράτηγος Michael" occur in 2 Enoch 22:6 (J); 33:10 (J and A); 72:5 (J); 3 Baruch (Greek version) 11:4, 6, 7, 8; 13:3; Testament of Abraham (A) 1:4; 2:2; 3:9; 4:7; 7:11; 8:11; 9:8; 10:12; 12:15; 14:5, 12; 15:1; 19:4; (B) 14:7; Greek Apocalypse of Ezra 4:24. Thus, when the Old Greek and Theodotion use the title ἀρχιστράτηγος in Dan 8:11a the interpretation based on the Pseudepigrapha is that this "prince of the host" should be identified with Michael. See Lueken, 26-27; Michael Mach, "Michael מיכאל," *DDD*, 570; Darrell D. Hannah, *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity*, WUNT: Reihe 2, no. 109 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 38-40. Johannes Peter Rohland's attempt to argue that the ἀρχιστράτηγος in Josh 5:14, 15 and Dan 8:11a should not be identified with Michael because his name does not appear in these biblical texts is not convincing (*Der Erzengel Michael, Arzt und Feldherr: Zwei Aspekte des vor- und frühbyzantinischen Michaelskultes*, BZRGG, no. 19 [Leiden: Brill, 1977], 13-14). From a diachronic viewpoint, it is more likely that the Pseudepigrapha as later writings used the term ἀρχιστράτηγος from Josh 5:14, 15 and Dan 8:11a and identified it with Michael than the biblical writer intentionally avoided the name Michael in order to make clear that he refers here to another celestial being. On the preeminence of Michael in Jewish and Christian literature see also the list of attributes and characteristics of Michael in Colin Nicholl, "Michael, the Restrainer Removed (2 Thess. 2:6-7)," *JTS* 51 (2000): 33-35; cf. Anderson, "The Michael Figure," 4-11.

identification of the ἀρχιστράτηγος with Michael in the early Jewish literature. Third, whenever Michael is mentioned in Daniel the context is one of contest and controversy,[1] leading Collins to believe that in the book of Daniel "Michael, not Yahweh, is the heavenly warrior who fights for Israel."[2] Such a background of war and conflict would fit well with the mentioning of this celestial figure in Dan 8:11a in a context in which the horn is on the war-path. Fourth, "the commander of the host of Yahweh" in Josh 5:13-15, which is intertextually related to the commander of the host in Dan 8:11a, has been suggested to be Michael or, at least, a prefiguration of Michael.[3] Fifth, if the host of heaven refers to the covenant people, the commander of the host would be the leader of that covenant people. In this regard, the attribute of Michael as the one "who stands over

---

[1]An extensive discussion on the functions of Michael in the Book of Daniel is provided by Anderson, "The Michael Figure," 181-295. For Michael as the fighting one, even as the Divine Warrior, see John J. Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll: A Point of Transition in Jewish Apocalyptic," *VT* 25 (1975): 600-601; and Otzen, 119-123.

[2]Collins, "Holy War in Daniel," 601.

[3]Collins suggests that "the figure of Michael must be seen as development of the prince of the host of Yahweh who appears to Joshua in Jos. v 13 and of the angel of the Exodus" ("Holy War in Daniel," 601 n. 20). A relation between Michael and the celestial figure in Josh 5 could be established on the basis of "parallel passages" to Josh 5:13-15. There, "the prince of the host of YHWH" is described with וְחַרְבּוֹ שְׁלוּפָה בְּיָדוֹ "and his sword drawn in his hand" (Josh 5:13). Exactly the same characterization is used for מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה "the angel of YHWH" in Num 22:23, 31 and 1 Chr 21:16 (cf. Miller, *The Divine Warrior*, 128-131). Otzen regards these parallel texts as "connecting links from the 'Prince of the Host of Yahweh' to the *mal'āk* with his sword and from there to the figure of the fighting Michael" (120). Otzen also refers to the later rabbinic tradition which interprets "various martial angels figuring in Old Testament narratives as Michael," for example, the "prince of the host of YHWH" (Josh 5:13) or the angel of YHWH stopping Balaam (Num 22:23). He finally concludes that there is a "development from Yahweh as the divine warrior to a figure of a fighting angel who represents Yahweh in his capacity of warrior and who may even be seen as the 'warrior aspect' of Yahweh split off as an independent figure, eventually being personalized as Michael" (121).

the sons of your people" in Dan 12:1 proves him to be the "angelic guardian of Israel,"[1] the protector and patron of the covenant people, a position which is usually attributed to YHWH himself.[2] One should also mention that the role of the commander of the host in Dan 8 (leader of the host of heaven, heavenly [high] priest, opponent of the horn) is similar to the roles that are in general attributed to Michael in Jewish apocalyptic literature.[3]

In sum, the suggestion of a "commander of the host" that is both angelic and divine-like seems to be the only solution which is faithful to the different indicators within the text. At the same time, such a proposal resolves the tension felt by those exegetes who chose the prince to be either God or to be Michael.[4]

Meaning of the Clause

An analysis of the syntactic and semantic features of sentences in which גדל

---

[1]See Hannah, 33-38, esp. 34-35.

[2]Similarly, but not in the sense of attributing a divine-like character to Michael, Niehr remarks that according to Dan 10:13 and 12:1 "Michael has taken the place of Yahweh as Israel's protective prince" (Niehr, "שַׂר," 14:214). Anderson argues for the divine character of the Michael figure who is an intermediary between God and angels as well as between God and humans ("The Michael Figure," 288-294).

[3]See Hannah's recent discussion on Michael in Jewish apocalyptic literature (including the book of Daniel). He observes that Michael is presented in relation to Israel as the angelic guardian of Israel, the leader of the heavenly host, and Israel's legal advocate and opponent of Satan. Further, Michael is presented as Israel's intercessor and heavenly high priest, as psychopomp, as *angelus interpres*, as the highest archangel, and as "the angel of the Name" (Hannah, 33-54).

[4]For example, Zöckler believes that the prince of the host of YHWH in Josh 5:14, who for him is probably Michael, is not identical with the prince of the host in Dan 8, who by contextual reasons must be divine (176). As another example, Montgomery rejects the view that the prince of the host is Michael, though for him the use of שַׂר in the book of Daniel as well as Josh 5:14 supports the idea that the prince of the host is Michael (335).

occurs in the Hiphil stem illuminates the meaning of Dan 8:11a.[1] In the OT, thirty-four clauses with גדל hif. are found. The semantically relevant syntactic features of these clauses are shown in the following list:[2]

1. גדל hif. with direct object; transitive-causative: "to make something great" (13x)
   a. Human subject (negative activity): Amos 8:5; Obad 12; Ps 41:10; Eccl 2:4.
   b. Divine subject (positive activity): Gen 19:19; 1 Sam 12:24; 2 Sam 22:51 (*ketib*) = Ps 18:51(*qere*); Isa 9:2; 28:29; 42:21; Ezek 24:9; Ps 138:2.

2. גדל hif. with infinitive sentence as semantic predicate;[3] intransitive: "(to do) great things" or "to act mightily or boastfully" (4x)
   a. Human subject (negative activity): Joel 2:20.
   b. Divine subject (positive activity): Joel 2:21; Ps 126:2, 3.

3. גדל hif. without direct object; inwardly transitive:[4] "to make oneself great," often by exalting oneself or boasting (17x)
   a. Human subject (mostly negative activity): 1 Sam 20:41;[5] Jer 48:26, 42;

---

[1]See Pröbstle, "Linguistic Analysis of Daniel 8:11, 12," 83-84.

[2]See Mosis for similar observations which confirm my analysis (J. Bergman, Helmer Ringgren, and R. Mosis, "גָּדַל *gādhal*," *TDOT*, 2:404-406). Ernst Jenni distinguishes גדל hif. only between "normal causative" and an "inner-causative" function ("גָּדוֹל *gādô l*," *TLOT*, 1:304-305). *DCH* distinguishes "transitive" and "intransitive" meaning (2:323-325).

[3]In these sentences a desemantized main verb—גדל hif.—is followed by an infinitive which designates the actual activity. In other words, גדל is syntactically the main verb, but semantically it only accompanies the infinitive.

[4]The inwardly transitive meaning may be confused with the reflexive meaning (subject and object refer to the same) as both are translated the same. However, the inwardly transitive meaning of the Hiphil includes the causative function so that the "double-status subject causes itself to be or do something, and since the object is elided the verb is formally intransitive" (Waltke and O'Connor, 440 [§27.2f]). For the inwardly transitive (*innerlich-transitiv*) Hiphil see also Ernst Jenni, *Der hebräische Piᶜel: Syntaktisch-semasiologische Untersuchung einer Verbalform im Alten Testament* (Zürich: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1968), 46-48. Cf. GKC, 145 (§53d-f); Bergsträsser, 2:102-103 (§19d); and the ingressive meaning mentioned by H. S. Nyberg, *Hebreisk Grammatik* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1952), 226-227 (§78bb).

[5]The temporal clause עַד־דָּוִד הִגְדִּיל does not have an object. However, the text and its meaning is disputed: Jenni regards it as causative but proposes a textual emendation ("גָּדוֹל," 1:304; the text is considered as corrupt by Bergman, Ringgren, and Mosis, 2:404; *HAHAT*, 1:201-202; and

Ezek 35:13; Zeph 2:8, 10; Pss 35:26; 38:17; 55:13; Job 19:5; Eccl 1:16;[1] Lam 1:9; Dan 8:4, 8, 11, 25.

b. Divine subject: no occurrence.

c. Inanimate subject (positive: "to become great"): 1 Chr 22:5.[2]

The meaning of clauses with גדל hif. is determined mainly by two features: (1) by the absence or presence of a direct object and (2) by the subject. With a direct object גדל hif. has transitive-causative meaning; without a direct object it has an inwardly transitive meaning.[3] With a human subject the activity expressed by גדל hif. is always negative in character (with the possible exceptions of 1 Sam 20:41 and Eccl 1:16), whereas with a divine subject גדל hif. always designates a positive activity.

Regarding the clauses without a direct object, to which Dan 8:11a belongs, it is interesting that a divine subject never occurs in combination with the reflexive גדל hif. The subject of the inwardly transitive גדל hif. is with one exception (the temple in 1 Chr

---

HALOT, 1:179); *DCH* regards it as intransitive: "until David prevailed" which means that he "exceeded his companion in weeping, or, regained his composure" (2:324).

[1]In Eccl 1:16 the object could be elliptical and filled by the object of the next clause ("wisdom"), which would then move this clause to the first category, viz. גדל hif. with a direct object; thus Bergman, Ringgren, and Mosis, 2:404; *HAHAT*, 1:201.

[2]The syntactic and semantic function of לְהַגְדִּיל is difficult. Jenni (*Piᶜel*, 49) and *HAHAT* (1:201) regard the infinitive with לְ as inner causative expressing necessity and translate "must become great in measure" (cf. Bergmann, Ringgren, and Mosis, 2:405); Waltke and O'Connor classify it as internal Hiphil: "should be magnificent" (441 [§27.2g]); whereas *DCH* (2:323-324) and *HALOT* (1:179) regard it as transitive: "to enlarge beyond all measure." From a syntactic viewpoint לְהַגְדִּיל does not have an object, and therefore it is placed under the group without direct object.

[3]The nearest the syntactic construction of גדל hif. + object comes to an inwardly transitive meaning is in Obad 12 where the object of גדל is פֶּה "mouth": "do not make your mouth great" is close to "do not boast, do not magnify yourself." Thus, *HALOT* groups this text with the intransitive forms under "to magnify oneself" (1:179).

22:5) always human.[1] The action itself is of a negative character and fifteen out of seventeen times designates the making great of oneself in an illegal, presumptuous, arrogant manner—probably implying boasting, exalting or magnifying oneself—which may be a general activity without direct relationship to someone else, or a specific activity directed explicitly against others.[2] Those who are affected negatively by this activity are marked by the preposition עַל.[3] The preposition עַד with גדל hif. is used only in Dan 8:8, 11a where it denotes the extent to which one makes oneself great.[4] Hence, in Dan 8:11a the construction גדל hif. + עַד does not primarily indicate the magnifying of the horn to be directed *against* the commander of the host, in which case the preposition עַל would have been expected.[5] Rather it clearly expresses that the magnifying reaches an extent in which the horn makes itself similar or equal in status to the commander of the host.[6]

The activity of the horn described in Dan 8:11a is negative in character. The horn

---

[1]Though the subjects in Dan 8:4, 8 are animate (ram, goat) and in Dan 8:11 inanimate (horn), it is clear that the language of the vision is symbolic and refers here to human beings or human powers.

[2]See Jenni, *Piʿel*, 49; Bergmann, Ringgren, and Mosis, 2:404-406; and Waltke and O'Connor, 440 and 440 n. 17 (§27.2f). Only in Lam 1:9 and Dan 8:4 does גדל hif. occur with subject alone.

[3]Jer 48:26, 42; Ezek 35:13; Zeph 2:8, 10; Pss 35:26; 38:17; 55:13; Job 19:5.

[4]The semantic function of עַד in combination with גדל qal is similar. See the section on vs. 10a (above).

[5]Such expectations are probably the reason for regarding וְעַד as dittography (from vs. 10a) and to read instead וְעַל "even over" with reference to the expression הִגְדִּיל עַל "to magnify oneself against" or "to become arrogant toward" (see Jer 48:26, 42; cf. Pss 38:17; 55:13). So Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 82 n. 33; Hartman and Di Lella, 221. Graetz also emends עַד to עַל because he regards הִגְדִּיל as elliptical for הִגְדִּיל פֶּה and takes הִגְדִּיל therefore as an expression for "speak arrogantly, disdainfully" which is used with the preposition עַל (387 n. 1).

[6]The results of this analysis correspond to the suggestion that הִגְדִּיל in vs. 11a has a subjective sense (Zöckler, 175; Meinhold, "Daniel," 308).

acts in such a way that it is magnifying itself presumptuously to the extent of the level of the "commander of the host." The syntax (גדל hif. without direct object) also shows that the activity of the horn should be understood more as inwardly transitive ("to magnify oneself") rather than only as formally intransitive ("to become great"). The Hiphil הִגְדִּיל is then an indication for the subjective *making great* of the horn as compared to the objective *growing* in vss. 9-10.[1]

How can a human power affect a divine being? It is mentioned three times in the OT that the magnifying of oneself (גדל hif.) can be directed explicitly against (עַל) God: Jer 48:26, 42; and Ezek 35:13.[2] The context of these passages describes how hostile nations make themselves great against the people of Israel. God is affected by this invective boasting against his people and he regards it as directed against himself. God is in "fundamental solidarity . . . with the despised Israel."[3] This concept is found underlying the divine judgment oracle in Zeph 2:8-10 in which enemy nations made

---

[1]Thus, for גדל in Dan 8:11a the translation given by *HALOT* (1:179: "to magnify oneself," "to boast") and by *DCH* (1:324: "act mightily or boastfully, prevail, magnify onself") should be preferred over the one given by *HAHAT* (1:201: "to become great, mighty") and *BDB* (152: "do great things"). Lust argues that הִגְדִּיל does not mean "to grow" but rather "to boast" ("Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel," 290-291; cf. Aalders, *Daniël* [1962], 175).

[2]One is reminded of the "tower of Babel" episode in Gen 11:1-9. Though the verb גדל is not used in the story itself, the building of a tower that reaches into heaven (שָׁמַיִם) is notably the first human attempt at magnifying oneself, which the intention "let us make for ourselves a name" shows (11:4). To be sure, the root גדל appears in the noun מִגְדָּל "tower" which occurs here for the first time in the Hebrew Bible (Gen 11:4, 5). The human magnification is a clear offense to YHWH. That is why YHWH intervenes through his judgment. In the following divine call to Abram, which is clearly linked to the "tower of Babel" episode, the verb גדל then occurs for the first time in the Hebrew Bible when YHWH promises Abram to make his name great (וַאֲגַדְּלָה, 12:2). Also, YHWH will make Abram a great (גָּדוֹל) nation (12:2). It is in Gen 11:1-9 and 12:1-3 that the contrasting theme of human self-magnification, on the one hand, which is basically a usurpation of divine status and thus an offense to God, and the divine making great of his chosen people, on the other hand, takes its beginning.

[3]Mosis in Bergmann, Ringgren, and Mosis, 2:405 (in reference to Jer 48:26, 42; Ezek 35:13).

themselves great (גדל hif.) against “my people” and “their border” (vs. 8), against “the people of the Lord of hosts” (vs. 10). The same context is found in Dan 8:10-11. The horn acts against the host of heaven. This implies that it also acts against the “commander of the host” who is in fundamental solidarity with his host. The attack against the commander of the host therefore consists in the earthly attack on the people of God and on the worship of God.[1] Notwithstanding, the attack of the horn is also directed against the commander of the host himself, as the next two clauses in vs. 11 will show.

Clause 11b

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

11b וּ[מִמֶּנּוּ] [הֵרִים (הוּרַם :Q)] [הַתָּמִיד]

waw+prep+ePP/3sgm/ Hiphil-pf/3sgm/ [*qere*: Hophal-pf/3sgm/] art+adv

waw+PWG(prep+ePP/3sgm/) Hiphil-pf/3sgm/ [*qere*: Hophal-pf/3sgm/]
ArtWG(art+adv)

4.Sy + P.Sy [+1.Sy] +2.Sy
prepositional object +predicate [+subject] +direct object

Clause-type: *x-qatal*.

---

[1]See, e.g., von Lengerke, 379; Rohling, *Daniel*, 238; Meinhold, “Daniel,” 308-309 (“the oppression of the saints [vs. 10] is also a mockery of God”); Goldingay, *Daniel*, 211; Seow, *Daniel*, 124 (“atrocities committed against the people of God are atrocities perpetrated against the heavenly host and, indeed, against God”). George W. Nickelsburg, in discussing Dan 7 and applying the same principle to Dan 8, recognizes that “the apocalyptist views reality on two separate but related levels. Events on earth have their counterparts in heaven and vice versa.” In applying the biblical text historically to the time of Antiochus, he describes this interrelation: “When Antiochus persecutes the Jews he is wearing out their heavenly angelic patrons. By the same token the actions of the heavenly court have repercussions on earth. When judgment is passed in heaven the earthly king and his kingdom fall” (*Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981], 85).

The syntactic analysis depends on the form of the verb which is written as Hiphil הֵרִים "took away" with active meaning but is vocalized as Hophal הוּרַם "was taken away" with passive meaning. A text-oriented interpretation favors the *ketib* form because this is the one found in the Hebrew consonantal text which has been chosen for this text-oriented study. In addition, the text-critical comments below also provide reasons for retaining the consonantal text. Nevertheless, an analysis of the clause with the *qere* of the verb is also provided.

Text-critical note on the verb in Dan 8:11b

The basic issue with the verb in vs. 11b is whether the Hiphil הֵרִים "he took away" (*ketib*) or the Hophal הוּרַם "it was taken away" (*qere*) constitutes the original text, especially since the versions are also divided.[1] Closely connected to the *ketib/qere* question is the question of the function of מִמֶּנּוּ in the same clause.[2] Regarding procedure, it is more precise to start with the analysis of the verbal form, which is syntactically the main denominator of a verbal clause, before one tackles the prepositional phrase. In other words, the interpretation of וּמִמֶּנּוּ should not influence the decision on the *ketib/qere* conflict.

Five different avenues of understanding have been proposed in the literature.

---

[1]Peshiṭta (Afel ܐܪܝܡ) and Vulgate (*et ab eo tulit*) read as active, whereas Theodotion, Old Greek, as well as Papyrus 967, attest the passive verbal form (ἐρράχθη).

[2]Montgomery even attributes the conflict of *ketib/qere* to the different interpretations of וּמִמֶּנּוּ, which can mean either "and from him (prince of the host)" or "and by him (horn)" (336).

First, the active Hiphil form הֵרִים "took away" is original.[1] Several reasons argue for this understanding. For one, the verb הֵרִים with active meaning does not fit smoothly into the series of passives in vss. 11c and 12a (though it fits to the previous Hiphil form in vs. 11a). The reading of הֵרִים seems therefore to be the *lectio difficilior*.[2] Also, frequently the motivation for choosing the *qere* is to avoid the apparent gender incongruence between the feminine subject "horn" and the masculine *ketib* verb.[3] However, if there are good reasons to retain the masculine verb forms in vss. 9a and 11a (see discussion under the literary analysis), another masculine verb in vs. 11b fits well into this context. Finally, the passive הוּרַם (*qere*) could have well been adjusted in analogy to the following passive הֻשְׁלַךְ and is thus a later development.[4] An argument from the context is that, though with some reservation, the Hiphil form of רום may imply priestly language.[5]

Second, the Hophal הוּרַם "was taken away" (*qere*) is original.[6] The major reasons

---

[1]Peshitta; Vulgate; von Lengerke, 379; Hitzig, 132; Kranichfeld, 294; Knabenbauer, 33; Tiefenthal, 268; Kamphausen, 33; GKC, 202 (§72ee); Leupold, 347; Thomson, 242; Nelis, 96; Plöger, *Daniel*, 122; Lebram, *Daniel*, 94; Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, vol. 3, *Ézéchiel, Daniel at les 12 Prophètes*, OBO, no. 50/3 (Fribourg, Switzerland: Éditions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 459-460; Haag, *Daniel*, 64; Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," 5; Stahl, *Weltengagement*, 174.

[2]Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," 5.

[3]Moore observes that the passives הוּרַם and וְהֻשְׁלַךְ "may have been occasioned by the discord of gender" (195 n. 16).

[4]See Hävernick, 275; von Lengerke, 379; Kranichfeld, 294; Tiefenthal, 268; Plöger, *Daniel*, 122.

[5]Stahl, *Weltengagement*, 174 n. 296.

[6]Old Greek, Theodotion, Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Behrmann, 54 (cites הֻנִּיחָה in Zech 5:11 and BA הֳקִימַת in Dan 7:4); von Gall, 48; Prince, "On Daniel viii. 11, 12," 204; Prince, *Daniel*, 242; Marti, *Daniel*, 58; Montgomery, 340; Charles, 205, 207, 377; Beek, 84; Linder, 337; Lattey, 29;

for this are first that a Hophal verbal form would avoid a gender incongruence with the subject horn, which then needs to be supplied, and second that the Hophal aligns with the Hophal הָשְׁלַךְ in the next clause (vs. 11c) and with the passive תִּנָּתֵן in vs. 12a. The latter could however be regarded as weakness for it seems to be a harmonization with vss. 11c and 12a.

The third suggestion is that the consonantal form הרים is a passive form due to Aramaic influence.[1] Such an isolated passive meaning of a seemingly Hiphil consonantal form—also called a Hophal הֻרִים with *î*-vowel— is argued on the analogy of the Aramaic הֳקִימַת in Dan 7:4, and in comparison to the Hophal וְהֻנִּיחָה in Zech 5:11.[2] This suggestion is attractive mainly if one holds to the Aramaic influence theory or Aramaic original theory of Dan 8 and the other parts of BH Daniel.

Fourth, Goldstein proposes to vocalize הרים as Hiphil infinitive absolute הָרֵים that functions like a finite verb with active meaning. As shown above, such a proposal involves too many changes in vocalization in vs. 11 and requires a different clause division.[3]

Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 175; Delcor, 176 (because of the passive הָשְׁלַךְ in vs. 11c); Hasslberger, 8 n. 25; Niditch, 220; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 404 n. 22; translation by Goldingay, *Daniel*, 195 (cf. 197); Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 326; Redditt, 139; Gzella, 38.

[1]König 1:502f.; Behrmann, 54. The note in Barthélemy (459) that Bentzen, Porteous, and Plöger support this view is erroneous.

[2]Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, 344 (§131d). Cf. the original first vowel /u/ and the original stem vowel or second vowel /i/ in the perfect of passive conjugations; Joüon and Muraoka, 165 (§55); Waltke and O'Connor, 447 (§28.1).

[3]Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 145-146 n. 251. For comments on this suggestion see p. 155 n. 2.

The fifth category of suggestions is textual emendation.[1] Again, from the viewpoint of a text-oriented approach, as long as other possibilities exist that do not require a change of the text, textual emendation is considered an inferior option.

To conclude these comments on the verb form, there are enough reasons to retain the consonantal Hiphil reading with an active sense. The following syntactic analysis is undertaken with the preferred *ketib* form (Hiphil). Nevertheless, after this a syntactic analysis of the clause with the *qere* form (Hophal) is also provided.

Syntax of 11b and antecedent of מִמֶּנּוּ

The verb הֵרִים (*ketib*) is masculine in gender like הִגְדִּיל in the previous clause. The subject is still the horn mentioned explicitly in vs. 9a. Again, the gender difference between the masculine predicate and the feminine subject "horn" will be addressed in the literary analysis. The object of the taking away is הַתָּמִיד "the *tāmî d*."[2] The omission of the object marker את before הַתָּמִיד can be explained as a possible feature in BH (את is also missing before אֱמֶת in vs. 12b), or as occurring typically before הַתָּמִיד (את is also missing before הַתָּמִיד in 11:31), or as a sign for language of a high style (את is missing before the direct objects in 8:24, 25 [2x], 26). The prepositional phrase מִמֶּנּוּ with מִן of source indicates the person from whom the *tāmî d* is taken away, namely "the prince of the host" to whom the pronominal suffix refers back. This creates a syntactic-semantic

---

[1]Ginsberg (*Studies in Daniel*, 50-51) and Hartmann (222) emend to תָּרִים "it removed," whereas for Hartmann תָּסִיר "it removed, put away" is a slightly better reading (referring to Dan 11:31; 12:11). Moore reads הֵרִימָה in order to avoid gender discord with the feminine horn (196).

[2]As already mentioned, for the term תָּמִיד I will use its transliteration *tāmî d* as substitute for an English translation.

correspondence between vs. 11a and vs. 11b: Both clauses start with a prepositional phrase referring to the commander of the host followed by a Hiphil verb form with the horn as subject, except that in vs. 11b a further entity is introduced, the *tāmî d*.

With a passive verb הוּרַם (*qere*) the word הַתָּמִיד functions as subject of the passive clause. With such a reading the prepositional phrase מִמֶּנּוּ becomes ambiguous. Basically, two different functions could be attributed to this phrase.[1] On the one hand, and preferred by most scholars, מִמֶּנּוּ could be a מִן of source referring to the source from which the *tāmî d* is taken away.[2] In this case, the pronominal suffix in מִמֶּנּוּ refers to the prince of the host and the clause is translated with "*from him* [the prince of the host] the *tāmî d* is taken away."[3] With this understanding the function and referent of the prepositional phrase is the same as in the clause with the *ketib* הֵרִים. On the other hand, מִמֶּנּוּ could be a מִן of instrument referring to the agent of the taking away, the so-called logical subject of the passive verb. The pronominal suffix in מִמֶּנּוּ would then refer to the subject of the previous clause (vs. 11a), which is the horn, and the clause would be

---

[1]The textual emendation that reads מִכֻּנּוֹ or מִמְּכוֹנוֹ "from its stand" instead of מִמֶּנּוּ, as proposed by Ginsberg (*Studies in Daniel*, 51) and followed by Hartmann and Di Lella (222) and Lacocque (*Daniel*, 159) has not found much support.

[2]Goldstein takes וּמִמֶּנּוּ to vs. 11a and translates: "It grew, until it equaled the Prince of the Host, and beyond" (*1 Maccabees*, 145-146 n. 251). However, it is extremely difficult to prove that the preposition מִן can indicate spatial positioning of a mark beyond which a movement occurs (once it may indicate the temporal "beyond": 2 Sam 20:5). The preposition מִן never occurs with a verb of motion in such a meaning—there it indicates only source (from where or from whom) or in specific combinations (e.g., מִקֶּדֶם "eastwards," מֵרָחוֹק "far away") direction—and it never occurs after the preposition עַד in such a meaning. Therefore, the syntactic transposition of וּמִמֶּנּוּ to vs. 11a must be rejected.

[3]So, e.g., Rosenmüller, 262; von Lengerke, 379; Rohling, *Daniel*, 231; Bevan, 133; Driver, *Daniel*, 116; Marti, *Daniel*, 58; Goettsberger, 62; Leupold, 347; Bentzen, 56; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 175; Delcor, 174; Maier, 305; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 404; Redditt, 139. Of course, this opinion is held by all scholars who consider the active הֵרִים to be the correct verbal form of vs. 11b.

translated "*by him* [the horn] the *tāmî d* is taken away."[1]

There are at least two reasons why the pronominal suffix in מִמֶּנּוּ refers to the prince of the host. First, both מִמֶּנּוּ and עַד שַׂר־הַצָּבָא occupy the preverbal fields of their respective clauses. The focus on the prince of the host established in vs. 11a is reaffirmed in vs. 11b if indeed the pronominal suffix in מִמֶּנּוּ refers to the prince. There is no apparent reason to switch the focus back to the horn. In fact, מִמֶּנּוּ is naturally only in sentence-initial position when it emphasizes the previously mentioned שַׂר־הַצָּבָא, which is also in sentence-initial position.[2]

Second, whereas the next clause (vs. 11c) has no explicit reference to the subject "horn," the pronominal suffix /3sgm/ in מִקְדָּשׁוֹ refers to the prince of the host. As מִמֶּנּוּ refers back to "the prince of the host" the following pronominal suffix in מִקְדָּשׁוֹ, which again refers back to the prince, has in מִמֶּנּוּ a near antecedent.[3]

Thus, it is rather difficult to assume that in Dan 8:11b the preposition מִן indicates

---

[1]So the Old Greek and Theodotion, who read δι' αὐτὸν . . . ἐρράχθη "by him . . . was taken away"; Heinrich Ewald, *Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament*, trans. J. Kennedy (Edinburgh: Clark, 1879), 129 (§295c), who furthermore argues that the preposition מִן indicates the logical subject of a passive verb in a stronger way than the preposition לְ does (cf. idem, *Daniel*, 262); Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Behrmann, 24, 54; BDB, 580 (under מִן־ 2e[*a*]); Charles, 205, who reads וּמִמֶּנָּה with feminine suffix to align it with the feminine קֶרֶן; Frank Zimmermann, "The Aramaic Origin of Daniel 8-12," *JBL* 57 (1938): 257, who considers the placement of מִן + pronominal suffix in sentence-initial position as Aramaic construction similar to the frequent וּמִנִּי שִׂים טְעֵם "and a decree is issued by me" (Dan 3:29; 4:3; Ezra 4:19; 6:8, 11; 7:21); Linder, 337; Lattey, 29; Barnes 2:111; Wood, 214; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 195, 197; Lucas, *Daniel*, 206. For examples of such a function of מִן with passive verbs see, e.g., Gen 9:11; Isa 53:5; Hos 8:4; Obad 9; Nah 1:6; Ps 37:23; Job 24:1; 28:4; Eccl 12:11; cf. also Dan 3:29, etc. in Aramaic. The canonized Aramaic text of Dan 8:11 (Dan 6:11 in this Aramaic text) reads "and by him the daily *sacrifice* was taken away" (Nachman Heller, *Daniel and Ezra: The Canonized Aramaic Text, Translated into Hebrew, Yiddish and English, and Supplemented with Footnotes and Marginal Comments* [New York: Rosenberg, 1905], 59).

[2]Cf. König, 3:37 (§107).

[3]König, 3:37 (§107); Hasslberger, 100; Barthélemy, 460 n. 1439.

the agent of a passive verb. The emphasis of the clauses in vs. 11 is not on the agent itself but on its activities,[1] and on the objects affected by them.

Semantic Analysis of Words and Phrases

Syntactic-semantic analysis of הֵרִים + מִן

The verbal root רום occurs ninety-two times in the Hiphil[2] and two times in the Hophal. In Dan 8:11b it occurs with מִן of the person and is suggested to be translated with "lift up" or "draw away."[3] In order to understand the syntactic and semantic dimension of the clause in Dan 8:11b, all clauses with the verbal root רום in the H-stem (Hiphil and Hophal)[4] in which a prepositional phrase with מִן occurs need to be analyzed. From that material the relevant conclusions for Dan 8:11b can be drawn.

Analysis of clauses with רום hif./hof. + מִן. The list in table 5 seeks to tabulate the results of an analysis of clauses with רום hif./hof. (=רום hif.[5]) + מִן in BH.[6]

---

[1]Hasslberger, 100.

[2]This count includes the *ketib* in Pss 66:7; 89:18; Dan 8:11b, and הֵרִים in Ps 75:7.

[3]For example, *HALOT* gives as translation possibilities for רום hif./hof. in Dan 8:11 "lift up, draw away" (*ketib*, hif.) and "be lifted away, taken away" (*qere*, hof.) (3:1204-1205).

[4]Besides the active/passive differences, the *ketib* and the *qere* refer to the same activity in regard to the *tāmî d*, and thus bring the same semantic values to the meaning of the clause.

[5]In all cases of רום hif./hof. + מִן the verb occurs only once in the Hophal (Lev 4:10); in all other texts רום is in the Hiphil. To simplify, therefore, I use in the following the expression "רום hif." with the understanding that רום hof. is included whenever this is possible.

[6]The difficult clause in Ezek 45:9 does not belong into the category of clauses with רום hif. + מִן. The preposition מִן in the compound מֵעַל seems not to be governed by the verb הָרִימוּ but rather by the root גרשׁ "expel" in the noun גְּרֻשֹׁתֵיכֶם "your driving away." The combination גרשׁ + מִן "drive out from" is found frequently in BH (e.g., Exod 6:1; 11:1; 12:39; Num 22:6; Judg 9:41; 11:7; 1 Sam 26:19; 1 Kgs 2:27; Hos 9:15; Mic 2:9; 2 Chr 20:11).

Table 5. Clauses with רום hif./hof. + מִן

Text	Subject	Translation of רום	Object	Prepositional Object with מִן	Context
Lev 2:9	priest	remove / set aside[1]	its token portion	from the מִנְחָה	cult
Lev 4:8	high priest[2]	remove / set aside	all the fat of the bull of the חַטָּאת	from it (bull of the חַטָּאת)	cult
Lev 4:10	priest	remove / set aside (רום hof.)	it (= all of the fat, vs. 8)[3]	from the ox	cult
Lev 4:19	priest	remove / set aside	all its fat	from it (bull for חַטָּאת)	cult
Lev 6:8	priest[4]	remove / set aside	a handful of fine flour ...	from it (מִנְחָה)	cult
Num 17:2	priest Eleazar	remove / set aside	the censers	from the midst (מִבֵּין) of the fire	struggle over priesthood (associated with cult; cf. 16:17-18)
Num 18:26	you (Levites)	set aside / withhold[5]	a contribution[6] for YHWH	from it (the tithe)	cult
Num 18:28	you (Levites)	set aside / withhold	a contribution for YHWH	from all of your tithes	cult
Num 18:29	you (Levites)	set aside / withhold	the entire contribution for YHWH	from all gifts conveyed to you	cult
Num 18:30	you (Levites)	set aside / withhold	its best	from it (the tithes)	cult
Num 18:32	you (Levites)	set aside / withhold	its best	from it (the tithes)	cult
Num 31:28	Moses	set aside / raise[7]	a tribute for YHWH	from the men of war[8]	cult

Table 5—*Continued.*

Text	Subject	Translation of רום	Object	Prepositional Object with מִן	Context
Num 31:52	Moses and (high) priest Eleazar[9]	set aside / raise	all gold of the contribution[10] (for YHWH)[11]	from (מֵאֵת) the officers of thousands / hundreds	cult
1 Sam 2:8	YHWH	lift	the needy	from the ash heap	Hannah's Prayer: social status
1 Kgs 14:7	YHWH	exalt	you	from among (מִתּוֹךְ) the people	Prophetic message to Jerobeam: social status
1 Kgs 16:2	YHWH	exalt	you	from among (מִתּוֹךְ) the dust	Divine message to Jehu: social status
Isa 14:13	I (king of Babel)	raise	my throne	from above of (מִמַּעַל ל) the stars of God	Quote in taunt song over king: status
Isa 57:14	unspecified persons	remove	obstacle	from the way of my people	Message: people will return to God
Ezek 45:1	unspecified (Israelites)	set apart	an allotment for YHWH, a holy portion	from the land	cult
Ps 75:7	—	exalt[12]	—	from the east / west / desert	Prophetic exhortation in a Psalm of Asaph: social status
Ps 89:20	YHWH	exalt	a chosen one	from the people	Psalm recalling the divine oracle about David: social status
Ps 113:7	YHWH	lift	the needy	from the ash heap	Psalm: social status
Dan 8:11b	horn	remove	the *tāmî d*	from him	cult

Table 5—*Continued.*

---

[1]In his commentary on Leviticus, Jacob Milgrom translates the Hiphil of רום always with "set aside" since for him in the priestly source הֵרִים is a technical term (*Leviticus 1-16*, AB, vol. 3 [New York: Doubleday, 1991], 186).
[2]The term הַכֹּהֵן "the priest" in Lev 4:8 refers to the high priest designated in vss. 3-5 as הַכֹּהֵן הַמָּשִׁיחַ "the anointed priest" (see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 233). The definite article in הַכֹּהֵן is a clear indication for this. Also theologically, the high priest needs to officiate his own sacrifice "because there is no one higher to represent him before God" (John E. Hartley, *Leviticus*, WBC, vol. 4 [Dallas: Word, 1992], 60).
[3]A passive clause has no grammatical object and thus no object marker. The place of the object is here filled in by the grammatical subject of the passive clause which transformed is the object of the active clause.
[4]Milgrom correctly observes that "the anonymous subject throughout this chapter is always the priest" (*Leviticus 1-16*, 391).
[5]Levine translates the Hiphil of רום with "withhold" and compares the sense of to withhold one-tenth of the tithes or gifts given to the Levites with the contemporary practice of withholding taxes (*Numbers 1-20*, 439, 452).
[6]The term תְּרוּמָה stems from the root רום and indicates that which is set aside or dedicated to YHWH, a "contribution" or "dedication." See the extensive note on תְּרוּמָה in Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 415-416. Levine observes that "Hebrew *terûmāh* is a generic term that literally means 'what is lifted, taken,' but rather with the act of collection. Most substances identified as *terûmāh* have to do with temple and cult, or with the emoluments of the clergy (Lev 7:14; Num 18:8, 29-30; Deut 12:6-11, 17)" (*Numbers 1-20*, 191). Levine suggests translating תְּרוּמָה with "levied donation" (so in all its occurrences, including Num 18:26, 28, 29).
[7]Levine translates רום hif. in Num 31:28, 52 with "to raise" since a tax is "raised, levied" (*Numbers 21-36*, AB, vol. 4A [New York: Doubleday, 2000], 449-450, 460).
[8]Of course, the tribute or tax is taken "from their half" of the booty (Num 31:26, 29), but here the preposition מִן designates those persons to whom the booty belonged.
[9]The attribute הַכֹּהֵן "the priest," which is here used for Eleazar (Num 31:51), can also refer to the high priest (for Aaron see Exod 31:10 etc.). Eleazar is called "the priest" 29 times (Num 17:4; 19:3, 4; 26:3, 63; 27:2, 19, 21, 22; 31:6, 12, 13, 21, 26, 31, 41, 51, 54; 32:2, 28; 34:17; Josh 14:1; 17:4; 19:51; 21:1; 22:13, 31, 32), and he certainly officiates as high priest after the death of Aaron (Num 20:28).
[10]Because the object is expressed by the relative pronoun no object marker is required.
[11]The expression לַיהוָה belongs to כָּל־זְהַב הַתְּרוּמָה to which the relative pronoun refers. See the extension of תְּרוּמָה with לַיהוָה (Exod 30:13; 35:5; Lev 7:14; Num 15:19; Ezek 45:1) or the phrase תְּרוּמַת יְהוָה (Exod 30:14, 15; 35:5, 21, 24; Num 18:26, 28a, 28b, 29; 31:29, 41; 2 Chr 31:14).
[12]The form הָרִים is difficult to analyze (see, e.g., the suggestions in *HALOT*, 3:1205) but since רום is a key root in Ps 75 (vss. 5, 6, 8, 11) it seems justified to regard הָרִים as Hiphil infinitive construct of רום.

The verbal root רום in the Hiphil, the basic meaning of which is "bring aloft, raise up, lift up,"[1] takes on a specific meaning in clauses with the preposition מִן. A review of table 5 shows that several factors influence and determine the semantic notion of רום in these clauses: foremost its direct object, but also its prepositional object governed by מִן, its subject, and, beyond the syntactic features, the context in which רום hif. is used.

Two semantic notions of רום can be defined according to the category of the direct object. First, if the object is not personal, that is, a physical object or a part of a (dead) animal, רום designates the activity of removing or setting aside something from the place or position occupied, in specific, from someone or something (entity or person) which that object was part of or to which it belonged (Lev 2:9; 4:8, 10, 19; 6:8; Num 17:2; 18:26, 28, 29, 30, 32; 31:28, 52; Isa 57:14; Ezek 45:1). Though there is no instance where רום hif. denotes the simple separation of specific persons from a larger group, this is certainly conceivable.[2] Second, if the object is a person, the activity of separation or removal expressed by רום takes on the additional notion of exaltation. A person is separated from a group to a higher status (1 Sam 2:8; 1 Kgs 14:7; 16:2; Pss 89:20; 113:7). In one case the object is "my throne" (Isa 14:13) which, being the seat of authority of a person, stands symbolically for the status of that person.

The preposition מִן in clauses with רום in the H-stem always has the same

---

[1]*HALOT*, 3:1204.

[2]In Num 17:10 a similar clause type occurs, but with the verb הֵרֹמּוּ—a Niphal form of the root רמם that is considered to be a by-form of the root רום which does not occur in the Niphal (cf. *HALOT*, 3:1244-1245). Here, YHWH commands Moses and Aaron to remove themselves "from among (מִתּוֹךְ) this community." Again, the root רמם denotes separation.

function: It governs the entity from which the object is set aside, either to remove or to exalt it. Usually the entity governed by מִן is the larger whole from which the object is taken (object from a larger object: Lev 2:9 etc.; person from a group of persons: 1 Kgs 14:7 and Ps 89:20), but it can also refer to the person/s from whom the object is taken (Num 31:28, 52). The latter fact lends support to the view that the preposition מִן in Dan 8:11b functions in an identical way and refers to the person from whom the *tāmî d* is taken. This would indicate that the expression מִמֶּנּוּ in Dan 8:11b should not be understood to represent the agent of the taking away of the *tāmî d*. Furthermore, when it is a person from whom something is taken away, the one who removes has authority over that person (Num 31:28, 52).

In five of the clauses the prepositional object stands in the preverbal field. Two times this can be explained as a poetic arrangement in a parallelism (1 Sam 2:8; Ps 113:7). The other three times the preverbal position of the מִן-phrase focuses the attention on the entity from which something or someone is set aside (Num 18:29; Isa 14:13; Dan 8:11b).

An interesting observation should be noted regarding the subject of רום. On the one hand, whenever the subject is a priest or an official of the cult, רום hif. is used in the meaning "to set aside." This holds true vice versa, except in cases of an unspecified personal subject (Isa 57:14; Ezek 45:1). On the other hand, when the subject is YHWH—and in one case with the presumptuous, divine prerogatives claiming king of Babel as subject (Isa 14:13)—רום hif. is used with the meaning of "to exalt." In those cases the object is always personal.

These syntactic-semantic observations result in a coherent picture of two basic semantic notions of רום hif. with מִן, which in addition can also be differentiated by their contexts. First, רום hif. means "to set aside" or "to remove" when something is taken away from someone or something of which it was part or to which it belonged, usually by an official of the cult. And second, רום hif. means "to exalt" or "lift up" when someone is taken or set apart from a group or a social status, usually by YHWH himself. One can observe that in a cultic context רום hif. means "to set aside" or "to remove," whereas in the context of (social) status רום hif. means "to exalt." Hence, to determine the meaning of רום hif. + מִן the context is decisive also.

Regarding the context of רום hif. + מִן clauses I concur with Milgrom's observations on the verb רום hif. in cultic usage in general. He concludes that in a cultic context, הֵרִים has a technical meaning which is "to remove, set aside."[1] More explicitly, "in the cultic texts of P, the verb *hērî m*, used exclusively with the preposition *min* and with the synonyms *hēsî r* 'remove' (e.g., [Lev] 4:8-10, 31, 35) and *nibdāl* 'be separated' (Num 16:21; 17:10), never means 'raise, lift,' but only 'set apart, dedicate.'"[2] In fact, as

[1]Jacob Milgrom points out that "its usual meaning, 'to carry, lift' never appears in a cultic context. Instead, two other meanings are indicated: (1) 'donate, give a gift' (see Lev 22:15; Num 15:19-21; 18:19). However, this sense is secondary, a generalization and derivation from a more concrete and basic use, which is (2) 'remove, set aside' (Exod 35:24; Lev 2:9; 4:8, 10, 19; 6:3; Num 18:26-32; 31:28)" ("The *Šô q hattĕrûmâ*: A Chapter in Cultic History," in *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology*, SJLA, no. 36 [Leiden: Brill, 1983], 160-161).

[2]Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 413. Milgrom identifies three "special characteristics typical of the verb *hērî m* in cultic usage" which show that רום hif. means "set aside" in cultic context: "(1) Using the verb *hērî m* necessitates the use of the preposition *min*; that is, the *tĕrûmâ* is always removed from (*min*) something (Exod 29:27; Lev 2:9; 4:8, 10, 19; 6:8; Num 18:26, 28, 29, 30, 32; 31:28; cf. Ezek 45:1, 9; Dan 8:11). (2) If there is a verb parallel to *hērî m* in a cultic text, it is always *hēsî r* (to remove) (e.g., Lev 4:8-10, 31, 35; cf. Ezek 45:9). (3) *hērî m* in the sense of 'set aside' is especially found in the narrative section of the Priestly source; compare 'remove yourselves (*hērōmmû*) from this

indicated by Milgrom, parallel expressions to רום hif., especially סור hif., provide very clear support for the conclusion that רום hif. means "set aside" in a cultic context.[1]

הֵרִים + מִן in Dan 8:11b. The implications of this linguistic analysis pertinent to Dan 8:11b in combination with some other considerations can be presented now.

First, in Dan 8:11b the object is nonpersonal. The verbal root רום therefore designates the activity of removing or setting aside the *tāmî d*,[2] and not of exalting the

---

community' (Num 17:10) with the parallel expression 'stand back (*hibbādĕlû*) from this community' (Num 16:21)" (*Studies in Cultic Theology*, 161; cf. idem, *Leviticus 1-16*, 474; and E. Firmage, Jr., J. Milgrom, and U. Dahmen, "רום *rûm*," *TDOT*, 13:407).

[1]The meaning of רום hif. is illuminated by its parallel verb סור hif. which always means "remove" (Lev 4:9, 31, 35; cf. 3:4, 9, 10, 15; 7:4). In a sacrificial context סור hif. occurs highly concentrated in the regulations concerning the removal of the fat and the inner parts (ten times in Lev 3, 4, 7) and once to designate a similar procedure: the removal of the crop and the contents of a bird for the burnt offering (Lev 1:16). The two verbs—רום hif. and סור hif.—stand in parallelism in Ezek 21:31; 45:9; and in close parallel in Lev 4:9-10 (cf. König, 3:37 [§107]; Milgrom, *Studies in Cultic Theology*, 161). Compare also the following texts: (1) "He shall remove (רום hif.) all its fat from it and offer it up in smoke on the altar. . . . So the priest shall make atonement for them, and they will be forgiven"(Lev 4:19-20) and "Then he shall remove (סור hif.) all its fat, just as the fat was removed from the sacrifice of peace offerings; and the priest shall offer it up in smoke on the altar for a soothing aroma to the LORD. Thus the priest shall make atonement for him, and he will be forgiven" (Lev 4:31). Or (2) "just as it [the fat; cf. vs. 8] is removed (רום hof.) from the ox of the sacrifice of peace offerings" (Lev 4:10) and "just as the fat was removed (סור hof.) from the sacrifice of peace offerings" (Lev 4:31). See also the parallel expressions "Remove yourselves (רמם nif., by-form of רום) from this community" (Num 17:10) and "Separate yourselves (בדל nif.) from this community" (Num 16:21), which has been pointed out by Milgrom, *Studies in Cultic Theology*, 161. Another semantically close verb to רום hif. is לקח "to take": "Set aside (רום hif.) a tribute for YHWH from the men of war" (Num 31:28) and "take (לקח) it from their half" (Num 31:29). For a comparison between רום and סור in Lev 1-7 as well as in Dan 8:11; 11:31; and 12:11 see William H. Shea, "Unity of Daniel," in *Symposium on Daniel: Introductory and Exegetical Studies*, ed. F. B. Holbrook, DARCOM, vol. 2 (Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986), 204-208. Shea concludes that in cultic contexts both express the notion of taking away, so that the use of רום in Dan 8:11b is not unusual.

[2]The Old Greek seems to support the idea that the activity in Dan 8:11b is one of removal because it reads for the *qere* הוּרַם the indicative aorist passive ἐξήρθη from ἐξαίρειν "remove" or "drive out." The verb ἐξαίρειν is also used to translate the Hiphil of רום in Gen 41:44 ("raise" or "remove"), Isa 62:10 ("lift up"), and Ezek 45:9 ("remove").

tāmî d.[1]

Second, the use of the preposition מִן of the person in Dan 8:11b functions like the preposition מִן in the other clauses with רום hif.[2] and therefore indicates who the *tāmî d* is set aside from. The preposition מִן should not be understood to indicate the agent of the taking away of the *tāmî d.* In addition, the מִן of the person implies that the horn seems to exercise authority over the commander of the host, which creates a need of explanation—the commander of the host being the superior—that can only be solved by the idea that the horn acts in presumption.

Third, in Dan 8:11b the object and the prepositional object do not belong to the same category. The object is nonpersonal (הַתָּמִיד) and the prepositional object is personal (מִמֶּנּוּ "from him"). This would suggest that *tāmî d* cannot be part of "him." Instead, the *tāmî d* belongs to "him," or, put differently, the *tāmî d* stands under the authority of "him." The construction is similar to Num 31:28, 52, except that in that instance the "men of war" and the officers voluntarily give that which is taken from them, whereas in the context of Dan 8:11b it is clear that the horn takes the *tāmî d* by force.

Fourth, it has previously been demonstrated that הֵרִים takes on the specific meaning "set aside, remove" in a cultic context. Occurring in a context that is laden with cultic terminology, הֵרִים in Dan 8:11b needs to be considered as a cultic term also and

---

[1]*Pace* Malbim (cited in Goldwurm, 224). In BA רום occurs in Dan 4:34 (Polel), 5:19 (Hafel), 5:20 (Peal), and 5:23 (Hitpolel), never with the preposition מִן and always with a personal object, which in 5:20 is implied. Thus, these occurrences where רום designates an activity of exaltation cannot be called upon as comparison to Dan 8:11b.

[2]Milgrom adds Dan 8:11 to the list of רום hif. + מִן clauses in the Pentateuch (*Studies in Cultic Theology*, 161; cf. *Leviticus 1-16*, 474).

therefore should have the same meaning of "set aside, remove." The Hiphil/Hophal of סור "remove," another term frequently used in a cultic context, occurs in Dan 11:31 and 12:11 obviously as parallel expressions to the Hiphil of רום in 8:11b and thus supports the view that the meaning of הֵרִים lies in the semantic field of removal.

Fifth, since (1) the Hiphil of רום is a term often used in a sacrificial context, (2) the subject of רום hif. + מִן meaning "to set aside from, remove from" is typically an official of the cult, usually a priest, and (3) since Dan 8:11b occurs in a context laden with cultic terminology, it is reasonable to conclude that the subject in Dan 8:11b acts similar to an official of the cult. Hence, in describing the horn as removing the *tāmî d*, the horn is seemingly portrayed as a priest. One could even say that in this instance the Hiphil of רום is utilized "almost sarcastically"[1] for the removal of the *tāmî d*. This leads to the next observation.

Sixth, the use of רום hif. for an aggressive pseudo-cultic activity may very well be caused by the fact that רום belongs to the "vocabulary of pride."[2] In two other texts in the book of Daniel the root רום describes self-exaltation (Dan 11:12, 36). Of course, one should distinguish between the semantic notion of רום to express pride, which is "to raise," and between the semantic notion which it has in Dan 8:11b, which is "to remove." Nevertheless, the association with pride by the use of the root רום should not be excluded,

---

[1]Behrmann, 54, who then interprets the removal of the *tāmî d* as the abolition of the sacrifices.

[2]Donald E. Gowan designates רום, together with גבה and גאה, as "vocabulary of pride" (*When Man Becomes God: Humanism and* Hybris *in the Old Testament*, PTMS, no. 6 [Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1975], 19-23). Close to this group is also the root גדל which can describe human beings' "magnification of themselves over against God" (ibid., 23) and which occurs five times in the context of Dan 8:11b, in 8:4, 8, 9b, 10a, 11a (see also Dan 8:25; 11:36, 37; cf. Isa 10:12; Jer 48:26, 42).

particularly since there are several occurrences of גדל in the sense of magnifying oneself—the last of which appears in vs. 11a just before the verb הֵרִים is used—do create exactly such an atmosphere of pride and haughtiness. The horn, taking the position of a priest, does act with an arrogant, haughty attitude and with hubris toward the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא, seemingly in authority over him. This is a characterization that in a negative context the verbal root רום is able to express.[1]

Seventh, two syntactic results should also be mentioned briefly. First, a comparison of the five רום hif. + מִן clauses in which the prepositional object stands in the preverbal field shows that the preverbal position of מִמֶּנּוּ in Dan 8:11b certainly focuses attention on the person who the *tāmî d* is taken away from.[2] Thus, Dan 8:11b continues the focus of 8:11a, namely on the one who is the target of the horn's activity: the commander of the host. And second, in Dan 8:11b the object הַתָּמִיד does not have the object marker את. This is not unusual since the object marker is also lacking in other clauses with רום hif. + מִן: in prosaic texts (Lev 6:8; Num 18:26, 28; 31:28; Ezek 45:1) as well as in poetic texts (1 Sam 2:8; Isa 14:13; 57:14; Pss 89:20; 113:7).

---

[1]In figurative and in theological meaning *rûm* is often used negatively to designate the arrogant, haughty attitude (H.-P. Stähli, "רום *rûm* to be high," *TLOT*, 3:1222, 1224, who also points out that some passages "characterize human *rûm* as the hubris of the godless . . . toward God" [1224]). It may even be that the horn as subject of רום in Dan 8:11b alludes sarcastically to the use of רום with "horn" as object, which is a metaphor for strength and pride in the Hebrew Bible and in Ancient Near Eastern literature (ibid., 1222).

[2]Two times the preverbal position of the מִן-phrase can be explained as poetic arrangement in a parallelism (1 Sam 2:8; Ps 113:7). Three times it focuses the attention on where something or someone is set aside from (Num 18:29; Isa 14:13; Dan 8:11b).

Meaning of הַתָּמִיד

Usually, תָּמִיד is regarded as an adverb, but occasionally it is classified as a noun.[1] Whatever the case may be, it is clear that in the book of Daniel תָּמִיד functions nominally.

Interpretations. A number of studies have been undertaken to determine the meaning of תָּמִיד, and thus also of הַתָּמִיד in Dan 8:11-13.[2] Basically, two interpretations have been suggested.[3] The first is that הַתָּמִיד has a narrow meaning: it refers to the regular daily sacrifice that is offered in the morning and in the evening.[4] In this case הַתָּמִיד is regarded as a technical term or as an abbreviated form which stands for עֹלַת הַתָּמִיד "the regular burnt offering."[5] Only a few reasons are provided for such an understanding. The only specific contextual reason given is that עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר "evening morning" in vs. 14b is said to reflect the language of the morning and evening burnt offering.[6] However, this should be challenged since the analysis of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר shows that

---

[1]So K.-M. Beyse, "תָּמִיד *tāmîḏ*," *ThWAT*, 8:680.

[2]See especially Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 404-409; Rodríguez, "Cultic Language," 532-533; Shea, "Spatial Dimensions," 513-514; Johan Lust, "Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel," 283-285, 293-294, 298-299; Beyse, 8:680-683; Samuel Núñez, "תמיד," 95-102.

[3]For a summary of the scholarly views on the meaning of הַתָּמִיד from 1700 to 1900 see Núñez, *The Vision of Daniel 8*, 100-101, 230-232, 372-378, 424-425.

[4]See, e.g., von Lengerke, 380; Hitzig, 132; Goettsberger, 62; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 176; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 334; Beyse, 8:680.

[5]The omission of the *nomen regens* עֹלַת is said to be easily understood from the context (so Carl Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* [Neukirchen: Erziehungsverein, 1956], 126 [§127a]) and is explained as omission of the nucleus of a specifying group (so W. J. Martin, "The Hebrew of Daniel," in *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, ed. D. J. Wiseman et al. [London: Tyndale, 1965], 29-30).

[6]For example, Aalders rejects a broader meaning of הַתָּמִיד on the basis of the mention of evening and morning in vs. 14 which is for him a sure indicator for the regular daily offering which

the phrase reflects the language of creation. A second, non-contextual reason offered is that the title תָּמִיד is found in the Mishnah and in the Talmud as the name of a treatise on the daily offering.

The second interpretation is that הַתָּמִיד has a broader meaning: it refers to all the regular cultic activities and rites.[1] The main reason for this view is that the term הַתָּמִיד, if it were a technical term, would stand for the collective ritual known as the "daily service" because הַתָּמִיד is associated in a construct relation not only with עֹלָה "burnt offering" but with several other terms that designate aspects of the regular cultic service.[2]

My analysis follows two steps. First, an overview of the usage and meaning of תָּמִיד in BH is presented. Such an analysis of תָּמִיד in the Hebrew Bible provides the necessary background to understand its unique usage in the book of Daniel. In a second step, the specific characteristics of how הַתָּמִיד is being used in Dan 8:11-13 are noted as well as how these interplay with the use of תָּמִיד in the rest of the Hebrew Bible.

---

should be brought in the morning and in the evening (*Daniël* [1962], 176).

[1]See, e.g., Hävernick, 276; Kranichfeld, 294; Kliefoth, 255; Keil, 298; Woodsworth, 39; Rohling, *Daniel*, 238-239; Tiefenthal, 268, 269; Stokmann, 127 n. 1; Leupold, 347; Young, *Daniel*, 172; Wood, 218; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 211; Núñez, "תמיד," 98-100; Peter L. Trudinger, *The Psalms of the Tamid Service: A Liturgical Text from the Second Temple Period*, VTSup, no. 98; FIOTL, no. 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 37. Longman believes that הַתָּמִיד can refer to the regular daily sacrifice or to the entire temple ritual, whereas for him vs. 11c supports that the whole temple ritual is in view (*Daniel*, 203).

[2]The Greek versions, which read θυσία "sacrifice, offering," do not help. Núñez, who translates הַתָּמִיד with "the continuance" or "the continuity" ("תמיד," 99), observes that in the book of Daniel the LXX always reads θυσία for הַתָּמִיד, whereas elsewhere עֹלָה in the phrase עֹלַת הַתָּמִיד or עֹלַת תָּמִיד is translated 19 times as τῆς ὁλοκαυτώσεως "burnt offering" and only once as θυσία (Exod 29:42). However, this argument against the reference of הַתָּמִיד to the daily sacrifice appears to overlook the fact that by using the term θυσία, the Old Greek and Theodotion indeed seem to understand הַתָּמִיד as offering or sacrifice.

Usage of תָּמִיד in the Hebrew Bible. The syntactic and semantic results of an analysis of the 104 occurrences of תָּמִיד in BH are summarized as follows.[1] In 67 occurrences תָּמִיד is used adverbially, predominantly in religious and cultic contexts (48 times).[2] In 37 occurrences תָּמִיד is used nominally: 32 times as *nomen rectum* (or *postconstructus*) in a construct relation, in which it follows a term that stems almost exclusively from the cult,[3] and 5 times standing alone in the form הַתָּמִיד, which is unique

---

[1]See already Núñez, "תמיד," 95-102; cf. Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 424-425. My syntactic analysis of תָּמִיד differs from Núñez' only in Exod 27:20 and Lev 24:2 where the phrase נֵר תָּמִיד should be understood as construct relation (similar to אֵשׁ תָּמִיד in Lev 6:6, which Núñez, too, identifies as construct relation). These texts belong to some cases in which תָּמִיד without article stands after a noun which form could be absolute or construct and it is not absolutely clear whether תָּמִיד functions adverbially or nominally as *nomen rectum* in a construct relation (Exod 27:20; Lev 6:6; 24:2; 2 Kgs 5:29; Prov 15:15; 1 Chr 16:6). In meaning, of course, the two syntactic possibilities often do not differ significantly. The differences in analysis rather exemplify the ambiguity of the language, e.g., in לְהַעֲלֹת נֵר תָּמִיד (Exod 27:20; Lev 24:2). *HALOT* (4:1748) and Beyse (8:681) regard נֵר תָּמִיד as construct relation, whereas BDB (556) and Núñez ("תמיד," 100 n. 1) regard תָּמִיד as adverbial to the verb עלה in the Hiphil. In contrast, in the clause אֵשׁ תָּמִיד תּוּקַד עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ (Lev 6:6), *HALOT* (4:1748) and BDB (506) regard תָּמִיד as adverbial to תּוּקַד, whereas Núñez ("תמיד," 101 n. 4) and Beyse (8:681) regard אֵשׁ תָּמִיד as construct relation. Beside the above decision to consider נֵר תָּמִיד (Exod 27:20; Lev 24:2) and אֵשׁ תָּמִיד (Lev 6:6) as construct relations, the other texts are analyzed as follows. In 2 Kgs 5:29, לֶחֶם תָּמִיד is not a construct relation as a comparison with the parallel text in Jer 52:33 shows. In Prov 15:5, מִשְׁתֶּה תָּמִיד is the predicate of a nominal clause and seems be a construct relation. The trumpets in 1 Chr 16:6 do not seem to be trumpets of continuity (so as option in BDB, 556), but rather the two priests Benaiah and Jahaziel blew trumpets in a regular manner before the ark as they ministered before it תָּמִיד "regularly" (1 Chr 16:37).

[2]תָּמִיד occurs 18 times "in connection to some objects of the tabernacle/temple or in relation to the ministry of priests in the service of the sanctuary" (Exod 25:30; 28:29, 30, 38; 29:38; Lev 6:13; 24:3, 4, 8; Num 9:16; 28:3; Ezek 46:14; Ps 50:8; 1 Chr 16:6, 37, 40; 23:31; 2 Chr 24:14), 30 times in a "general religious" context (Deut 11:12; Isa 49:16; 52:5; 58:11; 60:11; 65:3; Hos 12:7; Pss 16:8; 25:15; 34:2; 35:27; 38:18; 40:12, 17; 51:5; 70:5; 71:3, 6, 14; 72:15; 73:23; 74:23; 105:4; 109:15; 119:44, 109, 117; Prov 6:21; 28:14; 1 Chr 16:11), and 19 times in a "secular context" (2 Sam 9:7, 10, 13; 1 Kgs 10:8; 2 Kgs 4:9; 25:29; Isa 21:8; 51:13; 62:6; Jer 6:7; 52:33; Ezek 38:8; Obad 16; Nah 3:19; Hab 1:17; Pss 69:24; 109:19; Prov 5:19; 2 Chr 9:7). For a slightly different count see Núñez, "תמיד," 95. Noteworthy is that in a secular context the adverb תָּמִיד is used a number of times in an administrative royal context (2 Sam 9:7, 10, 13; 1 Kgs 10:8; 2 Kgs 25:29; Jer 52:33).

[3]In a cultic context, תָּמִיד occurs 28 times in a construct relation: נֵר תָּמִיד "regular lamp" (Exod 27:20; Lev 24:2); עֹלַת תָּמִיד "regular burnt offering" (Exod 29:42; Num 28:6; Ezek 46:15 [*plene*]; Ezra 3:5); עֹלַת הַתָּמִיד "regular burnt offering" (Num 28:10, 15, 23, 24 [*plene*], 31; 29:6, 11,

for the book of Daniel.[1] Interestingly, the adverbial use is predominantly found in narrative, prophetic and poetic texts,[2] whereas the nominal use is found mainly in the Pentateuch.[3]

As far as meaning is concerned, תָּמִיד designates the regularity (with intervals) or continuity (without interruption) of activities, events or state of affairs. In a cultic context, תָּמִיד "designates a variety of sacrificial rites that are regular, most often but not always of daily occurrence."[4] Hence, תָּמִיד "does not necessarily mean 'non-stopping, unceasing, continual,' but rather that the ritual acts in question are to be repeated at regular intervals and at fixed times."[5] For example, תָּמִיד can be connected with daily,[6]

16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38; Neh 10:34 [*plene*]); קְטֹרֶת תָּמִיד "perpetual incense" (Exod 30:8); אֵשׁ תָּמִיד "perpetual fire" (Lev 6:6); לֶחֶם הַתָּמִיד "continual bread" (Num 4:7); מִנְחַת הַתָּמִיד "regular grain offering" (Num 4:16; Neh 10:34); מַעֲרֶכֶת תָּמִיד "regular arrangement (of showbread)" (2 Chr 2:3). Three times תָּמִיד appears in an administrative context: אֲרֻחַת תָּמִיד "regular allowance" (2 Kgs 25:30; Jer 52:34); אַנְשֵׁי תָמִיד "men of continuity" (Ezek 39:14). Once תָּמִיד occurs in the construct relation מִשְׁתֶּה תָמִיד "continual feast" (Prov 15:15). Cf. with a slightly different counting, Núñez, "תמיד," 96.

[1]Dan 8:11b, 12a, 13c; 11:31; 12:11.

[2]In 64 occurrences of תָּמִיד in these sections (Danielic references not included) it is used 55 times adverbially.

[3]In 35 occurrences of תָּמִיד in the Pentateuch it is used 23 times nominally.

[4]Levine, *Numbers, 21-36*, 371; cf. *HALOT*, 4:1748: "תָּ[מִיד] with a preceding word for an offering, comes to mean regularity, regularly occurring." The following examples for the meaning of תָּמִיד regarding time have been offered by Levine, *Numbers 21-36*, 372.

[5]Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into the Character of Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 207.

[6]For example the regular burnt offering (Exod 29:38, etc.), the regular grain offering (Lev 6:13; Num 4:16), or the regular incense offering (Exod 30:8). Specifically the text in Exod 29:38 is interesting since there תָּמִיד is added after לַיּוֹם "each day" which already conveys the idea that the two lambs are offered as a sacrifice on a day. Therefore, תָּמִיד seems not to express a specific temporal regularity (e.g., "daily") but rather regularity in general.

weekly,[1] perpetual or continual[2] activities or events. It is then clear that "*tāmî d* must be rendered 'regularly,' not 'perpetually.'"[3] In non-cultic contexts, תָּמִיד most often conveys continuity or perpetuity (e.g., in the Psalms: Ps 16:8, etc.) but can also designate regularity (e.g., 2 Kgs 4:9; 25:30). It could be added that an analysis of תָּמִיד in the Dead Sea Scrolls leads to similar conclusions.[4] Since תָּמִיד can have different connotations depending on the context, a closer analysis of הַתָּמִיד in the book of Daniel and especially in Dan 8:11-13 is necessary.[5]

Characteristics of the use of הַתָּמִיד in Dan 8:11-13. The first and most striking observation is that תָּמִיד functions nominally and stands alone. This usage is unique and

---

[1]The bread of the presence is set regularly (Exod 25:30) on the table once a week (Lev 24:5-9); whereas the bread itself could be called לֶחֶם הַתָּמִיד "the continual bread" because it was displayed continuously.

[2]The fire should be kept burning on the altar without interruption (Lev 6:6).

[3]Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27*, 2088. Anthony Tomasino also emphasizes the distinction between regularly repeated activity and continuous activity in the adverbial use of תָּמִיד, though it "is not always possible to distinguish" them ("תָּמִיד [# 9458]," *NIDOTTE*, 4:302-305). Nevertheless, he opts to render the basic meaning of תָּמִיד in nominal use with "perpetuity" and regards הַתָּמִיד in the book of Daniel as referring to the "perpetual burnt offering" (ibid., 4:304). However, whether תָּמִיד includes the notion of continuity/perpetuity or the notion of regularity cannot be distinguished syntactically by the adverbial or nominal use of תָּמִיד, but needs to be determined by the context.

[4]For an investigation of תָּמִיד in the then extant literature from Qumran see Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 421-423, who observes the following in regard to the usage of תָּמִיד: (1) תָּמִיד is used predominantly as an adverb with the meaning "continually" or "perpetually." (2) תָּמִיד is used twice in the construct phrase עלת תמיד "regular burnt offering." (3) תָּמִיד never stands alone as הַתָּמִיד in nominal use. (4) תָּמִיד is not a technical expression or a standard abbreviation for the daily sacrifice. Hasel then arrives at the conclusion that the usage of תָּמִיד in the Dead Sea Scrolls "cautions against interpreting *hattāmî d* in Daniel as a technical or abbreviated term" (ibid., 423).

[5]After scanning some of the different biblical usages of the term תָּמִיד, Levine gives this advice: "It becomes necessary, therefore, to determine in each instance the precise meaning of the designation *tāmî d*, as well as its syntactic function as substantive, adjective or adverb" (*Numbers 21-36*, 372; similarly, Tomasino, 4:302).

is found only in the book of Daniel; elsewhere הַתָּמִיד is always part of a construct relation.

Second, that תָּמִיד is used nominally provides strong motivation to interpret it as a term referring to the cult. In its nominal use, תָּמִיד occurs almost exclusively in such a context, that is, in twenty-eight of thirty-two texts outside the book of Daniel. Only in three texts it is used in an administrative context[1] of royal provisions for captives (2 Kgs 25:29-30; Jer 52:33-34) or of professionals with a continuing commission (Ezek 39:14), and once it is used in connection with a feast (Prov 15:15). As mentioned earlier, the nominal use of תָּמִיד is found mainly in the Pentateuch, and there in the cultic laws, and in texts referring to those Pentateuchal texts. This suggests that the background of the nominal use of הַתָּמִיד in the book of Daniel is to be found in the cultic usage of תָּמִיד as it originates in the Torah.

Third, תָּמִיד is used with the definite article. The form הַתָּמִיד occurs twenty-four times in BH (including the five Danielic references). Since תָּמִיד has the definite article and is used without any introduction or explanation, it must have been a known and identifiable term in this communicative situation.[2] The reasons for such familiarity with

---

[1]It is in the administrative context that Levine sees the origin of תָּמִיד (*Numbers 21-36*, 372).

[2]George A. Barton observes concerning הַתָּמִיד: "Is it not obvious that such an expression must have been on the lips of many at the time to have been used by a writer at all? Had it not been, no writer could hope to be understood by it" ("The Composition of the Book of Daniel," *JBL* 17 [1898]: 84). Like other commentators, Hasslberger assumes that הַתָּמִיד had already acquired the status of a *terminus technicus* at the time of writing the book of Daniel (100). Gzella reasons that the term "may have been coined by the author of ch. 8 and made its way into Mishnaic Hebrew only afterwards" (12-13). On the use of the article in connection with the specific situation or milieu, as well as on other functions of the article, see Augustin R. Müller, "Zu den Artikelfunktionen im Hebräischen," in *Text, Methode und Grammatik: Wolfgang Richter zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Groß, H. Irsigler, and T. Seidl (St. Ottilien, EOS, 1991), 313-329, esp. 324-325.

the term תָּמִיד may be found in its traditional use in BH and/or in the more difficult to determine historical and social setting of the author and/or that intended of the final text.

The Danielic use of הַתָּמִיד in this form (i.e., with the definite article) probably links it to the Torah, since elsewhere the form הַתָּמִיד occurs only in the Pentateuch—more specifically in Num 4, 28, and 29—and in Neh 10:34, which refers to a law in the Torah. In all nineteen non-Danielic texts הַתָּמִיד is used in a cultic context and therefore the interpretation for הַתָּמִיד in Daniel should primarily be based upon its usage in connection with the cult.

Outside the book of Daniel הַתָּמִיד occurs always in a construct relation with cultic terms.[1] Statistically speaking, it is understandable why scholars would regard הַתָּמִיד as a short form of עֹלַת הַתָּמִיד since הַתָּמִיד occurs sixteen times in such a phrase but only three times in a construct relation with other terms. However, the occurrences of עֹלַת הַתָּמִיד are confined to two chapters in Num 28 and 29, where it is part of a structural formula and thus necessarily repeated, and one verse in the book of Nehemiah.[2] The phrase עֹלַת הַתָּמִיד may not be standardized after all and הַתָּמִיד may not be a technical short form for a longer expression.

Fourth, הַתָּמִיד is used in Dan 8:11-13 together with several unambiguous cultic

---

[1]לֶחֶם הַתָּמִיד "continual bread" (Num 4:7); מִנְחַת הַתָּמִיד "regular grain offering" (Num 4:16; Neh 10:34); עֹלַת הַתָּמִיד or עוֹלַת הַתָּמִיד "regular burnt offering" (Num 28:10, 15, 23, 24 [*plene*], 31; 29:6, 11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38; Neh 10:34 [*plene*]).

[2]The explanation why this phrase occurs so frequently in Num 28 and 29 is that these chapters list the burnt offerings and other offerings which should be brought on special occasions—Sabbath, new moon, festivals—in addition (עַל) or besides (מִלְּבַד) the regular burnt offering. The phrase עֹלַת הַתָּמִיד functions structurally as part of a refrain at the end of each section describing the additional offerings for a specific occasion.

terms: הֵרִים "remove, set aside" (vs. 11b), מִקְדָּשׁ "sanctuary" (vs. 11c), קֹדֶשׁ "holy" (vss. 13c, 14c). Thus, the cultic significance of הַתָּמִיד in Dan 8:11-13, and by extension also in Dan 11:31 and 12:11, seems rather obvious.

Fifth, it is quite safe to conclude based on the following three indicators that the meaning of הַתָּמִיד should be interpreted against the background of its usage in cultic contexts elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. These indicators are (1) the nominal use of הַתָּמִיד, (2) its occurrence with the definite article, and (3) its use in combination with various cultic terms in the same context. In fact, the OT background shows that הַתָּמִיד itself can be identified as cultic term. As already mentioned, תָּמִיד occurs frequently in a cultic context: in adverbial usage to characterize cultic activities as regular, and in nominal usage in construct relations for cultic objects or offerings. And with the definite article it is always used in connection with elements and activities of the cult. The cultic background of תָּמִיד provides two further aspects which may have an effect on the meaning of הַתָּמִיד in the book of Daniel. The first follows naturally from its cultic usage: Priests are responsible for the execution of the *tāmî d* activities.[1] In other words, the agent of a *tāmî d* activity in a cultic context is a priest, often the high priest.[2] The

---

[1]The common use of תָּמִיד in connection with different types of priestly activities led Shea to the suggestion that the "preferable translation of this word [הַתָּמִיד] in Daniel is 'the continual/daily (ministry)'" ("Spatial Dimensions," 514). Similarly, Rodriguez points to the connection of הַתָּמִיד with priestly activities in the court and in the holy place of which the theological concept he says to be that of intercession. For him, הַתָּמִיד in the book of Daniel "could be better translated 'continual intercession'" ("Cultic Language," 533).

[2]The *tāmî d* responsibilities or activities of the high priest include his special outer garments—the breastplate, the Urim and Thummim (Exod 28:29, 30), and the golden plate (Exod 28:38)—the continual lamp (Exod 27:20; Lev 24:2, 3, 4), the perpetual incense (Exod 30:8), the bread of the presence (Lev 24:8; Num 4:7; cf. 2 Chr 2:3), and the daily cereal offering to be performed by the high priest (Lev 6:13; Num 4:16; Neh 10:34; cf. Ezek 46:14 which could refer to the cereal

second aspect is that frequently the expression תָּמִיד is connected with or even stands indirectly for God's perpetual presence.[1] The characteristic phrase לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה "before YHWH," or the like, is often mentioned in close connection with תָּמִיד when the latter appears in a cultic context.[2] This should not be surprising since offerings and other cultic activities are thought of as worship to YHWH and are being carried out in the presence of

---

offering that accompanies the daily burnt offering) (for the high priestly daily מִנְחָה see Milgom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 398-399; cf. Levine, *Numbers 1-20*, 169). It is not clear whether the daily burnt offering was performed by priests or by the high priest (Exod 29:38-42; Num 28-29; Ezek 46:15; Ezra 3:5; Neh 10:34; cf. 2 Chr 24:14). According to 1 Chr 16:39-40 it is Zadok the priest (functioning as high priest?) and his relatives (אֶחָיו) the priests who should offer the daily burnt offering. Yet 1 Chr 23:27-32 mentions the sons of Levi as those who should offer the burnt offerings continually. Similarly unclear is who exactly is meant by הַכֹּהֵן "the priest" whose responsibility was the perpetual fire (Lev 6:5-6). Activities of the Levites are definitely described as *tāmî d* in 1 Chr 16:6, 37.

[1]To some extent Beyse points in this direction when he comments on the adverbial use of תָּמִיד: "Breiten Raum nimmt die Beschreibung der stetigen Verbundenheit zwischen JHWH und dem gläubigen Israeliten ein . . ." (682). Similarly, Doukhan points out that the regular daily sacrifice "burned permanently on the altar (*tamid*: 'perpetual') and symbolized God's faithful presence among His people" and then refers to Exod 29:42-46 as an example where the *tāmî d* (vs. 42) is contextually linked with God's presence (vs. 42: "where I will meet you") and God's dwelling among the Israelites (vss. 45-46) (*Secrets*, 124).

[2]See the expression לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה "before YHWH" (Exod 28:29, 30, 38; 29:42; 30:8; Lev 24:3, 4, 8; 1 Chr 23:31; cf. Ezek 46:14; Ps 50:8; 1 Chr 16:37; 2 Chr 2:3). Haran classifies לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה as "common characteristic formula" (*Temples*, 215), which "actually belongs to the temple's technical terminology" (ibid., 26) and often expresses "the sacral-ritualistic character of the acts performed by the high priest" and as such is frequently connected with acts performed within the sanctuary (ibid., 212-213; cf. N. Raban, "לפני־יהוה," *Tarbiz* 1 [1930]: 1-8 [Hebrew], who tries to pinpoint the physical location at/in the sanctuary denoted by לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה; and Judith Romney Wegner, "*Coming Before the Lord*": The Exclusion of Women from the Public Domain of the Israelite Priestly Cult," in *The Book Leviticus: Composition and Reception*, ed. R. Rendtorff and R. A. Kugler, VTSup, no. 93, FIOTL, no. 3 [Leiden: Brill, 2003], 451-465, who focuses on the figurative significance of לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה, which expresses "the capacity to approach close enough to communicate with the Deity or at least to perceive oneself as being in the Presence of God" [454]). Ian Wilson demonstrates that in the book of Deuteronomy לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה should be understood in the literal sense pointing to the localized divine presence at the cult place (*Out of the Midst of the Fire: Divine Presence in Deuteronomy*, SBLDS, no. 151 [Atlanta: Scholars, 1995], 131-197). Other indicators that a regular (תָּמִיד) activity or offering happens in the presence of YHWH is the use of הַפָּנִים "the presence" as characterization of the showbread (Num 4:7). Outside a cultic context, a connection between תָּמִיד and the presence or activity of YHWH is found in Deut 11:12; Isa 49:16; 58:11; 65:3 (offerings are part of the context); Jer 6:7; Pss 16:8, 25:15; 34:2; 35:27; 40:12, 17; 70:5; 71:3, 6, 14; 73:23; 105:4; 109:15; cf. Hos 12:7. All these latter occurrences, except for Jer 6:7, are in a general religious context.

YHWH—a fact also expressed by YHWH himself (Ps 50:8). All these nuances can be combined into a plausible description of the cultic context in which תָּמִיד is predominantly used: The priest, often the high priest, performs a regular cultic activity, of which the object or the activity itself stands frequently in connection with YHWH's presence so that the object or activity is part of the regular worship of YHWH. Regarding the cultic use of הַתָּמִיד in Dan 8:11-13 this means that the absolute הַתָּמִיד refers to all the regular priestly activities carried out in the presence of YHWH rather than to the regular daily offering only, to the entire spectrum of constant (cultic) worship of YHWH rather than just to one aspect alone. Hence, it is the use of הַתָּמִיד without any qualification that suggests strongly that more than a specific offering or a specific activity is in view. In fact, one may infer that this is the exact reason why הַתָּמִיד is used in such a unique way in Daniel.[1]

Sixth, the *tāmîd* is noted to be taken away "from him" (מִמֶּנּוּ). The referent of the pronominal suffix has been identified as the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא "commander of the host" (vs. 11a). There is obviously a relationship between the commander of the host and the *tāmîd*. How can this relationship be further defined? Two possibilities present themselves. First, the *tāmîd* is for the commander of the host, or it belongs to him. The commander receives the *tāmîd* as it is presented to him, or it is already in his possession. The horn

---

[1]It is of interest here that Haran argues that "the rites performed inside the temple . . . combined to form a unique cultic whole," which he calls a "ritual complex" (*Temples*, 205-229, citation on p. 205). Haran convincingly demonstrates how the ritual acts performed by the high priest within the temple "are an integral part of the regular complex of rites, the *tāmîd*-rites" (ibid., 213), and "must be understood as a deliberately designed and essentially homogeneous ritual complex deriving its unity from the fact that all its component rites are performed simultaneously by one and the same priest, at the same times fixed by the regularity of *tāmîd*" (ibid., 217). It should then not be a surprise that the book of Daniel uses the term הַתָּמִיד to refer to such a unified ritual complex of worship.

removing the *tāmîd* from him would then signify that the horn hinders the commander of the host from receiving the *tāmîd*. In other words, the horn "steals" the *tāmîd* from him. In this particular interpretation the *tāmîd* would represent the regular cultic activities or the regular worship directed toward the commander of the host, whose divine character is thus being emphasized. The horn's attack on the host and the trampling of some of its members (vs. 10) supports this view since by this action the horn obstructs the host in serving its leader. At the same time another host is being installed (vs. 12a), which does not serve the commander of the host but the horn. A second possible relationship between the *tāmîd* and the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא is one in which the commander of the host is performing the *tāmîd* and the *tāmîd* is part of his responsibility. In this interpretation the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא is attributed a more priestly function, or possibly a high priestly function, all the more so since the expression שַׂר־הַצָּבָא denotes the highest status of a being. The horn removing the *tāmîd* from him would then signify that the horn tries to take control of the (high) priestly activity of the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא, possibly even assuming the (high) priestly role itself.[1] The verb הֵרִים already indicates in an ironic way that the horn is acting like a (high) priest usurping the (high) priestly role of the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא for itself. The mention of מִקְדָּשׁוֹ "his sanctuary" would fit both possible interpretations. It could hint at the (high) priestly function of the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא who serves in his sanctuary and/or, since a sanctuary

---

[1]In this regard, it is noteworthy that Gese, in commenting on the view that Michael could be identified as the prince of the host and that he with the other angels is the actual subject of the cultic temple activity (so Koch, "Visionsbericht," 422), draws the logical conclusion that vs. 12 would then reinforce vs. 11b and would only mean that the horn, which for Gese is Antiochus IV, "wants to offer the *tamid* sacrifice instead of Michael" (408 n. 27). Gese, however, rejects such a view on the basis that the prince of the host represents YHWH, and not Michael.

belongs to God, it could indicate the divine status of the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא who is then worthy to be worshiped. In summary, both options concur with the text and it seems wise to suggest that both are valid at the same time. The ambiguity may be intentional so that both dimensions of the *tāmî d* would find expression: the worship and cultic activities directed toward the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא as well as the cultic activities of the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא as (high) priest himself.[1]

Seventh, the other instances of הַתָּמִיד in the book of Daniel are also helpful in defining its meaning. Although the specific term הַתָּמִיד is introduced in Dan 8:11-13 and the meaning of its other occurrences in Dan 11:31 and 12:11 therefore depends upon this first text, it is nevertheless possible to deduce at least one important clue for the meaning of הַתָּמִיד in those latter occurrences. In Dan 11:31 and 12:11, the *tāmî d* is replaced by an abomination of desolation: הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשׁוֹמֵם (11:31), שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם (12:11).[2] Whatever these phrases exactly mean,[3] the root שקץ clearly originates from a cultic context. It appears in two different cultic settings. On the one hand, the noun שֶׁקֶץ "cultic abomination"

---

[1]In principle this suggestion comes close to Núñez' typological interpretation of הַתָּמִיד. He connects הַתָּמִיד with the "daily service" of the sanctuary that "typifies Christ's continual atonement and ministry to sinners through which . . . Israel of God's people, by faith, could worship Him each day and especially on the seventh day of the week" ("תמיד," 100). Unfortunately, he does not present textual evidence from the book of Daniel or from elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible for such a double meaning of הַתָּמִיד.

[2]For example, Maurer regards הַתָּמִיד and שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם as opposites (144), and Lust argues that the "abomination of desolation" is a "replacement of the Tamid" ("Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel," 293-294).

[3]On the different scholarly interpretations of שקוץ מ/שמם see the extensive overview and critique by Lust, "Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel," 283-299. He identifies two major interpretations of this phrase. The first is to regard it as "contemptuous deformation" (E. Nestle, E. Bickermann), and the second is to regard it as referring to astral cult (J. Goldstein, K. Koch).

designates animals which are prohibited for food and are usually considered impure.[1] On the other hand, the noun שִׁקּוּץ "abominable thing," used here in Daniel, refers to idolatry and denotes idols and foreign gods or idolatrous rites and practices; it is always strongly condemned by the prophets.[2] During the time of the prophets, Israelites even introduced false gods into the temple and defiled the sanctuary through idolatrous worship.[3] שִׁקּוּץ therefore occurs in the context of ill-directed worship and the worship of idols and false gods.[4] It denotes "everything detestable from the perspective of Yahweh worship."[5] It is

---

[1]Lev 7:21; 11:10-13, 20, 23, 41-42; Isa 66:17; Ezek 8:10. However, Jacob Milgrom differs in opinion and believes that שקץ in the Priestly literature, in contrast to the Holiness source and the Deuteronomistic source, is distinguished from טמא "impure" and that animals who are שֶׁקֶץ are pure and do not transmit impurity ("Two Biblical Hebrew Priestly Terms: *šeqeṣ* and *ṭāmēʾ*," *MAARAV* 8 [1992]: 107-116).

[2]The noun שִׁקּוּץ occurs in this idolatrous cultic context in Deut 29:16; 1 Kgs 11:5, 7; 2 Kgs 23:13, 24; 2 Chr 15:18; Isa 66:3; Jer 4:1; 7:30; 13:27; 16:18; 32:34; Ezek 5:11; 7:20; 11:18, 21; 20:7, 8, 30; 37:23; Hos 9:10; Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11. Only once is the noun שִׁקּוּץ used in the sense of forbidden food (Zech 9:7), but it is possible that the author of Zechariah wishes "also to suggest that those detested things stand for all pagan behaviors, especially idolatry" (Carol L. Meyers and Erich M. Meyers, *Zechariah 9-14*, AB, vol. 25C [New York: Doubleday, 1993], 114). And once שִׁקּוּץ is used in a secular context to refer to an otherwise undefined abominable substance, "filth" (Nah 3:6). Cf. Mayer I. Gruber, "Abomination שִׁקּוּץ," *DDD*, 3. For Lust, שִׁקּוּץ "often refers to a statue of a deity or to the deity itself" whereas "in some contexts the abominations must be cultic objects or rituals, and more specifically, pagan altars and sacrifices" ("Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel," 288-289). He then concludes that "in the texts of Daniel, the 'abomination of desolation' appears to be a sacrifice imposed on the Jews as replacement of the Tamid" (ibid., 294).

[3]Jer 7:30; 32:34; Ezek 5:11.

[4]See D. N. Freedman and A. Welch, "שקץ *šqṣ*," *ThWAT*, 8:461-465; Michael A. Grisanti, "שקץ (# 9210)," *NIDOTTE*, 4:243-246.

[5]Grisanti, 244. Wilfried Paschen, *Rein und unrein: Untersuchung zur biblischen Wortgeschichte*, SANT, no. 24 (Munich: Kösel, 1970), 27 (cf. 66), characterizes שִׁקּוּץ as a "cacopheme [*Kakophemismus*] for illegitimate cult images." Several scholars express the opinion that the word שִׁקּוּץ belongs to polemic language. So Christopher R. North, "The Essence of Idolatry," in *Von Ugarit nach Qumran: Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Forschung, Otto Eissfeldt zum 1. September 1957 dargebracht von Freunden und Schüler*, ed. J. Hempel and L. Rost, BZAW, 77 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1958), 154-155: "opprobrious word"; Horst Dietrich Preuss, *Verspottung fremder Religionen im Alten Testament*, BZWANT, no. 92 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer,

in this context in which שִׁקּוּץ is used here in Daniel. After the *tāmî d* is taken away, a devastating שִׁקּוּץ, a false worship, is "given."[1] Assuming there is a congruency between the replaced item and the substitute, the replacement of הַתָּמִיד by שִׁקּוּץ is another indication that הַתָּמִיד refers to true worship. True worship and service of YHWH is removed and replaced by false, abominable worship.[2]

Eighth, the Aramaic part of Daniel provides another indicator for the meaning of הַתָּמִיד. Lust pointed out that in the Aramaic section (Dan 6:17, 21) one finds a related adverb to תָּמִיד in the description of Daniel's cultic behavior: תְּדִירָא which as a noun used adverbially means "constantly" and as a noun "continuance, continuity, perpetuity." "It is used with the prefix בּ[3] and refers to Daniel's 'continuous' or 'daily' service of his God."[4] The distinct lexical relation between תְּדִירָא in Dan 6:17, 21 and תָּמִיד in the Hebrew part of the book of Daniel is evident both by the use of תדירא in the Targums and by the translation of תְּדִירָא and תָּמִיד in the Greek versions.

1971), 58 passim, who translates שִׁקּוּץ with "monster" (*Scheusal*); and Silvia Schroer, *In Israel gab es Bilder: Nachrichten von darstellender Kunst im Alten Testament*, OBO, no. 74 (Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 351-353: "polemic word of mockery."

[1]The verb נתן "give" is used in Dan 8:13c; 9:27; 11:31; and 12:11 in relation with שׁמם (all four texts) and with שִׁקּוּץ (last two texts), so that the abomination "is given" in the place of the *tāmî d*; see Lust, "Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel," 293-294.

[2]Against the backdrop of the installation of the abomination of desolation, Trudinger concludes that "from the perspective of the second part of Daniel, the daily service epitomizes the pious worship of God and the sacred relationship established through that worship" (37).

[3]For BA nouns that with a preposition function as adverbs, including בִּתְדִירָא, see Bauer and Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, 255 (§68s).

[4]Lust, "Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel," 284 n. 4.

In the Targums, תדירא is the Aramaic equivalent to the Hebrew תָּמִיד.[1] Whenever תָּמִיד is translated in Aramaic it is rendered by תדירא, and whenever תדירא renders a Hebrew word, the Hebrew is תָּמִיד.[2] This is a perfect one-to-one relation.

---

[1]Cf. Behrmann, 41; Marti, *Daniel*, 45; Montgomery, 277; Charles, 159, who observe this fact, but neither provide data nor relate it to הַתָּמִיד in the Hebrew part of the book of Daniel.

[2]Targum Onkelos translates all 35 occurrences of BH תָּמִיד in the Pentateuch with תדירא. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan always uses in the Pentateuch תדירא for BH תָּמִיד (33 times), except in Lev 6:13 where תָּמִיד is not translated and in Lev 24:4 which is entirely omitted in Pseudo-Jonathan. The other two occurrences of תדירא in Pseudo-Jonathan are an addition to the Hebrew original (Gen 49:27; Deut 29:5). Targum Neofiti 1 translates the 35 occurrences of BH תָּמִיד in the Pentateuch 20 times with תדירא or תדירה; and 15 times Neofiti 1 uses the Hebraism תמידה (Num 28:10, 15, 23, 24, 31; 29:6, 11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38)—so also the early Cairo Genizah manuscripts of Palestinian Targum in Num 28:15, 23, 24, 31—interestingly in a context where also תדירה is used (Num 28:3, 6), which points to the formulaic use of עלת תמידה in Num 28 and 29. The other four occurrences of תדירא in Neofiti 1 are an addition to the Hebrew original (Exod 13:9; 20:20; Deut 6:6; 11:18). There is no extant text containing a rendition of תָּמִיד in the Fragment Targum. Outside the Pentateuch the Targums, wherever extant, render תָּמִיד in all its occurrences with תדירא. This is the case for all 7 occurrences in the former prophets and all 19 occurrences in the latter prophets (Targum Jonathan), all 23 occurrences in the Psalms (Targum of Psalms), all 4 occurrences in Proverbs (Targum of Proverbs), and all 8 occurrences in Chronicles (Targum of Chronicles). For the statistical analysis of the use of תדירא in the Targums the following works have been consulted: On Targum Onkelos: Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic: Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*, vol. 1, *The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos* (Leiden: Brill, 1959); on Targum pseudo-Jonathan: Moses Ginsburger, ed., *Pseudo-Jonathan (Thargum Jonathan ben Usiel zum Pentateuch): Nach der Londoner Handschrift* (Berlin: Calvary, 1903; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1971); and E. G. Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance* (Hoboken: Ktav, 1984); on Targum Neofiti 1: Alejandro Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1: Targum Palestinense Ms de la Biblioteca Vaticana*, 5 vols., Textos y estudios, 7-11 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968-1978); and Stephen A, Kaufman and Michael Sokoloff, *A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance to Targum Neofiti: A Guide to the Complete Palestinian Aramaic Text of the Torah*, Publications of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project, 2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); on the Cairo Genizah Manuscripts: Michael L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, vol. 1 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1986), 326-329; on Targum Jonathan: Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic: Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*, vol. 2, *The Former Prophets according to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: Brill, 1959); idem, *The Bible in Aramaic: Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*, vol. 3, *The Latter Prophets according to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: Brill, 1962); on Targum of Psalms: Luis Díez Merino, *Targum de Salmos: Edición Príncipe del Ms. Villa-Amil n. 5 de Alfonso de Zamora*, Bibliotheca hispana biblica, no. 6 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Instituto "Francisco Suárez," 1982); on Targum of Proverbs: Luis Díez Merino, *Targum de Proverbios: Edición Príncipe del Ms. Villa-Amil n°. 5 de Alfonso de Zamora*, Bibliotheca hispana biblica, no. 11 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Instituto "Francisco Suárez," 1984); on the Targum of Chronicles: Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic: Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*, vol. 4A, *The Hagiographa:*

Therefore, a bilingual reader of the book of Daniel would immediately recognize the lexical relation between תְּדִירָא in Dan 6:17, 21 and הַתָּמִיד in Dan 8:11-13; 11:31; 12:11.

The Old Greek and Theodotion also confirm the relation between BA תְּדִירָא and BH תָּמִיד.[1] The Greek rendering of BA תְּדִירָא in Dan 6:17, 21 (6:16, 20 in the Greek versions) is the adverb ἐνδελεχῶς "continually." Whereas in Daniel הַתָּמִיד is usually rendered by ἡ θυσία "the sacrifice/offering,"[2] Theodotion uses ὁ ἐνδελεχισμός "the regular"—the corresponding noun to ἐνδελεχῶς—to render הַתָּמִיד in Dan 11:31 and 12:11. The significance of this finding is that Theodotion establishes a clear lexical relation between תְּדִירָא in Dan 6:17, 21 and the term הַתָּמִיד, at least with its usage in 11:31 and 12:11, which in BH is identical to its usage in 8:11-13.

An analysis of the usage of the adverb ἐνδελεχῶς and the noun ἐνδελεχισμός in the rest of the Septuagint (outside Daniel) attests to the fact that these terms are one of the preferred renditions of תָּמִיד.[3] When the adverb ἐνδελεχῶς is used as a rendition of a BH

Transition from Translation to Midrash (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 3-119; and R. Le Déaut and J. Robert, *Targum des Chroniques*, 2 vols., AnBib, no. 51 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1971).

[1]Lust, "Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel," 284 n. 4.

[2]The Old Greek always uses ἡ θυσία for הַתָּמִיד in the book of Daniel (8:11-13; 11:31; 12:11); Theodotion uses ἡ θυσία in 8:11-13, but not in 11:31 and 12:11. The noun θυσία occurs also elsewhere in the Greek versions of the Book of Daniel: for מִנְחָה in OG in 2:46; 9:21, 27 and in Theodotion in 9:21, 27; and without Hebrew/Aramaic vis-à-vis in OG in 3:38, 40; 4:34a, 34b and in Theodotion in 3:38, 40. Thus, the Greek versions use θυσία only for הַתָּמִיד or מִנְחָה. In the rest of the Septuagint the noun θυσία is usually one of the equivalents of מִנְחָה "cereal offering" and of זֶבַח "sacrifice" (cf. Suzanne Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante*, Études et commentaires, 61 [Paris: Klincksieck, 1966], 202-211).

[3]Ibid., 267; cf. 242, 252, 256.

word, the BH word is תָּמִיד.[1] Similarly, the noun ἐνδελεχισμός is used by the LXX as "stereotyped rendition"[2] of תָּמִיד.[3] Thus, the Greek ἐνδελεχῶς and ἐνδελεχισμός render only the BH תָּמִיד and the BA תְּדִירָא in Dan 6:17, 21.

The Syriac version further supports these observations (see table 6). In Dan 6:17, 21 the Syriac uses the adverb ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ "continually" for בִּתְדִירָא, and in Dan 8:11-13 the Syriac uses the noun ܐܡܝܢܘܬܐ "continuance" for הַתָּמִיד. In Dan 11:31 and 12:11 the Syriac reads ܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܐ "the offerings," respectively ܩܘܪܒܢܐ "the offering," for הַתָּמִיד. Hence, the Syriac, too, indicates a terminological link between בִּתְדִירָא in Dan 6:17, 21 and הַתָּמִיד, this time in Dan 8:11-13. In fact, the adverb ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ "continually" and the close ܐܡܝܢܐ / ܐܡܝܢܬܐ "true," all from the root ܐܡܢ, are the standard renditions for the BH תָּמִיד. Only in the Psalms and Proverbs is תָּמִיד

---

[1]This adverb ἐνδελεχῶς is used for תָּמִיד in Exod 29:38; Lev 24:3; and Num 28:3; elsewhere ἐνδελεχῶς occurs only in the Apocrypha: 1 Esdr 6:29; Sir 20:26; 23:10; 37:18; 45:14; 51:11 (51:10 in LXX Rahlfs). Having some Hebrew manuscripts of the Wisdom of Ben Sira available it is worthwhile to present the data of ἐνδελεχῶς in this document. In Sir 45:14 and 51:11 ἐνδελεχῶς renders the Hebrew תמיד: in 45:14 in regard to the cereal offering (מנחה) which Aaron, the high priest, offered twice each day by burning it wholly; in 51:11 to describe the constant praise and prayer of Ben Sira. In Sir 20:26 and 23:10 the Hebrew is not available, and in Sir 37:18 ἐνδελεχῶς renders כליל "entire, whole" making this text the only case where ἐνδελεχῶς renders another word than תמיד. The Greek translation of the Old Testament by Aquila uses ἐνδελεχῶς in Deut 11:12; Pss 34:27 (35:27 in MT); 68:24 (69:24 in MT); 73:23 (74:23 in MT); 118:109 (119:109 in MT); Isa 52:5; 60:11; 62:6; and in an Armenian version of Aquila the equivalent to ἐνδελεχῶς occurs also in Isa 49:16. So Joseph Reider and Nigel Turner, *An Index to Aquila: Greek-Hebrew, Hebrew-Greek, Latin-Hebrew, with the Syriac and Armenian Evidence*, VTSup, no. 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1966), 81. Without exception all these occurrences of ἐνδελεχῶς render תָּמִיד. Symmachus uses ἐνδελεχῶς in Pss 50:5 (51:5 in MT) and 70:6 (71:6 in MT). Again both times ἐνδελεχῶς stands for תָּמִיד.

[2]J. Lust, Erik Eynikel, and K. Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), 150.

[3]In the LXX ἐνδελεχισμός is used for תָּמִיד in Exod 29:38 (LXX reads κάρπωμα ἐνδελεχισμοῦ "continual burnt offering" which is not found in the Hebrew), 42; 30:8; Num 28:6, 23; 2 Esdr 3:5 (Ezra 3:5 in MT); 20:33 (2x; 20:34 in LXX Rahlfs; Neh 10:34 in MT); and it occurs furthermore only in 1 Esdr 5:51; Jdt 4:14; and Sir 7:13.

rendered differently.[1]

Table 6. Greek and the Syriac Renditions of תְּדִירָא and הַתָּמִיד in the Book of Daniel

	Masoretic Text	Old Greek	Theodotion	Peshiṭta
6:17	(בִּ)תְדִירָא	ἐνδελεχῶς	ἐνδελεχῶς	ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ
6:21	(בִּ)תְדִירָא	ἐνδελεχῶς	ἐνδελεχῶς	ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ
8:11b	הַתָּמִיד	θυσία	θυσία	ܐܡܝܢܘܬܐ
8:12a	הַתָּמִיד	ἡ θυσία	ἡ θυσία	ܐܡܝܢܘܬܐ
8:13c	הַתָּמִיד	ἡ θυσία	ἡ θυσία	ܐܡܝܢܘܬܐ
11:31	הַתָּמִיד	ἡ θυσία	ὁ ἐνδελεχισμός	ܩܘܪ̈ܒܢܐ
12:11	הַתָּמִיד	ἡ θυσία διὰ παντὸς	ὁ ἐνδελεχισμός	ܩܘܪܒܢܐ

To summarize up to this point, both the use of תדירא in the Targums and the translation of תְּדִירָא and תָּמִיד in the Greek versions and in the Syriac of Daniel show conclusively the existence of a close lexical relation between BA תְּדִירָא in Dan 6:17, 21 and the BH הַתָּמִיד in Dan 8:11-13; 11:31; 12:11.

[1]Outside the book of Daniel, BH תָּמִיד (99 x) is rendered by the Peshiṭta:

(1) 16 times with ܐܡܝܢܐ "true" (14 x: Num 4:16; 28:24, 31; 29:6, 11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38; Neh 10:33[34]) or ܐܡܝܢܬܐ "true" (2 x: Ezra 3:5; Neh 10:33[34]);

(2) 54 times with ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ "continually" (22 x in the Pentateuch, 24 x in the Prophets, and 8 x in the Writings);

(3) 23 times with the adverbial phrase ܒܟܠܙܒܢ "for all times > always" (20 x: Pss 25:15; 34:2; 35:27; 38:18; 50:8; 51:5; 69:24; 70:5; 71:3, 6, 14; 72:15; 74:23; 105:4; 109:15, 19; 119:109, 117; Prov 15:15; 28:14) or ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ "for all times > always" (3 x: Pss 16:8; 40:12, 17);

(4) and 6 times תָּמִיד is not rendered at all in the Syriac: in Ezek 38:8; Hab 1:17; Pss 73:23; 119:44; Prov 5:19; 2 Chr 24:14).

The word ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ "continually" is used only once as a rendition for a BH word other than תָּמִיד, namely for לִרְגָעִים "for moments > every moment" (Isa 27:3); and ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ is added once to the Hebrew text (Lev 6:13).

Ninth and last, a thematic relationship is noted between תְּדִירָא in Dan 6 and הַתָּמִיד in Dan 8 that sheds further light on the meaning of הַתָּמִיד. To begin with, the verbal root used to describe Daniel's continual activity in Dan 6 is פלח "serve." In BA, this verb is always used in the sense of serving God or a god (10 times), and four times it occurs in parallel with סגד "worship."[1] The serving of God mentioned in Dan 6:17, 21 could therefore very well be an expression used to describe Daniel's prayers, since "prayer is a form of service of God."[2] Furthermore, פלח has cultic overtones, since its participle denotes those who are the servants of the temple (Ezra 7:24) and the only occurrence of its derivative פָּלְחָן designates the "service" or "ritual observance" of God's temple (Ezra 7:19). Thus, Daniel's service or worship of God in prayer has cultic connotations, which certainly fit the use of תְּדִירָא (BH תָּמִיד) in this context.[3]

Another observation establishes a cultic background to Daniel's continual service

---

[1]BA פלח "serve" occurs in Ezra 7:24; Dan 3:12, 14, 17, 18, 28; 6:17, 21; 7:14, 27; in parallel with סגד "worship" in Dan 3:12, 14, 18, 28.

[2]Moshe Greenberg, "On the Refinement of the Conception of Prayer in the Hebrew Scriptures," *Association for Jewish Studies* 1 (1976): 59. Greenberg cites the parallelisms in Job 21:25; Isa 44:17 and Zeph 3:9 as immediate support for regarding prayer as a service of God and substantiates this concept throughout the remainder of his article (ibid., 57-92).

[3]Goldwurm observes that "the Aramaic פָּלְחָן and its Hebrew counterpart עֲבוֹדָה contain a nuance of the idea of physical, hence sacrificial, worship" (186). He concurs with *Sifre Deut* 11:31 that there is a sacrificial worship in Babylon, which *Sifre* identifies as עֲבוֹדָה שֶׁבְּלֵב "worship in the heart," that is, prayer. For Goldwurm, the verb פְּלַח in Dan 6:11 alludes to this sacrificial worship in the heart. On the meaning of the term עֲבוֹדָה see also Jacob Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology, I: The Encroacher and the Levite, the Term 'Aboda*, University of California Publications Near Eastern Studies, no. 14 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 60-87. Milgrom's study is primarily concerned with the meaning of עֲבוֹדָה in the so-called Priestly literature. While he concludes that in the Priestly literature עֲבוֹדָה is confined to "physical labor"—"in the special case of the Levites, to their Tabernacle function as sacred furniture movers"—which for him shows that "the עבדה passages in P are old," he is equally clear that the meaning "cult service" or "temple cult" for עֲבוֹדָה "is found in all Pentateuchal sources but P, and predominantly in post-exilic historical texts" (ibid., 87).

of God even more clearly. Daniel's constant service to God, to which king Darius refers, reveals itself in the fact that Daniel continues to kneel and pray habitually three times a day "as he had been doing previously" (6:11), which is the thematic and structural center of the narrative in Dan 6.[1] In the words of Daniel's accusers, Daniel "keeps making his petition three times a day" (6:14). It is in this context of continual worship of YHWH that Darius identifies Daniel as one who constantly (תְּדִירָא) serves God. Daniel's continual worship of YHWH in prayer has specific cultic overtones which are expressed by the orientation/direction towards Jerusalem, by Daniel's kneeling posture in prayer, by the time Daniel chooses to pray (three times a day), and by the description of the manner and content of his prayers (6:11).[2]

First, the direction towards Jerusalem appears to be the direction towards the cultic center which lay in ruins at that time: the sanctuary and earthly dwelling-place of YHWH. Even though destroyed one could still direct prayers toward the temple in Jerusalem and God would hear in heaven. This concept is rooted in the temple theology according to 1 Kgs 8:22-61 (parallel 2 Chr 6:12-42) where the temple is not only a place of sacrifice but also a place of prayer towards God in heaven, so that even in exile God's people can pray towards their land, towards the city of Jerusalem (1 Kgs 8:44, 48), and toward the temple, and God will hear from הַשָּׁמַיִם מְכוֹן שִׁבְתְּךָ "the foundations of his

[1]P. B. Petersen, 137, 142.

[2]See especially Vogel, "The Cultic Motif," 193-208; cf. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel,* 114 n. 14; Vogel, "The Cultic Motifs and Themes," 26-27; P. B. Petersen, 130.

dwelling in heaven" (1 Kgs 8:46-50).[1]

A second indication of the cultic orientation of Daniel's prayers is his posture of prostration. Haran points to three acts which according to biblical concept comprise worship of God: sacrifice, prayer, and prostration. The worshiper would practice all three. "These three acts—sacrifice, prayer, prostration—joined and complemented each other even though they come in descending order of importance."[2] In exile, Daniel worships and serves God constantly. Though he is unable to offer a sacrifice in the temple, he regularly kneels and prays (Dan 6:11) and thus pays homage to the God he serves. Since sacrifices or cultic acts are the most important outward expressions of worship, one could argue that it is possible to refer to the totality of worship by mentioning that term that would comprise all the regular cultic activities: הַתָּמִיד.

Third, two of Daniel's three selected times of prayer probably coincided intentionally with the times when the daily sacrifice should have been offered. They are the morning and the evening prayer (see 1 Chr 23:30).[3] Indeed, the prayer and praising at

---

[1]See also Jonah 2:5; Pss 5:8; 28:2; cf. 1 Esdr 4:58; Tob 3:11. For the direction of the prayer toward Jerusalem/the temple see, e.g., Erik Peterson, "Die geschichtliche Bedeutung der jüdischen Gebetsrichtung," *TZ* 3 (1947):1-3; Barnes, 2:18-19; Karl Heinen, *Das Gebet im Alten Testament: Eine exegetisch-theologische Untersuchung zur hebräischen Gebetsterminologie* (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana: Facultas Theologiae, 1971), 90-92, 135; Henning Graf Reventlow, *Gebet im Alten Testament* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1986), 274, 301; on the temple theology in 1 Kgs 8 see, e.g., Samuel E. Balentine, *Prayer in the Hebrew Bible: The Drama of Divine-Human Dialogue*, OBT (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 84-86, who somewhat overemphasizes the aspect of prayer at the cost of the sacrificial aspect of the temple, which is still important as 1 Kgs 8:62-65 shows; and recently Rodney Alan Werline, *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution*, Early Judaism and Its Literature, no. 13 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1998), 25-28.

[2]Menahem Haran, "Priesthood, Temple, Divine Service: Some Observations on Institutions and Practices of Worship," *HAR* 7 (1983): 121-135 131-134 (citation on p. 134).

[3]Concluding his study on the three times of prayer Vogel observes that the three times of prayer by itself are "not a direct indication of a cultic connection, even though a partial

morning and in the evening and on Sabbaths, new moons and feast days, always in conjunction with sacrifices, is summed up in the phrase "continually (תָּמִיד) before YHWH" (1 Chr 23:30-31).[1] Because of the other indicators of cultic orientation in Dan 6:11, it is reasonable to assume that Daniel's constant (תָּמִיד = תְּדִירָא) worship of YHWH is tied in with the time of the regular daily (תָּמִיד) sacrifice. This is also suggested by the time of Daniel's prayer in chap. 9 which was "about the time of the evening sacrifice [מִנְחָה]" (Dan 9:21).[2] One may even surmise that Daniel's prayer in Dan 9 is

---

correspondence is possible" ("The Cultic Motif," 199) and that it is "probable that at least two of Daniel's three times of prayer in Dan 6:11 correspond to the two regular times" when the daily sacrifice was offered for the people (ibid., 207). Driver (*Daniel*, 75), Charles (157), and Montgomery (274) believe that Daniel's prayer hours were at the time of the morning sacrifice, at the time of the evening sacrifice, and at sunset. Others suggested that the three prayer times were at the time of the morning and evening sacrifice and at noon; cf. Ps 55:18 (so, e.g., von Lengerke, 280-281; Keil, 213; and, recently, A. S. van der Woude, "Zu Daniel 6,11," *ZAW* 106 [1994]: 123-124). Whatever may be the case, it is evident that the times of the regular daily sacrifice were utilized as times of prayer. In fact, Dan 6:11 in comparison with 9:21 is probably an indication of the interplay between the two patterns of natural prayer time and sacrificial prayer time that have been examined by Esther Chazon, "When Did They Pray? Times for Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature," in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, ed. R. A. Argall, B. A. Bow, and R. A. Werline (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000), 42-51.

[1]See Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993), 420.

[2]On the phrase כְּעֵת מִנְחַת־עָרֶב "about the time of the evening sacrifice" and its cultic implications see Walter E. Rast, "Daniel 9: Its Form and Theological Significance" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1966), 157-168; and Vogel, "Cultic Motif," 182-193. The time of the evening sacrifice was a time of individual and corporate prayer, both in the temple precincts (cf. Sir 50:18-20; 2 Enoch 51:4; Luke 1:10; Acts 3:1) as well as at a distance from the temple (1 Kgs 18:29, 36; Ezra 9:4-5; Dan 9:21; cf. Jdt 9:1; Acts 10:30). See, e.g., Hävernick, 347-348; Zöckler, 142; Montgomery, 274-275; Weinfeld in H.-J. Fabry and M. Weinfeld, "מִנְחָה *minhâ*," *TDOT*, 8:419-421; and especially Chazon, 47-48; for later developments see Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ, no. 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 117-119. Whether the reference to prayer in connection with incense and evening sacrifice in Ps 141:2 designates a domestic prayer in harmony with the temple rituals (see Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations*, FOTL, vol. 15 [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001], 414) or a prayer offered in the presence of temple rituals (Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, rev., WBC, vol. 21 [Nashville: Nelson, 2002], 343-344), prayer and sacrifice cannot be separated. The morning hours are similarly referred to as a time for prayers (Pss 5:4; 59:17; 88:14; 143:8). In addition, it can be noted that the offerings of the regular daily offering

intentionally linked to Daniel's prayers in chap. 6 since both date into the same regnal year (6:1; 9:1) and the manner of praying is described similarly (cf. 9:3-4 with 6:11-12).[1] Furthermore, Dan 9:21 possibly links the prayer and prophecy in chap. 9 with the vision concerning הַתָּמִיד in chap. 8.[2] Daniel 9:21 may therefore constitute a link between chap. 6 and chap. 8.

Finally, the description of the manner and content of Daniel's prayers uses vocabulary with cultic connotations. Daniel prays and gives thanks (ידא) before his God (קֳדָם אֱלָהֵהּ), is making petition and supplication (מִתְחַנַּן) before his God (קֳדָם אֱלָהֵהּ) (Dan 6:11-12). The terms ידא (BH ידה) "confess, praise" (cf. 1 Kgs 8:33, 35) and the Hitpaal participle of חנן "supplication" (cf. 1 Kgs 8:33, 47, 59) are indicators of the cultic connotation of Daniel's prayers,[3] as well as the phrase קֳדָם אֱלָהֵהּ "before his God"

---

were such an important part in the life of the believing Israelites that they could be easily used as a reference for time. As Uriel Simon notes: "Telling time by reference to the sacrificial rituals is found in a number of places in Scripture," and he refers to 1 Kgs 18:29, 36; 2 Kgs 3:20; Dan 9:21; and to the Talmud (Berakot 2a-3a) (*Reading Prophetic Narratives*, trans. L. J. Schramm, ISBL [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997], 283 n. 19).

[1]Goldingay poses the question of whether the model prayer in chap. 9 is "the kind of prayer the Daniel of chap. 6 is assumed to have prayed, soon after Darius was made king," and in support points to the similar terms in 9:3-4a and 6:11-12 (*Daniel*, 239). Lucas also notes the correspondence between 6:10 and 9:21 (*Daniel*, 240).

[2]Plöger suggests a link between Dan 9:21 and Dan 8:11-13 when he asserts that the temporal expression in 9:21 "perhaps serves as a reminder of the evening *tāmî d* sacrifice which was mentioned at length in chap. 8" (*Daniel*, 139). See already von Lengerke, 427; similarly, Bevan, 152 ("the mention of the oblation doubtless refers to the suspension of the daily sacrifice"); Montgomery, 336; Rast, 166-167; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 352. Of course, for Plöger (*Daniel*, 126) and the others the expression הַתָּמִיד in Dan 8 refers exclusively to the daily sacrifice at the earthly sanctuary and does not have a wider meaning as indicated by the link to prayer and constant worship of YHWH in Dan 6:17, 21 and 9:21.

[3]So pointed out by Vogel, who correctly asserts a linkage to 1 Kgs 8 and understands ידא in Dan 6:11 not only in the sense of "to praise" but also in the sense of "to confess" ("Cultic Motif," 204-207). For the relation between Dan 6:11-12 and 1 Kgs 8:44-45 see also Buchanan, 154-155.

(twice in 6:11-12), a phrase quite similar to BH לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה "before YHWH" (cf. 1 Kgs 8:59), which, belonging to cultic terminology,[1] is often used in *tāmî d* contexts.

In sum, Daniel's prayers, which are described in the terminology of 1 Kgs 8 (parallel 2 Chron 6), can be regarded as cultic activity and as being closely associated with the sacrificial worship of YHWH.[2] So when the exiled Israelites were deprived of the

---

[1]See Haran, *Temples*, 26.

[2]The close relation between prayer and sacrifice has been recognized time and again. For example, Greenberg points out that "the chief form of divine service in Scripture is the sacrificial cult, but prayer of petition and praise is frequently associated with it" ("On the Refinement of the Conception of Prayer," 59). After giving several biblical examples that show the close interrelation between sacrifice and prayer (1 Sam 1; 7:9; 1 Kgs 8:62; Isa 56:7; Ps 141:2)—one may add Hos 14:3, Pss 51:17-18 and 116:17, in which sacrificial language is used to describe prayer and thanksgiving—Greenberg transposes this conceptual relation also to the attitude of the one who offers sacrifice or prayer, when he observes: "The attitude of one praying to God and that of one sacrificing to him were as closely linked as the phenomena themselves" (ibid., 60). Weinfeld confirms that the time of the evening offering is the "appropriate time for prayer" (Fabry and Weinfeld, 8:419-420). Gary A. Anderson urges to perceive prayer as "a carefully prescribed cultic act" and upholds that "the equation of prayer with sacrifice" is already present in biblical times ("The Praise of God as a Cultic Event," in *Priesthood and Cult in Ancient Israel*, ed. G. A. Anderson and S. M. Olyan, JSOTSup, no. 125 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991], 15). Menahem Haran regards prayer in the temple as of "secondary order" or "optional" belonging "to the periphery of cult" ("Cult and Prayer," in *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, ed. A. Kort and S. Morschauser [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985], 87-92), but at the same time he leaves no doubt that prayer "was a substitute for sacrifice, a kind of 'offering of the poor'" (ibid., 91) and that "prayer was prevalent in the temple courts" (ibid., 90). Finally, Chazon demonstrates that in the Hebrew Bible as well as in the literature of Qumran exists a prayer model based on temple sacrifices (42-51). Daniel K. Falk argues in the light of evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls that institutionalized prayer did not originate as a substitute of the temple, as an alternative for sacrifice, but co-existed in association with the practice of sacrificial cult: "Prayer at the time of sacrifice, would then not be something that one does simply because one cannot be at the Temple (Judith) as a substitute for sacrifice, but because it is what one would do if one were at the Temple (e.g., Acts 3:1). . . . The attraction of prayer to the Temple ritual assisted in the process of formalizing prayer prior to and in addition to the need to substitute for sacrifice" ("Qumran Prayer Texts and the Temple," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998; Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*, ed. D. K. Falk, F. García Martínez, and E. M. Schuller, STDJ, no. 35 [Leiden: Brill, 2000], 125; cf. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers*, 123-124). On a side note, Patrick D. Miller regards it as possible that particular petitions or vows to the deity could be set in the context of regular sacrificial rituals, which he demonstrates for the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.119 (= RS 24.266) and assumes for Hannah's prayer in 1 Sam 1 ("Prayer and Sacrifice in Ugarit and Israel," in *Text and Context: Old Testament and Semitic Studies for F. C. Fensham*, ed. W. Claassen, JSOTSup, no. 48 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988], 153). The discussion on the silence in the

temple, the only cultic service of God they could present was an "offering of the poor" (Haran's terminology), namely the continual prayers directed toward the place where YHWH's temple once stood.[1] The regularity of the prayers exemplifies Daniel's constant (*tāmî d*) worship and service of YHWH. This is exactly the reason why the OG adds in Dan 6:17 after the expression for *tāmî d* (ἐνδελεχῶς) the phrase τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας "three times the day" which is found exclusively in connection with Daniel's prayer (6:6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17)—in order to indicate that Daniel's continuous service of God is exemplified by his regular, three times a day, prayer and worship.

The focal issue in chap. 6 is prayer and worship, or with one word: the *tāmî d*. Daniel's commitment to continuous service to God and his uninterrupted worship practice stand diametrically opposed to the human, and inherently anti-divine, order. In this regard, the struggle involving the *tāmî d* in Dan 8 resembles the situation in chap. 6, albeit on a larger, universal scale. In both chapters it becomes evident that "spiritual warfare on earth is an attack on the ritual observance of the people."[2]

---

sanctuary initiated by Y. Kaufmann centers around the question whether the priest who performed the cultic sacrifices recited prayers during the sacrificial ritual or not (a recent overview of the debate is given by Israel Knohl, "Between Voice and Silence: The Relationship between Prayer and Temple Cult," *JBL* 115 [1996]:17-30). As such, this discussion does not affect the scholarly consensus that "the people were accustomed to reciting their own prayers at the time of offering the daily sacrifice and the burning of the incense" (ibid., 23). For Heger, the speedy replacement of sacrifices with symbolic performance, like the institution of daily fixed prayers, at the time of the destruction of the Temple, points to the fact that the symbolic performance must have been in place long before the abolition of sacrifices (380-390). Heger suggests a development that connects Josiah's reform of the sacrifices to their replacement by recitals.

[1]"After the cessation of the sacrificial service the regular prayer, often three times a day, was considered to be its substitute" (Behrmann, 40; cf. Hävernick, 348).

[2]Smith-Christopher, 113, who, however, makes such an observation only in regard to chap. 8. For him, such an attack involves the temple and the offerings.

Conclusion. It is obvious that הַתָּמִיד in Dan 8:11-13 should be regarded as a cultic term. Its nominal use, its definite article, and the shared context with other cultic terminology provide excellent support for this. It is simply too limited to interpret the meaning of הַתָּמִיד in the book of Daniel as only the daily offering or as the daily burnt offering. To be sure, הַתָּמִיד includes the regular daily offering—and thus to exclude the daily burnt offering from the cultic range expressed by הַתָּמִיד is equally invalid—but it comprises much more than that. The cultic background of the term הַתָּמִיד shows that it represents (1) the regular cultic activities performed by the (high) priest, and/or (2) the continual cultic worship of YHWH. To be specific, הַתָּמִיד in Dan 8:11-13 designates (1) the cultic activities of the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא as high priest, and/or (2) the continual cultic worship directed toward the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא as divine being.

I suggest an intentional double meaning. Although the cultic background of הַתָּמִיד favors the view that (high) priestly activity is meant, which is being part of the Israelite worship, two considerations from the book of Daniel itself provide enough reason to understand הַתָּמִיד *also* as an expression for the true worship and service of YHWH, maybe even "the epitome of the cult."[1] First, the replacement of הַתָּמִיד by false worship or false cult practices (שִׁקּוּץ) in Dan 11:31 and 12:11 implies that הַתָּמִיד designates the true worship of YHWH. Second, the obvious lexical and thematic link to Dan 6 (תְּדִירָא "constant" in 6:17, 21) suggests that הַתָּמִיד stands for the continual cultic worship and service of YHWH, which was expressed by Daniel short of sacrifices through his continual service in prayer.

---

[1]Trudinger, 36-38.

Daniel 8:11b therefore describes a horrible and extremely offensive act. Just as it was "inconceivable" that the complex of *tāmî d* rites "should ever be interrupted,"[1] so it is inconceivable that the *tāmî d* should ever be taken away from the prince of the host. This constitutes the ultimate cultic calamity.[2] Both the continual worship and service of YHWH as well as the *tāmî d* responsibilities of the prince of the host should never be abandoned or interrupted. To have done so is another strong indication of the horn's haughtiness and its attempt to replace the actual commander of the host.

Clause 11c

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

11c [וְהֻשְׁלַךְ] [מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ]

waw+Hophal-pf/3sgm/ noun/cssgm/ noun/sgm/+ePP/3sgm/

ConjWG(waw+Hophal-pf/3sgm/) CsWG(noun/cssgm/ noun/sgm/+ePP/3sgm/)

P.Sy +1.Sy
predicate +subject

Clause type: *qatal-x*.

The verb וְהֻשְׁלַךְ is a Hophal form with a rather unusual, yet possible,

---

[1]Haran, *Temples* refers to the *tāmî d* rites performed inside the sanctuary (218). Similarly, Milgrom states, "The unbroken continuity of the *Tāmî d* in the Temple was reassuring to Israel, and its cessation a traumatic calamity (Dan 8:11-13; 11:31; 12:11). Legend has it that as long as the *Tāmî d* was uninterrupted the walls of Jerusalem were impregnable (*b. B. Qam.* 82b)" (*Leviticus 1-16*, 457).

[2]If Gary A. Anderson describes the impact of the taking away of the daily sacrifice so strongly—"No greater cultic calamity could be imagined than the loss of this sacrifice, since it symbolized the serving of the divine-human relationship (Dan 8:11)" ("Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings [OT]," *ABD*, 5:878)—how much more a greater calamity must be the taking away of the *tāmî d* in the sense described in this study.

vocalization.[1] Textual emendation is not necessary.[2] An alternative vocalization, which does not involve a change in the consonantal text, is the suggestion that וְהֻשְׁלַךְ should be pointed as Hiphil infinitive absolute וְהַשְׁלֵךְ.[3] This form would be the continuation of the perfect active Hiphil הֵרִים (*ketib* in vs. 11b), especially since the Peshiṭta (Peal ܫܪܐ-) and the Vulgate (*deiecit*) read an active verb. Such an active reading may be explained by alignment with the previous active verbs, particularly if in vs. 11b the *ketib* verb form, the active הֵרִים, is chosen.[4] However, the passive meaning of והשלך as attested in the MT is supported by the Old Greek and Theodotion, which both read the Future passive ἐρημωθήσεται. In sum, though the reading וְהַשְׁלֵךְ appears to be a viable alternative, the reading וְהֻשְׁלַךְ is preferred here.[5]

The *qatal-x* וְהֻשְׁלַךְ indicates co-ordination with the *qatal* form in the previous

---

[1]The usual prefix vowel of the Hophal perfect form is ָ /o/, but the vowel ֻ /u/ as in וְהֻשְׁלַךְ can also be found in other *x-qatal* (Jer 22:28; Ezek 32:32 both with conjunction *waw*) or *qatal* forms of the Hophal (Ezek 19:12).

[2]Two kinds of emendation have been suggested. First, the proposal to read הִשְׁלִיךְ (active) which would conform this form to the previous active הֵרִים (so Thomson, 242; Driver, *Daniel*, 116; Nelis, 96). Second, in comparison with vss. 7, 10, and the last three words of vs. 13, the proposal to read וְתִרְמֹס "and it [the horn] trampled down" in the sense of "and it defiled" instead of וְהֻשְׁלַךְ which is regarded as a corrupted dittography of וְתַשְׁלֵךְ in vs. 12b (so Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 50; Hartman and Di Lella, 222).

[3]So Hitzig, 132; Kamphausen, 33. Hitzig refers to sequential infinitives after finite verb forms (waw+perfect): the Qal infinitive וְסוֹר in Dan 9:5, the Hiphil infinitive וְהַשְׁלֵךְ in Jer 36:23, and a Piel infinitive וְקַבֵּל—as he reads וקבל—in Esth 9:27; Kamphausen refers to וְסוֹר in Dan 9:5, 11. As noted previously, Goldstein also reads the Hiphil infinitive in Dan 8:12c, but in distinction to the others he regards all three verbs in vs. 11 as infinitives (*I Maccabees*, 145-146, esp. n. 251). For comments on Goldstein's view as well as for the phenomenon of an infinitive absolute in the place of a finite verb see p. 155 n. 2.

[4]So Kranichfeld, 294; Hasslberger, 8 n. 25.

[5]See also the report of the committee for textual criticism of the OT in Barthélemy, 460-461, which favors the Hophal vocalization.

clause.[1] In other words, the throwing down of the place or foundation of the sanctuary does not occur after the horn has taken away the *tāmî d*. Rather the two activities should be regarded as simultaneous.[2]

The subject of the passive וְהֻשְׁלַךְ is the construct phrase מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ. Again, textual emendation has been suggested but is not necessary.[3] The pronominal suffix belongs to the second element מִקְדָּשׁ "sanctuary," resulting in the translation "the place of his sanctuary,"[4] and refers back to the "prince of the host." The logical subject of the passive verb is still the horn. It is the horn which throws down the place of the sanctuary of the prince of the host.

Semantic Analysis of Words and Phrases

Meaning of מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ and meaning of the clause

The construct phrase מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁ in Dan 8:11c occurs only here in the Hebrew

---

[1]S. R. Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew and Some Other Syntactical Questions*, 3d ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1892), 162-163 n. 3; cf. 159-160 (§132).

[2]The same function of a *qatal-x* form occurs in the book of Daniel in 8:27; 9:5; 10:15 (ibid.); and in addition to Driver one should add 9:6 (despite the negative לֹא the verb is a *qatal-x* type); 10:1, 7; and perhaps 12:5.

[3]Suggestions are to read מִקְדָּשׁ instead מִקְדָּשׁוֹ, because the *waw* is said to be dittography of the following *waw* in וְצָבָא, and to relocate מְכוֹן in front of הַתָּמִיד in vs. 12a so that it reads "the place of the daily offering" or "the stand of the daily sacrifice" (Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 49, 51; Nelis, 96; Hartman and Di Lella, 222). With the help of a reconstructed "original text of the LXX," Charles puts forth that the original Hebrew read וְהֻשְׁלַךְ מָקוֹם וּמִקְדָּשׁ יֵצָרֶח "and (the) place was cast down and the sanctuary laid desolate" (205-207). Goldstein suggests the reading מִכַּן "from the base" and translates vs. 11c "and cast it from its holy base" (Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 145-146 n. 251).

[4]Pronominal suffixes may also belong to the first element of a construct word group like in הַר קָדְשִׁי "my mountain of holiness = my holy mountain" (Isa 11:9). In Dan 8:11c such a construction, which is not to be preferred, would be translated as "his place of the sanctuary = his sanctuary-place."

Bible. The noun מָכוֹן (found 17 times in the OT) has the semantic notion of location and refers to a place occupied by an object or a person. It usually designates the place or site but could also refer to the foundations of an object, namely the actual foundations of the temple (Ezra 2:68), or the metaphorical foundations of the throne of YHWH: "righteousness and justice" (Pss 89:15 [parallel to "loving-kindness and truth"]; 97:2), or— in its only plural occurrence—the metaphorical foundations of the earth (Ps 104:5). Interestingly, מָכוֹן in the singular (found 16 times in the OT) exclusively designates the place of the sanctuary and/or the presence or dwelling of YHWH and thus has a strong cultic association. מָכוֹן is used in relation to the earthly dwelling place of YHWH—the sanctuary/temple (Exod 15:17; 1 Kgs 8:13; 2 Chr 6:2; Ezra 2:68) or mount Zion (Exod 15:17; Isa 4:5)—and in relation to the heavenly dwelling place of YHWH (1 Kgs 8:39, 43, 49; Isa 18:4; Ps 33:14; 2 Chr 6:30, 33, 39).[1] Its use in construct relation with the cultic term מִקְדָּשׁ in Dan 8:11c fits very well into this semantic range. One could also argue with Tengström that the word מָכוֹן establishes a relation between the temple and the heavenly throne of YHWH since "in the great majority of cases, that is 12 times, the word designates the foundation of the throne of YHWH."[2] מָכוֹן then has even a royal

---

[1]For similar observations see Driver, *Daniel*, 117; Montgomery, 336; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 176; Shea, *Selected Studies*, 38 = rev. ed., 46-47; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 412-414; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 334; and Klaus Koch, "כּוּן *kûn*," *TDOT*, 7:90, 96.

[2]Sven Tengström, "Les visions prophétiques du trône de Dieu et leur arrière-plan dans l'Ancien Testament," in *Le Trône de Dieu*, ed. M. Philonenko, WUNT, no. 69 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1993), 43. Tengström lists the references to the heavenly throne (Pss 89:15; 97:2), to the foundation of the heavenly throne expressed by מְכוֹן שִׁבְתְּךָ "the foundations of your dwelling" (1 Kgs 8:39, 43, 49; 2 Chr 6:30) or מְכוֹן־שִׁבְתּוֹ "the foundations of his dwelling" (Ps 33:14), and to the similar expression מָכוֹן לְשִׁבְתְּךָ "the foundations of your dwelling" (Exod 15:17; 1 Kgs 8:13; 2 Chr 6:2) which designates the temple (43-44).

connotation, alluding to the sanctuary as the throne of God.

The noun מִקְדָּשׁ (found 75 times in the OT) designates a sanctuary or sacred place, most often the sanctuary or temple of YHWH. In fact, it is one of the most common words used for the sanctuary.[1] Here, the suggestion by Milgrom needs to be considered. He argues that מִקְדָּשׁ never means the sanctuary building but refers in P and H to "the sacred area, precinct" (Lev 12:4; 16:33; 19:30; 20:3; 21:12; 26:2; Num 19:20) or to "the sacred objects, sancta" (Lev 21:23; 26:31; Num. 3:38; 10:21; 18:1)" and everywhere else to the sacred area or the Temple precincts.[2] Milgrom's observation, though not convincing for every occurrence of מִקְדָּשׁ, is helpful in several instances.[3] Of course, the meaning of

---

[1]It is, however, clear that מִקְדָּשׁ is also used for other entities. The plural refers to the compartments of the sanctuary complex (Lev 21:23 [or "sacred objects"?; cf. Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22*, AB, vol. 3A (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 1832]; Jer 51:51; Pss 68:36?; 73:17) and to multiple sanctuaries in Israel, whether legitimate or illegitimate (Lev 26:31 [or "sancta"?; cf. Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 13-27*, AB, vol. 3B (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 2320]; Ezek 7:24; 21:7; Amos 7:9). מִקְדָּשׁ also refers to the sanctuary of Tyre (Ezek 28:18), the city Bethel (Amos 7:13), Moab's sanctuary (Isa 16:12), the heavenly temple (Jer 17:12 [cf. Jack R. Lundbom, *Jeremiah 1-20*, AB, vol. 21A (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 793]; Ps 68:36?), YHWH as metaphorical sanctuary for the Israelites (Isa 8:14; Ezek 11:16), and the sacred objects of the sanctuary (Num 10:21; perhaps also 3:38; 18:1). In Num 18:29, מִקְדְּשׁוֹ designates a portion of the sacral tithe (according to its pointing, מִקְדְּשׁוֹ could derive from מִקְדָּשׁ; so Even-Shoshan, 704; Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1058). Cf. Richard E. Averbeck, "מִקְדָּשׁ (# 5219)," *NIDOTTE*, 2:1080-1082; and Susanne Owczarek, *Die Vorstellung vom "Wohnen Gottes inmitten seines Volkes" in der Priesterschrift: Zur Heiligtumstheologie der priesterlichen Grundschrift*, Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 23, Theologie, no. 625 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998), 264-269.

[2]At first, Milgrom argued that in the Priestly literature and in Ezekiel מִקְדָּשׁ never means the sanctuary building (Jacob Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology, I*, 23-24 n. 78); later he extended his suggestion to the entire Bible (*Leviticus 1-16*, 754). He observed that the "connotation of sacred objects . . . is limited to P and H (and possibly Jer 51:51)" and that everywhere else מִקְדָּשׁ refers to the sacred area or the Temple precincts (ibid., 755). Cf. Haran: "[מִקְדָּשׁ] does not necessarily refer to a house of God. In the priestly terminology it indicates any article or object possessing sanctity" (*Temples*, 15).

[3]On the one hand, it can help to explain the plural occurrences of מִקְדְּשֵׁי (Lev 21:23) and מִקְדְּשֵׁיכֶם (Lev 26:31) as not referring to multiple sanctuaries but to multiple sacred objects. On the other hand, Milgrom notes an ostensible exception in Exod 25:8: עָשׂוּ לִי מִקְדָּשׁ "make me a *miqdāš*." He tries to avoid the meaning of sanctuary building here by pointing to vs. 10 in which מִקְדָּשׁ is

sanctuary building and sacred space is sometimes not too far apart, since the sanctuary encloses sacred space. Hence, in some occurrences of מִקְדָּשׁ it seems artificial to distinguish between the meaning "sacred space" and "sanctuary." Its occurrence in Dan 8:11c is such a case. In fact, if in Dan 8:11c the other noun in the construct phrase, מָכוֹן, which refers to foundations, is taken into consideration, it appears that מִקְדָּשׁ designates the sanctuary rather than the sacred area, so that the entire phrase designates the foundations of the structure where holiness resides. The idea of foundations fits better with a structure than a place. Thus, in Dan 8:11c, מִקְדָּשׁ is tentatively taken to refer to sanctuary. For the meaning of the clause a differentiation between sanctuary building and sacred area of the sanctuary seems unimportant. This may play a role however in the question why the different terms מִקְדָּשׁ and קֹדֶשׁ are used in this passage (see literary analysis).

When referring to YHWH's sanctuary מִקְדָּשׁ, whether it denotes the sanctuary itself or the sacred place, most often refers to the earthly sanctuary or temple, but in a few instances to a sanctuary in heaven.[1] However, the idea that "his sanctuary" could stand for God's people is too far-fetched.[2]

---

supposedly defined as "the Tabernacle . . . and all its furnishings," which are "all objects contained in the sacred precincts" (*Leviticus 1-16*, 754). However, it seems better to argue that the sanctuary consists of the tabernacle and the furniture and thus מִקְדָּשׁ in vs. 8 refers to a tangible building.

[1]References to a heavenly sanctuary have been seen in Pss 68:36; 78:69; 96:6; Jer 17:12 (see Metzger, "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes," 139-140; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" [1986], 415; cf. also Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100*, WBC, vol. 20 [Dallas: Word, 1990], 283).

[2]For Lacocque, the temple profaned is not only the temple in Jerusalem, "it is also the people of the Saints," similar to his interpretation of Dan 7 (*The Book of Daniel*, 162). Russell seems to agree with such a hypothetical deeper meaning (146). However, nowhere else does מִקְדָּשׁ have such a connotation, and there is no evidence in Dan 8:11 that this meaning is intended.

The construct phrase מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ designates either the place/site of the sanctuary or the foundations of the sanctuary, be they literal or metaphorical. The phrase is certainly different from מְקוֹם מִקְדָּשׁוֹ "place of his sanctuary" which refers to the place of God's sanctuary and thus by extension can refer to God's sanctuary itself.[1] Whereas the noun מָקוֹם always refers to a place in a literal way, the noun מָכוֹן can be used metaphorically.

From the two nouns מִקְדָּשׁ and מָכוֹן in the construct phrase in Dan 8:11c, it is the noun מָכוֹן which determines the syntactic relation to the verb שׁלך. In other words, it is the site or the foundation of the sanctuary which is affected by the action expressed by the verb. It appears that the object of the throwing down/away is not the sanctuary as a whole, since in such a case the use of only the term מִקְדָּשׁ would have been sufficient.[2] Therefore, one should be cautious not to refer to מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ as the temple itself.[3]

An analysis of clauses with the verbal root שׁלך significantly impacts the meaning of מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ and the understanding of the meaning of the clause in vs. 11c. The

---

[1]So Hävernick, 276; *pace* von Lengerke, 380. Cf. the following phrases using מִקְדָּשׁ "sanctuary": מְקוֹם מִקְדָּשִׁי "the place of my sanctuary" (Isa 60:13) and מְקוֹם מִקְדָּשֵׁנוּ "the place of our sanctuary" (Jer 17:12). Compare also phrases using מָקוֹם "place" that designate the sanctuary: מְקוֹם הַקֹּדֶשׁ "place of the holy" (Lev 10:17; 14:13), מְקוֹם קָדְשׁוֹ "his holy place" (Ps 24:3; Ezra 9:8), מְקוֹם קָדוֹשׁ "holy place" (Eccl 8:10), מְקוֹם שִׁבְתְּךָ "the place of your dwelling" which is "heaven" (1 Kgs 8:30; 2 Chr 6:21), מְקוֹם שֵׁם־יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת הַר־צִיּוֹן "the place of the name of YHWH Zebaoth, Mount Zion" (Isa 18:7; cf. Jer 7:12), and מְקוֹם כִּסְאִי "the place of my throne" and מְקוֹם כַּפּוֹת רַגְלַי "the place of the soles of my feet" (Ezek 43:7).

[2]Cf. Jer 9:18 where a building structure is affected: "They have cast down our dwellings."

[3]*Pace* von Lengerke, 380; Kliefoth, 255-256; Keil, 298; Marti, *Daniel*, 58; Barnes 2:111; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 176; Miller, *Daniel*, 227.

following list presents a taxonomy of clause types of the 125 שלך clauses:[1]

1. Verb + subject + direct object
    2 Kgs 7:15; Jer 7:29; 9:18; Ezek 20:7, 8; Joel 1:7; Pss 71:9; 102:11; Eccl 3:5, 6.[2]

2. Verb + subject + direct object + object [dislocative]
    2.1 Verb + subject + direct object + prepositional object [dislocative][3]
        Gen 21:15; 37:20, 22; Exod 7:9, 10; 15:25;[4] 22:30; 32:19, 24; Lev 1:16; 14:40; Num 19:6; 35:20, 22;[5] Deut 9:17, 21; 29:27; Josh 8:29; 10:11, 27; Judg 9:17,[6] 53; 15:17; 2 Sam 11:21; 18:17; 20:12, 22; 1 Kgs 14:9; 19:19; 2 Kgs 2:16; 4:41; 9:25, 26; 13:21, 23; 17:20; 23:6, 12; 24:20; Isa 2:20; 19:8; 38:17; Jer 7:15 (2x); 22:19; 26:23; 36:23; 38:6, 9; 51:63; 52:3; Ezek 5:4; 7:19; 18:31; 23:35; 28:17; 43:24; Amos 8:3; Jonah 2:4; Mic 7:19; Nah 3:6; Zech 5:8 (2x); 11:13 (2x); Pss 2:3; 50:17; 51:13; 55:23; 60:10; 108:10; Job 27:22;[7] 29:17; Lam 2:1; Neh 9:11, 26; 2 Chr 7:20; 24:10; 25:12; 30:14.
        Hophal: 2 Sam 20:21; 1 Kgs 13:24, 25, 28; Isa 14:19; Jer 14:16; 22:28;

---

[1]There are 112 clauses with שלך in the Hiphil and 13 clauses with שלך in the Hophal. The latter are listed after the Hiphil occurrences or are marked with "(Ho)" after the text reference. Since the שלך hof. clauses are passive transformations of a corresponding שלך hif. clause, they are transformed back into active mood and then listed under the appropriate clause type.

[2]In vs. 6 there is an elliptical direct object which can be filled by anything from the world of experience.

[3]The prepositions used are quite manifold: the prepositions מִן (Exod 32:19; Judg 15:17; Josh 10:11; 2 Kgs 17:20; Isa 14:19; Jer 22:19; Ezek 18:31; Pss 2:3; 51:11; Job 29:17; Lam 2:1; 2 Chr 25:12) and מֵעַל (Deut 9:17; 2 Kgs 13:23; 24:20; 2 Chr 7:20; Jer 7:15 [2x]; 52:3) to designate the starting-point, and the prepositions אַחַר, אֶל, אֵצֶל, בְּ, לְ, לִפְנֵי, עַל, and תַּחַת to designate the goal of the action expressed by שלך.

[4]The direct object is omitted by ellipses and needs to be filled in by עֵץ "wood" which occurs in the previous clause.

[5]In this law the direct object is not stated so that it can refer to anything thrown.

[6]Here, the preposition מִנֶּגֶד occurs but the accompanying noun to complete the prepositional object is missing.

[7]The direct object needs to be supplied by the world of experience. When the east wind hurls or throws against a person—an expression referring to the power of the wind—it is clearly understood that the person feels the air pressed against face and body.

36:30;[1] Ezek 16:5; 19:12; Ps 22:11.

2.2 Verb + subject + direct object + object [dislocative] with *he locale*
Gen 37:24; Exod 1:22; 4:3 (2x); Judg 8:25; 2 Kgs 6:6; Amos 4:3; Dan 8:7, 12b; 2 Chr 33:15.

2.3 Verb + subject + direct object + object [dislocative] without marker
2 Kgs 2:21; 3:25; Jer 41:9; Neh 13:8.

2.4 Verb + subject + direct object + elliptical object [dislocative][2]
Exod 7:12; Josh 18:8, 10; 2 Kgs 10:25; Isa 34:3 (Ho); Mic 2:5; Ps 147:17;[3] Job 15:33; 18:7;[4] Dan 8:11c.

The clause analysis results in the following observations. The verb שלך occurs always in the H-stem (112 times in the Hiphil, 13 times in the Hophal). Semantically, it expresses an action in which an agent usually in a vigorous manner causes an object to move from one place to another. Its basic meaning is expressed in the translation "to throw." The object in a שלך clause is most often concrete, either animate or inanimate,[5] but this distinction does not affect the meaning of שלך. In a few cases the object is abstract and then the verb שלך denotes a metaphorical throwing away which results in an elimination or obliteration of the object: sins (Isa 38:17; Ezek 18:31; Mic 7:19), "law" (Neh 9:26). The clause with שלך generally takes a prepositional object that has the semantic function [dislocative] to indicate the goal or locality to which the direct object is

---

[1]The prepositional object "to the heat of the day and to the frost of the night" is a description for the open area without protection of a roof or in this case of a burial tomb.

[2]The object can be supplied by context or world of experience.

[3]The meteorological theme in vss. 16-18 suggests that the ice thrown is hail which God throws down from heaven to earth.

[4]The meaning of שלך in Job 18:7 is throwing down as the context in vss. 7-10 suggests.

[5]שלך hif. clauses with animate objects are Gen 21:15; 37:20, 22; Deut 29:27; 1 Kgs 14:9; Isa 38:17; Jer 38:6,9; Ezek 23:35; Ps 50:17; Neh 9:26; and שלך hof. clauses with animate subjects, which are transformed into objects in the corresponding active clause, are Isa 14:19; Jer 22:28; Ps 22:11; Ezek 16:15.

being moved (semantic function [directive]) or, not so frequently, the starting-point from where the direct object is moved (semantic function [separative]). Sometimes such a dislocative object needs to be filled in by the context or by the world of experience. In cases where the שלך clause has no dislocative object—though this distinction could be disputed as this clause type comes very close to the clause type in which the dislocative object is filled in by the world of experience—the verb appears to take the absolute meaning of throwing away, overthrowing or even eliminating.[1]

In the case of Dan 8:11c, two features of the clause need consideration: (1) the lack of an explicit prepositional object with dislocative function, and (2) the concrete or abstract nature of מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ and its effect on the meaning of the clause.

The first feature, the apparent lack of an object with dislocative function, leads to the question to which type of שלך clauses Dan 8:11c belongs. Does it belong to the clause type V+S+O in which שלך carries the meaning of overthrowing/eliminating (#1 in the table), or does it belong to the clause type V+S+O+O[dislocative] in which שלך carries the meaning of moving something through space (#2 in the table)? The context suggests the latter to be the case. The previous clauses describe actions that are taken out on a vertical axis: "to grow up to the extent" (vss. 10a, 11a), "to cause to fall to earth" (vs. 10b), to lift up (vs. 11b). The meaning of throwing down in vs. 11c fits into this vertical pattern. Furthermore, the up-down movement in vs. 10 (up in vs. 10a, down in vs. 10b) is then paralleled by a similar up-down movement in vs. 11 (up in vs. 11a, up and away in

---

[1]For a convenient collection of the different contexts in which שלך is used see W. Thiel, "שָׁלַךְ *šlk*," *ThWAT*, 8:84-93; cf. F. Stolz, "שׁלך *šlk* hi. to throw," *TLOT*, 3:1335-1337.

vs. 11b, down in vs. 11c), and also corresponds with the down movement in vs. 12b.

More importantly, the meaning of the clause in Dan 8:11c depends on whether מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ designates the literal or the metaphorical place or foundations of the sanctuary. On the one hand, vs. 11c could refer to the throwing down of the site or place of the sanctuary or to the throwing down of the structural fundament of the sanctuary. To understand it this way would mean that the sanctuary as a building is affected by the little horn. However, scholars who take the foundation of the sanctuary as referring to the literal temple explain that the verbal notion is not one of overthrowing or destroying but rather of rejecting or desecrating.[1] On the other hand, vs. 11c could refer to the throwing down of the concept or principles upon which the sanctuary is based. This activity does not necessarily affect the architecture of the sanctuary but attacks the *raison d'être* of the sanctuary and thus of the whole sanctuary system.

The semantic features of vs. 11c as well as contextual considerations appear to provide enough reasons to argue for a metaphorical understanding of מְכוֹן. First, a literal, concrete understanding of the site/foundations of the sanctuary is difficult to maintain considering the verb used: It does not seem possible to thrown down the site of the sanctuary, and it is rather unlikely to throw down the foundations of a building/structure. Clinging to a literal understanding of מְכוֹן would force one to regard the construct relation as a synecdoche for the sanctuary.

[1]For example, it is argued that הֻשְׁלַךְ includes the notion of "contemptuous treatment" (Hävernick, 276; von Lengerke, 380; Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; who refer to Ezek 19:12; Isa 14:19) or "insulting treatment" (Leupold, 348), as meaning to be "robbed of its usefulness" (Ehrlich, 146), and that it should be rendered with "was rejected" (Montgomery, 336; Delcor, 175; who refer to Neh 9:26), "was degraded" (Bentzen, 56), "was desecrated" (Young, *Daniel*, 172; Miller, *Daniel*, 227).

Second, the text in Dan 8:7-12 uses the root שלך three times. In vs. 7 שלך describes how the male goat threw the ram down to the ground and then trampled on it. Immediately following, in vs. 12b, שלך refers to the throwing down of truth to the earth. This represents the degrading of an abstract principle, that is, truth. Verse 11c would therefore describe a similar activity in relation to principles involved in the sanctuary.

Third, the previous clauses in vss. 10 and 11 describe in a metaphorical or symbolic way the activities of the little horn, which all take place in a vertical dimension. It would be consistent to understand vs. 11c accordingly, namely that the metaphorical foundations of the sanctuary are thrown down by the horn.

To conclude the analysis of Dan 8:11c, the clause describes an action by which the metaphorical foundations of the sanctuary of the prince of the host, consisting of the principles upon which the sanctuary and the cultic system are based, are thrown down by the horn. This is presumably accomplished in a direction from heaven to earth.

Clause 12a

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

12a [וְ[צָבָא] [תִּנָּתֵן] [עַל־הַתָּמִיד] [בְּפָשַׁע]

waw+noun/sgc/ Niphal-ipf/3sgf/ prep art+adv prep+noun/sgm/

waw+noun/sgc/ Niphal-ipf/3sgf/ PWG(prep ArtWG(art+adv))
PWG(prep+noun/sgm/)

1.Sy +P.Sy +4.Sy +C.Sy
subject +predicate +prepositional object +prepositional phrase indicating modalization

Clause-type: *x-yiqtol.*

This clause is syntactically and semantically the most intricate in Dan 8:9-14, and, according to some exegetes, probably in the whole book of Daniel. In order to understand the syntax and the meaning of vs. 12a each phrase is first discussed separately, then the results of each investigation are combined and again critically evaluated in a detailed analysis of the clause as a whole. The analysis of the individual phrases and clause constituents considers mainly syntactic and semantic functions. It is especially important to identify the correct syntactic place and function of וְצָבָא, the function of the preposition עַל in עַל־הַתָּמִיד and the preposition ב in בְּפָשַׁע, for which several different translations have been given. In the clause analysis, the syntactic and semantic functions of the constituents as well as the semantic meaning of the clause and the semantic relations to the immediate context are also taken into account.[1]

The verb תִּנָּתֵן

The Niphal form of the verb נתן occurs eighty-three times in the Hebrew Bible (inclusive Dan 8:12a). It has a passive sense[2] and its basic translation equivalent is "to be

---

[1]The following syntactic discussion on vs. 12a supersedes my earlier, preliminary linguistic analysis of Dan 8:12a in Pröbstle, "Linguistic Analysis of Daniel 8:11, 12," 86-93. Though the present discussion follows to some extent this earlier presentation, it is more comprehensive and adds substantially to it.

[2]Two other voices of the verb have been suggested: a reflexive and an active meaning. The reflexive sense of the Niphal of נתן ("and it set itself . . .") can only be proposed in conjunction with the excision of צָבָא (Redditt, 139) or with the adjoining of וְצָבָא to vs. 11c (Gese, 409). In addition, the Niphal of נתן (83 times) is found nowhere else in a reflexive sense. Adjoining וְצָבָא to vs. 11c, L. Dequeker reads the verb in vs. 12a as active without discussing any discussion of his emendation ("The 'Saints of the Most High' in Qumran and Daniel," in *Syntax and Meaning: Studies in Hebrew Syntax and Biblical Exegesis*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, OtSt, no. 18 [Leiden: Brill, 1973], 176). Goldstein suggests that the verb should be vocalized as active תִּנְתֵּן with unassimilated *nun* so that the subject could be the horn (*I Maccabees*, 145-146 n. 251). However, the non-assimilation of *nun* in the imperfect of נתן, which is apparently an Aramaism (see יִנְתֵּן in Dan 2:16; cf. Ezra 4:13; 7:20), does

given" or "to be placed."[1] Interestingly though, when the verb נתן occurs in combination with the preposition עַל, it is often used in a similar sense as the verb שׂים "to set."[2] Besides the translation "a host was given (over)," the phrase וְצָבָא תִּנָּתֵן עַל in 8:12a could therefore very well have the meaning expressed by the translation "a host/army is set against."[3] The best translation of the phrase will be discussed later.

The tense of the verbs in vs. 12 has been described as "puzzling."[4] תִּנָּתֵן is a *yiqtol* or imperfect form. The sudden shift from *wayyiqtol* and perfect forms (past tense) in vss. 9-11 to the *yiqtol*/imperfect תִּנָּתֵן in vs. 12a and the following *w*^{e}*yiqtol* וְתַשְׁלֵךְ calls for explanation. Several suggestions can be distinguished, apart from proposing textual emendation of the verbs to past tense forms (*wayyiqtol* or simple perfect).[5] First, the *yiqtol* forms in vs. 12a and 12b are regarded as referring to past tense. Most translations and commentaries opt for such an interpretation, probably in order to continue the past

---

not occur in BH (once in Qumran: ינתן in 4Q175:3 [= MT יִתֵּן in Deut 5:29]), and with other I Nun verbs only very rarely (e.g., הֲיִנְטֹר in Jer 3:5). Moreover, according to Goldstein's suggestion, צָבָא in vs. 12a has then to be interpreted as the direct object of תִּנָּתֵן, which, though possible, is syntactically rather difficult because of its preverbal position and the missing object marker את.

[1]P. A. Siebesma, *The Function of the Niph'al in Biblical Hebrew: In Relationship to Other Passive-Reflexive Verbal Stems and to the Pu'al and Hoph'al in Particular*, SSN, no. 28 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1991), 63, 84.

[2]The phrase נתן עַל occurs in close, sometimes even in paradigmatic relation with שׂים עַל in Gen 41:42; Exod 29:6; 40:20; Lev 2:15; 5:11; Num 16:18; Deut 17:15; 1 Kgs 18:23; 2 Kgs 18:14; Ezek 4:2.

[3]See *DCH*, 5:813 ("be placed, set").

[4]Goldingay, *Daniel*, 197-198.

[5]For example, both imperfect forms in 12a and 12b are emended to *wayyiqtol* forms (Marti, *Daniel*, 59; Charles, 208; Bentzen, 56) or in the case of תִּנָּתֵן to the Niphal perfect נִתַּן (Kamphausen, 33; Prince, "On Daniel viii. 11, 12," 204; Obbink, 65, 110; Plöger, *Daniel*, 122) or to the Qal perfect נָתַן (C. G. Ozanne, "Three Textual Problems in Daniel," *JTS* 16 (1965): 446).

tense of vs. 11.[1] To be sure, the option exists to explain a *yiqtol* form in past context,[2] but since such a form is usually associated with customary or incipient activity, it is difficult to interpret תִּנָּתֵן and the activity expressed in vs. 12a along such lines. The recent suggestion by Jan Joosten, that Dan 8:12a should be explained as prospective *yiqtol* form, deserves special mention.[3] He argues that the use of *yiqtol* in past tense contexts "is best described in terms of modality: *yiqtol* presents an action as not (yet) real."[4] This means that the action is "neither ongoing nor yet performed."[5] He then classifies different uses of *yiqtol* referring to the past: prospective (21 cases), prospective in an object clause (21 cases), modal (20 cases), and iterative (no inventory taken). A prospective *yiqtol* functions as a future-in-the-past, "indicating action as future from the point of view of the past time frame defined or implied in the context."[6] He regards the use of the *yiqtol* form in Dan 8:12 as one of several difficult cases, but he is certain that one could ascribe it to a

---

[1]See, e.g., Hitzig, 132 (with reference to Dan 7:14-16 and 8:5); Driver, *Daniel*, 117; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 158; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 334.

[2]On the uses of *yiqtol* in reference to the past see, e.g., S. R. Driver, *Treatise*, 31-36 (§§27, 30, 31); GKC, 314-315 (§107b-e); Waltke and O'Connor, 502-504 (§31.2); Joüon and Muraoka, 367-370 (§113e-k).

[3]Jan Joosten, "The Long Form of the Prefix Conjugation Referring to the Past in Biblical Hebrew Prose," *HS* 40 (1999): 15-26, esp. 24.

[4]Ibid., 15. Jan Joosten builds upon his previous thesis that the main function of *w^{e}qatal* is the expression of modality and that *yiqtol*, which mechanically replaces *w^{e}qatal* whenever the verb cannot take the clause-initial position, would express the same main function ("Biblical Hebrew *w^{e}qāṭal* and Syriac *hwā qāṭel* Expressing Repetition in the Past," *ZAH* 5 [1992]: 1-14, esp. 12-13).

[5]Joosten, "Long Form," 16.

[6]Ibid., 17.

prospective use nonetheless.[1] The question, however, is whether the *yiqtol* form תִּנְתֵּן really does occur in a past tense context. On the one hand, if vs. 12 is indeed still part of the description of the vision Daniel had seen, Joosten's suggestion is a good option. On the other hand, if vs. 12 is not narrative but discourse, a future tense context is likely, especially in view of the following *w^eyiqtol* form (vs. 12b).

There are also other suggestions for a past tense use of the *yiqtol* forms in vs. 12. The explanation that "the use of the past tense [in translation] is legitimate, since in an apocalyptic vision the events are at the same time past (in the vision) and future (in reality)"[2] is unsatisfactory. The problem is that, based on such a view, one could use imperfect forms and perfect forms interchangeably in a vision report, which would make it difficult for an interpreter to use verbal syntax as an argument at all. Another option proposed is that the tense in vs. 12 should be regarded as historical present (*praesens historicum*) in order to describe the last part of the vision "with gripping concreteness."[3] This suggestion still places vs. 12 in a past tense context, but supposes a different narrative character to vs. 12, attributing a specific rhetorical effect to the verbal forms used in it. Such an interpretation is difficult to either prove or disprove, and one wonders if this is truly the best explanation available.

---

[1]Ibid., 24.

[2]Péter-Contesse and Ellington, 213.

[3]So König, 3:61 (§159). Hartman and Di Lella explain the imperfect forms in vss. 12a and 12b as being translated from an Aramaic original; and "in Aramaic, the *yiqtul* forms are sometimes used after *q^eṭal* forms with the force of historical presents or to express contemporaneity (cf. 4:2, 31, 33; 7:16, 28)" (221-222). For such a use see also H. B. Rosén, "On the Use of the Tenses in the Aramaic of Daniel," *JSS* 6 (1961): 183.

Yet another solution is to see an essential difference in description between vs. 11 and vs. 12. Verse 11 is still the report of the vision, while vs. 12 refers to a prophetic description. The *yiqtol* forms in vs. 12 are then taken either in a modal sense[1] (and Joosten's prospective *yiqtol* fits into this category, too) or in present or future tense to express reality instead of the imagery of the vision.[2] The future tense of vs. 12 is "proper to an interpretative vision."[3] This type of solution is closest to the MT and its vocalization, and attributes a syntactic function customary to the *yiqtol* form. The consistent use of *yiqtol* forms in the visions and auditions of Daniel lends support that these forms set 8:12 apart from the previous verses.[4] Thus, Stahl's assessment of vs. 12b is correct. If the Masoretic vocalization is accepted, "a certain special position of this statement could be suspected."[5] However, not only does vs. 12b have a surprising tense, but so do all clauses of vs. 12.

---

[1]The jussive imperfects תִּנָּתֵן and וְתַשְׁלֵךְ (as in Dan 11:4, 10, 16, 17, 18, 19, 25, 28, 30; cf. in BA Dan 7:17) express modification (should, may, etc.), and, in terms of content, the divine pre-determination or orders. They are not identical with the future (Kranichfeld, 294; followed by Keil, 301; Tiefenthal, 269). Schindele understands the text as projected state of affaires (*projektierter Sachverhalt*)—translating the verbal forms in modal sense, "should be mobilized . . . should cast down"—which are then reported to be carried out in vss. 12c and 12d ("Textkonstituierung," 9, 13).

[2]Von Lengerke translates the *yiqtol* forms in Dan 8:12 in present tense (378-379) and comments that until vs. 12 events have been described as seen in vision, but in vs. 12 the events are described as those which will happen (380). He is followed by Zöckler, for whom the text in vs. 12 is "predicted . . . permitted by God" (176). König mentions the possibility that the *yiqtol* forms in Dan 8:12 may be a real present tense insofar as the vision passes automatically into the description of the contemporary realization (3:61 [§159]). For a translation in future tense see, e.g., Behrmann, 54; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 177; Bauer, *Daniel*, 170; Lucas, *Daniel*, 206.

[3]Goldingay, *Daniel*, 211.

[4]For a brief investigation of the use of *yiqtol* forms in the book of Daniel see the interclausal analysis below.

[5]Stahl, *Weltengagement*, 174, who himself regards vs. 12b to be originally narrative.

In sum, the *yiqtol* forms in vs. 12a and 12b—and by extension the verbal forms in vs. 12c and 12d should be interpreted as *w^e qatal* forms—indicate that vs. 12 no longer belongs to the vision report proper that ends in vs. 11. It appears to me that in the light of the use of *yiqtol* forms elsewhere in Daniel's visions in discourse-type texts, the most likely form for this verse is direct speech. The exploration of this claim, including the question of who is speaking, will be pursued later (see the analysis of vs. 13a below).

וְצָבָא

Both the syntactic place and the meaning of וְצָבָא have received a host of explanations.[1] They can be grouped into five basic, sometimes overlapping kinds of interpretation:[2]

1. *Excision of* צָבָא. The missing subject of vs. 12a is supplied by either emending בְּפָשַׁע so it can function as the subject,[3] or by emending the verb to an active form,

---

[1]Collins points to the fact that "both the meaning and the placement of the word for host, וצבא, have baffled commentators and given rise to a multitude of proposed solutions, none of which has commanded a consensus" (*Daniel* [1993], 334). He distinguishes four kinds of interpretation: (1) Excision of "host" as a gloss which was imported from vs. 13; (2) textual emendation of וצבא; (3) reinterpretation of "host" in a different sense from vss. 10 and 11; and (4) the interpretation "a host was given over" (334-335).

[2]After reviewing different interpretations, some believe that there is no satisfactory solution available (Bevan, 132-133; Montgomery, 336-337).

[3]Bertholdt excises צָבָא and reads וְתִנָּתֵן עַל־הַתָּמִיד הַפֶּשַׁע "and the transgression (which desolates) will be erected instead of the daily burnt offering" with reference to vs. 13 (522). Von Gall deletes צָבָא and, following OG and Theodotion, emends the rest to וַיִּנָּתֵן עַל־הַתָּמִיד הַפָּשַׁע "and it was placed the transgression on the daily sacrifice" (48, 51; followed by Linder, 337). Marti (*Daniel*, 59) and Bentzen (56) follow von Gall, only that they read הַפֶּשַׁע for von Gall's הַפָּשַׁע. Thomson also excises צָבָא, omits the preposition of בְּפָשַׁע: "and transgression was upon the sacrifice" (243).

thereby making the horn the subject of vs. 12a.[1]

2. *Textual emendation of* וְצָבָא. It has been suggested to either emend וְצָבָא within vs. 12a,[2] to emend וְצָבָא and divide vs. 12a into two clauses,[3] or to adjoin וְצָבָא in emended form to vs. 11c (see interpretation 4).

3. *Emendation of the verb to a masculine passive perfect* נִתַּן *with or without emendation of* וְצָבָא.[4]

4. *Adjoining of* וְצָבָא *to vs. 11c, either in original or in emended form.*[5]

---

[1]Moore regards וְצָבָא as gloss and reads וַתִּתֵּן (for תִּנָּתֵן) with the horn as implied subject: "and it [the horn] put on the daily sacrifice the iniquity" (196). Niditch excises וְצָבָא and suggests reading vs. 12a as וְתִנְתֵּן עַל־הַתָּמִיד פֶּשַׁע (ותנתן על התמיד פשע) "and it (the horn) set sin upon the continual offering" (220; following Ginsberg and Hartman). Redditt excises וְצָבָא and reads the verb as reflexive: "And [] it set itself above the daily sacrifice in rebellion" (139). Riessler regards וְצָבָא as a later insertion and reads the passive verb as impersonal active: "and one will take action against the daily sacrifice in wantonness" (*Daniel* [1902], 72). Here, too, the implied agent is the horn.

[2]Graetz suggests emending וְצָבָא to וְשׁוֹמֵם on the basis of the Greek versions' rendering of the end of vs. 11 with καὶ τὸ ἅγιον ἐρημωθήσεται (equivalent to וּמִקְדָּשׁ יְשׁוֹמֵם). Verse 12a then reads וְשׁוֹמֵם תִּנָּתֵן עַל־הַתָּמִיד בְּפָשַׁע "and the desecration (devastation) will be given upon the daily sacrifice" (386-387). Jahn believes that וְצֹאָה "and excrement" was original, which then would have been changed "for natural reasons" (79). On the basis of Elias Bickermann's studies on litholatry, and in particular bomolatry (*The God of the Maccabees: Studies on the Meaning and Origin of the Maccabean Revolt*, trans. H. R. Moehring, SJLA, no. 32 [Leiden: Brill, 1979], 69-71), Plöger suggests the possibility that צָבָא originally read מַצֵּבָה "pillar," though he does not introduce this option into his translation (*Daniel*, 126).

[3]Ozanne suggests to read וּצְבָאֹת נָתַן "and hosts he delivered up" with redivision of the consonantal text and change of vocalization. The now missing verb in vs. 12a is either elliptical and must be supplied by vss. 10a and 11a ("it magnified itself"), or it has fallen out by haplography and should have read עָלְתָה "it rose up" ("Three Textual Problems," 446; cf. Baldwin, 158).

[4]Kamphausen suggests to emend the beginning of vs. 12a to וּצְבָאוֹ נִתַּן "and his host was given over" with וּצְבָאוֹ (referring to God's army) (33). Prince emends to וּצְבָאָהּ נִתַּן "and its (the horn's) host was appointed" by changing ת to an original ה which formed the suffix of צָבָא and redividing the words ("On Daniel viii. 11, 12," 204; cf. *Daniel*, 242). Obbink suggests to read נִתַּן וְצָבָא with צָבָא in the sense of "host" (= Israel) (65, 110), whereas Plöger reads וְצָבָא נִתַּן and understands צָבָא as trouble or tribulation: "and tribulation was laid" (*Daniel*, 122).

[5]Nelis takes וְצָבָא with vs. 11c, where he excised מְכוֹן in analogy to vs. 13c and translates "to throw down sanctuary and host" (96). Goldingay links וְצָבָא with the end of vs. 11 and understands it

5. *Taking the MT as is, with* וְצָבָא *belonging to vs. 12a.* In this case, צָבָא is understood either in the same or a different sense from its use in vss. 10 and 11.[1]

This brief overview also shows that one emendation may make another necessary. In order to obtain another grammatical subject for an excised, emended or dislocated וְצָבָא the phrase בְּפָשַׁע usually needs to be emended.[2]

---

as "army": "his sacred place and an army were overthrown" (*Daniel*, 197). According to him, the singular passive verb וְהֻשְׁלַךְ can have a plural subject. However, he admits that "vs. 12 now begins even more abruptly" which leads him to allow for the possibility that vs. 12a is an explanatory gloss. Gese takes וְצָבָא in the sense of "priestly service" to vs. 11c and then translates the Niphal form תִּנָּתֵן as reflexive: "it (the horn) sets itself" (409). Stahl reads וְצָבָא with vs. 11c on the basis that in vs. 13c וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא are next to each other, and then emends בְּפָשַׁע into הַפֶּשַׁע to receive a grammatical subject for vs. 12a (*Weltengagement*, 174, 175 n. 298). Di Lella translates vss. 11c and 12a "and whose sanctuary it cast down, as well as the host, while sin replaced the daily sacrifice" (*Daniel*, 155). Several scholars suggest to adjoin וְצָבָא to vs. 11c in emended form. Dequeker combines וְצָבָא with מְקְדָשׁוֹ at the end of 11c, which he explains (like Stahl) with reference to the similar combination in vs. 13c, and adds a possessive suffix: וצבאה [*sic*] "and His host" ("The 'Saints of the Most High,'" 176). August Bludau takes וְצָבָא to vs. 11c and reads instead יִצָּדֶה based on the Greek versions' reading ἐρημωθήσεται (*Die Alexandrinische Übersetzung des Buches Daniel und ihr Verhältniss zum Massorethischen Text*, Biblische Studien, vol. 2, pts. 2 & 3 [Freiburg: Herder, 1897], 66). The subject of vs. 12a is the emendation פֶּשַׁע. Bludau's suggestion is possible for Montgomery who suggests "and was cast down the place of the sanctuary and it was desolated (reading מִקְדָּשׁ וְיִצָּדֶה), but at the same time questions the reliability of the corrupted Greek texts (358). Charles emends וְצָבָא to יִצָּדֶה or יִצָּדֶא and reads it with vs. 11c: וּמִקְדָּשׁ יִצָּדֶה "and (the) sanctuary was laid desolate" (207-208). For the reading of vs. 12a he follows the emendation suggested by Marti. Charles furthermore inserts מִזְבַּח "altar" before הַתָּמִיד (208-209; perhaps following a suggestion by Graetz, 387 n. 2)—"and the transgression was offered on the (altar of the) daily burnt offering"—in order that the text "would harmonize . . . with the facts of history" (Charles, 209). Linder reads וְצֶבִי for וְצָבָא and takes it at the end of vs. 11 (337; also an option for Saydon, 636, who then changes בְּפָשַׁע into הַפֶּשַׁע so that the iniquity is the subject in vs. 12a). For Ginsberg (*Studies in Daniel*, 49-50) and Hartman and Di Lella (222, 225), וְצָבָא belongs to vs. 11c and there for an original Aramaic וַחֲסִין "and the pious ones." The verb of 12a should read וְתִנְתֵּן "and it set up" (Aramaism for תִּתֵּן, cf. Dan 2:16) instead of תִּנָּתֵן, and מְכוֹן is moved from the end of vs. 11c to follow עַל in vs. 12a. They translate "and on the stand of the daily sacrifice it set up an offense" (ibid., 222; cf. Ginsberg, "The Book of Daniel," 518).

[1]Since these options are discussed in detail below under the section on the meaning of צָבָא in vs. 12a, references are given there at the appropriate places.

[2]Instead of בְּפָשַׁע it is suggested to read הַפֶּשַׁע (Bertholdt, 522; Moore, 197; Marti, *Daniel*, 59; Charles, 208; Bentzen, 56; Saydon, 636; Nelis, 96; Stahl, *Weltengagement*, 174), הַפָּשַׁע (von Gall, 48, 51; Linder, 337), פֶּשַׁע (Bludau, 66; Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 49; Thomson, 243; Niditch, 220), or either הַפֶּשַׁע or פֶּשַׁע (Hartman and Di Lella, 222; cf. Di Lella, *Daniel*, 155).

In the face of this "multitude of proposed solutions" the following analysis first determines the syntactic place and function of וְצָבָא, while making sure that the text at hand is fully taken into account, and then focuses on the lexical meaning and the referential identity of צָבָא by considering its lack of a definite article, its feminine gender (as indicated by the feminine verb form), and its relation to its other occurrences in the immediate context.

Syntactic place and function of וְצָבָא. Grammatically, there are only two possibilities for the syntactic place and function of וְצָבָא without altering the text.[1] Either וְצָבָא is the first element of the clause in vs. 12a and צָבָא is the grammatical subject of the verb תִּנָּתֵן (option #1 below),[2] or וְצָבָא belongs to vs. 11c—being part of the grammatical subject in that clause together with מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ—and תִּנָּתֵן starts the new clause in vs.

---

[1]The suggestion to interpret צָבָא as the direct object of the verb תִּנָּתֵן, to take the horn as subject of תִּנָּתֵן, and to translate vs. 12a with "It [the little horn] was given a host over . . ." (so suggested by Shea, "Spatial Dimensions," 516; possible for Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" [1986], 417-418) has to be linguistically abandoned since it overlooks basic active-passive transformation rules. Because the Niphal stem of the verbal root נתן has passive meaning, the clause in vs. 12a is passive. The passive sentence is a transformation or transposition of the corresponding active sentence. In general, in transformations from active to passive the direct object of the active sentence becomes the subject in the passive sentence, the prepositional phrases are retained, and the subject of the active sentence is dropped in the passive sentence or becomes the so-called logical subject of a passive verb which in Biblical Hebrew is expressed by means of a prepositional word group with the preposition ב, ל, or מִן. It is recognizable that, due to the active-passive transformation of the direct object into the subject, a passive sentence has no direct object. Hence, צָבָא cannot function as direct object in Dan 8:12a. A brief look at the 81 BH clauses in which נתן occurs in the Niphal (נתן occurs 83 times in the Niphal, twice in the construction הִנָּתֵן תִּנָּתֵן) confirms this general linguistic rule: No direct object appears in any of these clauses.

[2]The majority of scholars suggest that צָבָא is the grammatical subject in vs. 12a (e.g., Montgomery, 336; Lacocque, 163; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" [1986], 416-417; Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 335).

12a (option #2 below).[1] The first option retains the traditional Masoretic verse and sentence demarcation, where וְהֻשְׁלַךְ מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ וְצָבָא תִּנָּתֵן עַל־הַתָּמִיד בְּפָשַׁע ion.

(Option #1)	וְהֻשְׁלַךְ מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ	11c
	וְצָבָא תִּנָּתֵן עַל־הַתָּמִיד בְּפָשַׁע	12a
(Option #2)	וְהֻשְׁלַךְ מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ וְצָבָא	11c
	תִּנָּתֵן עַל־הַתָּמִיד בְּפָשַׁע	12a

1. צָבָא *as grammatical subject in vs. 12a and its gender.* The interpretation of צָבָא as grammatical subject of תִּנָּתֵן (#1) is the more likely explanation. Whenever a word occurs in a נתן-N clause (נתן in the Niphal) without a preceding preposition (52 times), it functions as the subject.[2] An indefinite subject (a subject without article or pronominal suffix and no proper name) in sentence-initial position, as in Dan 8:12a, is found eight more times in נתן-N clauses.[3] Hence, the indefinite צָבָא in sentence-initial position in Dan 8:12a is not an unusual phenomenon in the syntax of נתן-N clauses.

The objection usually raised to this interpretation is the alleged gender incongruence between subject and verb.[4] The noun צָבָא in the singular is usually

---

[1]Goldingay, *Daniel*, 195, 197; Gese, 409.

[2]The word may be a nominal form with or without the article, a pronoun, or a text deictic (כֵּן): Gen 38:14; Exod 5:16, 18; Lev 10:14; 19:20; 24:20; Num 26:62; 1 Sam 18:19; 2 Kgs 19:10; 22:7; 25:30; Isa 9:5; 29:12; 33:16; 35:2; 36:15; 37:10; 51:12; Jer 13:20; 32:24, 25; 38:3, 18; 51:55; 52:34; Ezek 11:15; 16:34; 31:14; 32:20, 23, 25; 33:24; Job 9:24; 15:19; Eccl 10:6; Esth 2:13; 3:14, 15; 5:6; 6:8; 7:2, 3; 8:13, 14; 9:12, 14; Dan 8:12a; 11:11, 16; Neh 13:10; 1 Chr 5:1, 20. נתן-N clauses with elliptical subject or with relative pronoun as subject are not considered in this reference list.

[3]Exod 5:16, 18; Lev 19:20; Isa 9:5; 51:12; Ezek 16:34; 32:20; Job 9:24.

[4]Regarding the gender of צָבָא, Moore remarks: "Its gender forbids us to take it as the subject of the verb; yet no other construction is possible" (195); and Montgomery assumes that "gender agreement between subj. and vb. is most improbable" (336).

regarded as masculine,[1] but the verb תִּנָּתֵן is feminine in gender. Two different observations may explain this construction, whereas an interpretation using a construction *ad sensum* is neither necessary nor convincing.[2]

First, while a feminine verbal form is indeed highly unusual with צָבָא, there is another occurrence in Isa 40:2. Dan 8:12a may therefore well be a second example for the use of צָבָא with a feminine gender.[3] To be sure, whether the gender of צָבָא in the

---

[1]The plural formation of צָבָא is almost always the feminine צְבָאוֹת. The feminine plural צְבָאוֹת occurs 311 times in the Hebrew Bible of which it is used 285 times as divine epithet, whereas the masculine plural form of צָבָא is only used twice (Pss 103:21; 148:2 *qere*). The noun צָבָא then belongs to that group of nouns which have in the singular a zero-ending and in the plural the ending *-ôt*. Of course, the feminine plural ending does not indicate a feminine gender of the singular צָבָא, but could have been used to indicate a *Gruppenplural*, a plural which is thought to consist of individual entities (see Michel, *Grundlegung*, 40, 46).

[2]It has been suggested to interpret the feminine gender of צָבָא as *ad sensum*, that is, the feminine should be influenced by the fact that צָבָא would designate the people of God. In a similar way several, usually masculine, nouns which could stand for the people seem to be feminine in some places, such as עַם "people" (Exod 5:16; Judg 18:7; Jer 8:5), הָמוֹן "multitude" (Job 31:34), זֶרַע "seed" (Deut 31:21). So Keil, 299; Tiefenthal, 269; cf. Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, 453 (§174b) who, however, does not list צָבָא. Several difficulties arise with such an explanation. In contrast to the examples given, צָבָא is always masculine, with only one exception (Isa 40:2c). A construction *ad sensum* is thus based on the premises that one would understand צָבָא as referring to the people of God *and* that the people are considered to be feminine, although usually they are masculine (e.g., עַם). These assumptions are hard to prove. One needs to be aware that a reading *ad sensum* should only be regarded as a possible option if the referent of the expression is clearly identifiable *and* if there are no syntactic explanations for the unusual gender available. In the case of Dan 8:12a it is better to refrain from enlisting the argument *ad sensum* for there seem to be good syntactic and literary explanations for the feminine gender of צָבָא.

[3]In commenting on Dan 8:12a some refer to Isa 40:2 as a precedent for the feminine gender of צָבָא: Bertholdt, 521; van Lengerke, 381; Maurer, 144; Hitzig, 133; Rohling, *Daniel*, 239; Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Terry, 60; Behrmann, 54; Tiefenthal, 269; Driver, *Daniel*, 117; Montgomery, 340; Delcor, 174; Hasslberger, 9 n. 28; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 159; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 197; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 335; Lucas, *Daniel*, 206. Interestingly, all scholars, except for Young, who argue for a feminine gender of צָבָא in Isa 40:2 refer to the apparent feminine gender of צָבָא in Dan 8:12a. See August Dillmann, *Der Prophet Jesaia*, 5th ed., Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament, no. 5 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1890), 366; Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia: übersetzt und erklärt*, 4th ed. Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, section 3, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1922), 288; Edward J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah: The English Text, with Introduction, Exposition, and Notes; Volume III: Chapters 40 through 66* (Grand Rapids:

phrase מָלְאָה צְבָאָהּ in Isa 40:2c is feminine or masculine has been disputed.[1] In Isa

---

Eerdmans, 1972), 22 n. 8; Leo Krinetzki, "Zur Stilistik von Jes 40, 1-8," *BZ* 16 (1972): 55; Karl Elliger, *Deuterojesaja*, vol. 1, *Jesaja 40,1–45,7*, BKAT, vol. 11/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1978), 2; W.A.M. Beuken, *Jesaja: deel II A*, De Prediking van het Oude Testament (Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1979), 307 n. 11; J. P. Fokkelman, "Stylistic Analysis of Isaiah 40:1-11," in *Remembering All the Way . . . : A Collection of Old Testament Studies Published on the Occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, OtSt, no. 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 71 n. 9; Jan L. Koole, *Isaiah: Part 3, Volume 1: Isaiah 40-48*, Historical Commentary on the Old Testament (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1997), 52. See also the grammars by Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, 456 (§174g); König, 3:168 (§249m); and Lambert, *Grammaire hébraïque*, 74 (§169.5)—though Lambert, while listing צָבָא under the category of words with double gender, places question marks after Isa 40:2 and Dan 8:12 which signals that he is not so sure about his decision. In his analysis of the meaning of צָבָא, Wambacq also recognizes the feminine gender in Isa 40:2 and Dan 8:12a (121).

[1]The point in question is the phrase מָלְאָה צְבָאָהּ and the relation of the two words to each other. If צְבָאָהּ functions as subject, it is regarded as feminine (מָלְאָה would then be intransitive); if צְבָאָהּ functions as object, it can be interpreted as masculine (מָלְאָה would then be transitive). Five different scholarly proposals on the syntax of Isa 40:2c have been suggested (see Jean M. Vincent, *Studien zur literarischen Eigenart und zur geistigen Heimat von Jesaja, Kap. 40–55*, BBET, no. 5 [Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1977], 218 n. 78). First, a number of scholars argue for a feminine gender of צָבָא in Isa 40:2 (most commentators, as is obvious from their translation and comments, assume that צָבָא is the subject of Isa 40:2 without mentioning its gender). Second, other scholars argue that in Isa 40:2 מָלְאָה is transitive (cf., e.g., Isa 6:1) and צָבָא should be regarded as object having its usual masculine gender. See Karl Albrecht, "Das Geschlecht der hebräischen Hauptwörter," *ZAW* 15 (1895): 319; Paul Volz, *Jesaia II: übersetzt und erklärt*, KAT, vol. 9 (Leipzig: Scholl, 1932), 1; Lars G. Rignell, *A Study of Isaiah Ch. 40–55* (Lund: Gleerup, 1956), 10; Christopher R. North, *The Second Isaiah: Introduction, Translation and Commentary to Chapters XL–LV* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1964), 70; cf. also Hans Joachim Stoebe, "Überlegungen zu Jesaja 40, 1-11: Zugleich der Versuch eines Beitrages zur Gottesknechtfrage," *TZ* 40 (1984): 105; David Noel Freedman, "The Structure of Isaiah 40:1-11," in *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday July 28, 1985*, ed. E. W. Conrad and E. G. Newing (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 175-177. Third, in order to avoid a feminine gender of צָבָא, some suggest to point מִלְאָה צְבָאָהּ "she has fulfilled (her warfare)" with a Piel form of מלא and with צְבָאָהּ as object (Bevan, 133 n. 1 [notes that the Masoretes understood מָלְאָה צְבָאָהּ as "she is filled with her host"]; Karl Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, KHC, vol. 10 [Tübingen: Mohr, 1900], 270; W. Thomas in *BHS*). Such a vocalization is mentioned as a possibility by König, 3:168 (§249m) and Klaus Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, trans. M. Kohl, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 49, 51. Fourth, the versions read slightly different from the MT. 1QIsa[a] reads מלא (preferred by Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55*, AB, vol. 19 [New York: Doubleday, 2000], 177, 178), apparently to create gender concord with the usually masculine צָבָא; LXX and Vulgate render the verb as passive (for a comprehensive survey of versions and codices of Isa 40:1-2 see Rosario Pius Merendino, "Is 40,1-2: Un'analisi del materiale documentario," *RivB* 37 [1989]: 1-64). It is evident that all versions take צְבָאָהּ as subject. Finally, Mitchell Dahood suggests to understand מָלְאָה as archaic Canaanite third singular masculine *qatala*, "employed here for the sake of symmetry and assonance with נִרְצָה in the second colon" (*Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology: Marginal Notes on Recent Publications*, BibOr, no. 17 [Rome: Pontifical Biblical

40:2c, צְבָאָהּ "her compulsory service"[1] should, however, be understood as subject of the feminine verb מָלְאָה and, hence, as a feminine noun. This is evident from the syntactic and semantic parallelism in Isa 40:2c-d between "her warfare has been ended" (2c) and "her iniquity has been removed" (2d) in which both צְבָאָהּ and עֲוֹנָהּ function as subject of their respective clause (note that vss. 2a and 2b are also parallel lines). Both clauses are introduced by the particle כִּי and consist of a perfect verb in the singular followed by a singular noun with the pronominal suffix /3sgm/ referring to the city Jerusalem; both lines exhibiting assonance of the ending sound -*āh*:[2]

Isa 40:2c	כִּי מָלְאָה צְבָאָהּ	"that her warfare has been ended"
Isa 40:2d	כִּי נִרְצָה עֲוֹנָהּ	"that her iniquity has been removed"

Since in 2d עֲוֹנָהּ cannot possibly be the object of the Niphal נִרְצָה, one should not destroy the syntactic-semantic parallelism between 2c and 2d by arguing that in 2c צְבָאָהּ is the object and Jerusalem is the subject. This poetic device in Isa 40:2c-d strongly

---

Institute, 1965], 20).

[1]For the meaning of צָבָא in the sense of military service with the extension "compulsory labor/service" see also Job 7:1; 10:17; 14:14.

[2]The parallelism of these two lines has been very well recognized. See, e.g., Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969) 35; Krinetzki, 59; Kiyoshi Kinoshita Sacon, "Isaiah 40:1-11: A Rhetorical-Critical Study," in *Rhetorical Criticism: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*, ed. J. J. Jackson and M. Kessler, PTMS, no. 1 (Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1974), 107, 112-113; Hasslberger, 9 n. 28; Vincent, *Studien*, 207; Elliger, 2; Klaus Kiesow, *Exodustexte im Jesajabuch: Literarkritische und motivgeschichtliche Analysen*, OBO, no. 24 (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires Fribourg; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1979), 27, 39; Fokkelman, "Stylistic Analysis of Isaiah 40:1-11," 71 n. 9; Stephen A. Geller, "A Poetic Analysis of Isaiah 40:1-2," *HTR* 77 (1984): 417; Freedman, "The Structure of Isaiah 40:1-11," 177; John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34–66*, WBC, vol. 25 (Waco: Word, 1987), 76; Koole, 52 (who specifically mentions the "loss of end rhyme" if the feminine מָלְאָה would be changed into the masculine מלא).

discourages the use of צְבָאָה as a masculine object.[1] Thus, though as an exception, צָבָא can be attributed a feminine gender.

Interestingly, when comparing the different uses of צָבָא in Dan 8:10-13, the feminine gender of צָבָא in vs. 12a does not create any inconsistencies since its gender is syntactically not further defined in this passage.[2] The argument that the masculine plural pronominal suffix in וַתִּרְמְסֵם (vs. 10c) signifies that the author would regard the referent מִן־הַצָּבָא as masculine ignores the fact that the suffix refers back to both מִן־הַצָּבָא and מִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים, with הַכּוֹכָבִים determining the masculine gender of the suffix. Also, the deverbal noun מִרְמָס, which in 8:13c stands in relationship with צָבָא, does not indicate the gender of צָבָא since it appears to be invariable in form, regardless of whether it refers to a feminine (Mic 7:10), masculine (Isa 5:5; 7:25; 10:6; Ezek 34:19) or plural noun (Isa 28:18).[3] Thus, a syntactic argument concerning the semantic meaning of צָבָא in Dan 8:12a that is solely based on its feminine gender, usually proposing that צָבָא in vs. 12a is different from צָבָא in vss. 10-11 because of its feminine gender, is not valid.[4] As will be discussed later, however, the unusual gender serves to attract attention to צָבָא and its referential identity.

A second observation, which may lead to a different interpretation of the alleged gender incongruence, is that in clauses with the Niphal of נתן the gender of the verb and

---

[1]So argued by Hasslberger, 9 n. 28, and Vincent, *Studien*, 207; *pace* Bevan, 133 n. 1.

[2]At the only other place in Daniel where צָבָא occurs (10:1), it is marked as masculine.

[3]See Hasslberger, 9 n. 28, 106.

[4]*Pace* Terry, 61.

of its subject does not always agree. An examination of the eighty-two נתן-N clauses finds three possible cases of gender incongruence: Lev 19:20;[1] Num 26:62;[2] and Josh 24:33.[3] At first sight, a possible gender incongruence between צָבָא and תִּנָּתֵן in Dan 8:12a would not seem exceptional for a נתן-N clause. However, and this is important, the gender incongruence in these three clauses is of a different category than the one in Dan 8:12a for in the former the Niphal form of the verb נתן is a perfect /3sgm/ whereas in the latter it is an imperfect /3sgf/. It is evident that in Lev 19:20, Num 26:62 and Josh 24:33 the default verb form /3sgm/ was used, which happens not infrequently in Biblical Hebrew,[4] but it is by far more difficult, if not impossible, to explain the verb form in Dan 8:12a, which is specifically marked as feminine, as an inadvertent lapse of the writer, and the feminine verb is certainly not the default verb form. Thus, to reason that Dan 8:12a somehow shows an acceptable gender incongruence is nothing short of a cul-de-sac.

To sum up the discussion on the alleged gender incongruence in וְצָבָא תִּנָּתֵן, the reference to Isa 40:2 and the non-indication of the gender of צָבָא in its other occurrences in Dan 8:10-13 evinces that in Dan 8:12a צָבָא could indeed be feminine and that an argument or emendation based on gender incongruence seems unconvincing. In other

---

[1]The *hapax legomenon* חֻפְשָׁה "freedom" seems to be a feminine subject, as the ending -*āh* usually indicates, but the verb נִתַּן is a masculine form.

[2]The subject נַחֲלָה "inheritance" is feminine, but the verb נִתַּן is masculine in gender.

[3]The relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר, which is the subject of the masculine verb form נִתַּן, refers to גִּבְעַת, a construct of the feminine גִּבְעָה "Gibeah." In Biblical Hebrew, cities are usually feminine in gender, probably because the headword עִיר "city" is feminine. See J. C. L. Gibson, *Syntax*, 16 (§17a); and Waltke and O'Connor, 104 (§6.4.1d).

[4]For the verb /3sgm/ with a following singular feminine as subject, see p. 92 n. 1 (above).

words, צָבָא could be the grammatical subject of תִּנָּתֵן (suggestion #1 above) and without a necessity to link it to vs. 11c. The question still needs to be asked why the verb נתן is used in the feminine gender whereas the masculine gender would grammatically have fit better to its subject.[1] The answer to this conundrum cannot be found in a syntactic analysis and must therefore await semantic and literary considerations.

2. וְצָבָא *as part of vs. 11c.* As mentioned above, the second option for the syntactic place of וְצָבָא is that it belongs to vs. 11c and תִּנָּתֵן starts the new clause in vs. 12a (suggestion #2 above). Verse 11c would be translated "the foundation of his sanctuary and a host were throw down." The basic reason for this rearranged allocation of the syntactic place for וְצָבָא is to avoid the alleged gender incongruence in vs. 12a, which, as was shown above, does not present a grammatical problem beyond explanation. Another reason advanced for linking וְצָבָא with vs. 11c is of a stylistic nature. The question in vs. 13 juxtaposes וְקֹדֶשׁ and וְצָבָא and if וְצָבָא in vs. 12a belongs to vs. 11c instead, a very similar construction would occur here: מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ וְצָבָא. Since צָבָא is indeterminate both times, it could denote a possible link between וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא (vs. 13c) and מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ וְצָבָא (vs. 11c).[2] However, this stylistic argument appears to ignore the function of the question in vs. 13. The different content parts of this question take up language from vss. 9-12: הַתָּמִיד from vss. 11a and 12a, הַפֶּשַׁע from vs. 12a, קֹדֶשׁ from vs.

---

[1]The argument that the author could have used the masculine verbal form יִנָּתֵן to make clear that צָבָא is its subject, does not take the fact into account that the author could well have thought of צָבָא as feminine in gender or that he might have used the feminine gender for a specific purpose.

[2]Dequeker ("The 'Saints of the Most High,'" 176) and Stahl (*Weltengagement*, 174, 175 n. 298) suggest a link between the two phrases.

11c,[1] צָבָא from vss. 10a, b, 11a, and, lexically only, from 12a, and מִרְמָס from vs. 10c. The combination of the root רמס with צָבָא as found in vs. 13c is thus only found in vs. 10c, where the pronominal suffix attached to רמס refers to מִן־הַצָּבָא וּמִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים. The lexical links of וְצָבָא מִרְמָס in vs. 13c to vs. 10b-10c thus seem to be stronger than the proposed link between וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא (vs. 13c) and a supposed מִקְדָּשׁוֹ וְצָבָא (vs. 11c).

A minor problem placing וְצָבָא with vs. 11c is that the subject of vs. 11c would be plural but the verb is singular. This phenomenon could be explained by the use of the default verb form /3sgm/ with a plural or compound subject to follow, or as the verb agreeing with the first part of a compound subject,[2] though the grammatical number appears to be always used congruently throughout Dan 8 and the whole book of Daniel.

Another problem transferring וְצָבָא to vs. 11c arises regarding the informational value of וְצָבָא in vs. 11c. How is the throwing down of a host (vs. 11c with וְצָבָא) different from the falling down of some of the host (vs. 10b) and their being trampled (vs. 10b)? Why would the writer restate the same idea in vs. 11c as in vs. 10b? A satisfying answer cannot be given.

Yet, the major problem linking וְצָבָא with vs. 11c is that vs. 12a would lack an explicit grammatical subject.[3] In regard to this problem, two different types of

---

[1]Though in vs. 11c מִקְדָּשׁ is used, and not קֹדֶשׁ, both stem from the same root קדשׁ. On the other hand, the word קֹדֶשׁ cannot be simply equated with the expression מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ (their difference in meaning is investigated later on) as is suggested in the stylistic argument in favor of the reallocation of וְצָבָא.

[2]So Goldingay, *Daniel*, 197, with reference to GKC, 465 (§145o). For this phenomenon see also König, 3:451-452 (§345); GKC, 468 (§146f); R. J. Williams, 41-42 (§228, 230); Joüon and Muraoka, 556 (§150q); *BHRG*, 250 (§35[ix]).

[3]So also argued by Hasslberger, 9 n. 28.

suggestions have been offered, but both are unconvincing and unsupported by the Hebrew text at hand. The first suggestion to obtain a subject by means of emendation rests solely on hypothesis as no manuscript or version indicates any such alteration of the text.[1] The second suggestion is to supply the grammatical subject from the context, which would be the "horn."[2] Syntactically, the feminine gender of קֶרֶן would fit the feminine gender of תִּנָּתֵן, but the resulting clause, whatever option one chooses—"the horn is given in control over the *tāmî d*" or "the horn is given against the *tāmî d*," or "the horn is given over together with the *tāmî d*"—would semantically be very problematic. For in this instance, the only suitable agent for the passive verb would be God, and it is rather difficult to imagine that God, the opponent of the horn, should actively set that horn against or in control over something belonging to the commander of the host. On the contrary, vs. 11 clearly shows that it is the horn which attacks the commander of the host, and thereby God, and the *tāmî d*. The alternative suggestion to understand the Niphal of נתן with reflexive meaning ("and it set itself . . .")[3] is purely hypothetical and should be rejected since such a reflexive meaning of the Niphal of נתן cannot be found elsewhere.

Finally, the poetic-stylistic analysis in chap. 3 below shows that vs. 11 consists of a balanced tricolon, which would be disrupted if וְצָבָא does not belong to vs. 12a.[4]

---

[1]Usually בְּפָשַׁע is emended and הַפֶּשַׁע is read instead so that vs. 12a is translated with "And the transgression was placed upon the *tāmî d*" (so Stahl, *Weltengagement*, 174, 175 n. 298; Di Lella, *Daniel*, 155).

[2]Ratner regards it as possible that the feminine noun קֶרֶן is missing by ellipsis. He refers to other examples of ellipsis in the book of Daniel in 8:8 and 9:23 (186 n. 124).

[3]Gese, 409; cf. Redditt, 139.

[4]So also argued by Lucas, *Daniel*, 217.

Although this argument comes from the literary analysis, it still needs to be taken into account here.

Hence, to reallocate וְצָבָא to vs. 11c and taking the horn as the grammatical subject of vs. 12a does not fit into the meaning of the immediate context.[1] These considerations confirm the previous conclusion that צָבָא is the grammatical subject of vs. 12a.

Meaning of צָבָא. The meaning of צָבָא in vs. 12a is at least as much disputed as its syntactic place and function. Table 7 presents an overview of the different interpretations (of course, keeping in mind that the various interpreters decided differently on the syntactic place and function of צָבָא).

The question regarding the meaning of צָבָא is twofold. First, what is its lexical meaning here: Does it mean "host" or "warfare" or "service" or something else? And second, if צָבָא indeed means "host," what is its referential identity: Does it refer to the "host of heaven" mentioned in the immediate context (vss. 10, 11, 13) or to another host, maybe a counter-host, only mentioned here in vs. 12a? The discussion of the meaning of צָבָא revolves around three textual factors which should be considered here: the indefiniteness of צָבָא, its feminine gender, and the relationship between צָבָא in vs. 12a and the other occurrences of this word in vss. 10-13. The interrelation between syntax and semantics is especially apparent in this section of the analysis.

---

[1]This is probably the reason why Goldingay, who takes וְצָבָא with vs. 11, remarks at the end of his textual notes on vs. 12a that "most difficulties stem from the relationship of v 12a to its context" (*Daniel*, 197).

Table 7. Interpretations of the Meaning of צָבָא

Meaning of צָבָא in vs. 10	**Meaning of צָבָא in vs. 12a**	**Author**
	People of God	
people of God	people of God	Jerome, 855; Rosenmüller, 263; van Lengerke, 381; Maurer, 144; Kranichfeld, 294; Caspari, 137; Fausset, 1:637; Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Knabenbauer, 213; Terry, 60 (as option); Stokmann, 128; Obbink, 110; Wambacq, 126-127; Barnes, 2:112 (or host refers to priest and rulers); Walvoord, 186; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 163 (close association with angels); Hardy, 277, 279; Archer, 7:100; Péter-Contesse and Ellington, 213, 216; Miller, *Daniel*, 227; Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 170-171; Di Lella, 155, 160; P. B. Petersen, 205.
people of God	part of God's people	Hävernick, 279; Kliefoth, 257-258; Keil, 300; Knabenbauer, 212; Tiefenthal, 269; Leupold, 348; Young, *Daniel*, 171; Wood, 216; Treiyer, 352-353.
heathen idols/gods	Israelites	Lattey, 86; Porteous, 125.
	Host of the horn: army, priesthood	
people of God	anti-host (army) anti-host (priesthood)	Ewald, *Daniel*, 262; Terry, 60 (as option); Rose and Fuller, 344; Driver, *Daniel*, 117 (preferred option); Goettsberger, 62; Saydon, 636 (as option). Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 416-418 (anti-host: priests); Shea, "Spatial Dimensions," 516 (anti-host: priests).
Jewish troops	enemy troops	Buchanan, 245.
priests	anti-host (army)	Beek, 84.
kings	anti-host (army)	Baldwin, 157-158.
celestial beings	anti-host (army)	Prince, "On Daniel viii. 11, 12," 204; Prince, *Daniel*, 147, 242; Hasslberger, 102; Lebram, *Daniel*, 94-95; Seow, *Daniel*, 124.
heathen idols/gods	anti-host (army)	Delcor, 174.

Table 7—*Continued.*

Meaning of צָבָא in vs. 10	**Meaning of צָבָא in vs. 12a**	**Author**
	Warfare, military campaign	
people of God	warfare, military campaign	Hitzig, 133; Rohling, *Daniel*, 239; Zöckler, 176; Driver, *Daniel*, 117 (optional); Maier, 306.
	Celestial beings	
celestial beings	celestial beings	Towner, 121; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 335; Smith-Christopher, 114 (in vs. 12a the celestial host is associated with earthly Jews); Longman, *Daniel*, 204.
	Temple service/priestly service	
heavenly host	temple service	Behrmann, 54; Aalders, *Het boek Daniël*, 164-165; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 178; Howie, 125.
people of God	priestly service	Gese, 409.
heathen idols/gods	temple service	Jeffery, 475.
	Tribulation	
celestial beings	trouble, tribulation	Plöger, *Daniel*, 122.
	Time	
people of God	time period, appointed time	Rashi (in Rashi and Alshich, 382; or Goldwurm, 225), Calvin, 100-101; Coccejus (in Hävernick, 278).
	Strength, power	
people of God	strength, power	Vulgate; Luther (cited, e.g., in Keil, 298).

Note: The page references in the "Author" column are to the identification of the צָבָא in vs. 12a only.

1. *Indefiniteness of* צָבָא. It is striking that the word צָבָא in vs. 12a is without the article, though it occurs three times before and is always definite (vss. 10a, 10b, 11a). The indefiniteness of צָבָא has been explained in two different ways.[1] The most apparent explanation is that the absence of the definite article may indicate that a new entity is introduced in the text. As the host of heaven is introduced in vs. 10a and referred to in vss. 10b and 11a by the definite הַצָּבָא one would expect צָבָא in vs. 12a again to have the article if the host were to refer to the same entity as before. The sudden appearance of an indefinite וְצָבָא therefore serves to differentiate between this host and the "host of heaven" previously mentioned.[2]

The other explanation forwarded is that the absence of the article in front of צָבָא in vs. 12a would suggest that only that part of the host of heaven is in view that the horn caused to fall to earth in vss. 10b and 10c. This is usually argued with reference to a supposedly similar function of the indefinite צָבָא in vs. 13c, which is said to refer to that part of the host of heaven being trampled down.[3] However, it is not clear why the indefiniteness of an entity that was mentioned before with the definite article should refer

---

[1]In the majority of commentaries the indefiniteness of צָבָא is not discussed or commented on. To regard it for whatever reason as irrelevant cannot be considered a viable option. For example, the hypothesis that the article is omitted because of the poetic character of the text (so von Lengerke, 381; Kranichfeld, 295) does not explain why the article occurs with צָבָא in vss. 10b and 11a, except if one supposes a different, prosaic, literary character of vss. 10-11, which is rather unlikely (see the literary analysis below).

[2]See, e.g., Hitzig, 133; Hasslberger, 102; Roy Gane, "The Syntax of *Tēt Ve* . . . in Daniel 8:13," 381; Seow, *Daniel*, 124.

[3]Suggested by Hävernick, 279; Kliefoth, 257-258; Keil, 300; Knabenbauer, 212; Tiefenthal, 269; Leupold, 348; Young, *Daniel*, 172; Wood, 216; Treiyer, 352-353; and presented as an option in Pröbstle, "A Linguistic Analysis of Daniel 8:11, 12," 90.

to a part of this entity.[1] And the indefiniteness of צָבָא in vs. 13c, suggested to be influenced by the indefiniteness of צָבָא in vs. 12a, could also be explained by an adjustment to the indefinite קֹדֶשׁ,[2] or it could point to a host different from the host previously mentioned in vs. 12a.[3]

2. *Feminine gender of* צָבָא. Since the gender of צָבָא is usually masculine, the feminine gender in Dan 8:12a is sometimes said to indicate a host different from the "host of heaven," or altogether a different meaning from "host." In parallel to the only other explicitly feminine occurrence of צָבָא in Isa 40:2b, some have suggested that צָבָא in Dan 8:12a means "war/warfare,"[4] "(compulsory) service,"[5] or "tribulation."[6] However, as noted above, the gender of צָבָא is not indicated in its other occurrences in vss. 10-13.

---

[1]So Hasslberger, 102 n. 26 (cf. Meinhold, "Daniel," 309). In my research, I have not found any grammar in which indefiniteness is said to have the function of referring to a part of an entity that has been previously definite. In fact, to refer to a part of an entity is never mentioned as one of the functions of indefiniteness. Interestingly, the sources mentioned in the previous footnote also do not refer to any other text where such a function of indefiniteness would be detectable. Hence, the proposed function of the indefiniteness of צָבָא is not based on grammatical reasoning, but is solely surmised by the fact that only some of the host are affected by the horn in vs. 10b. Two other reasons for indefiniteness mentioned in grammars cannot be employed either. First, one should not propose that the indefiniteness of צָבָא is for the sake of amplification (i.e., "such a host"), for all examples listed by GKC for such a function (401 [§125c]) are words which do not occur previously in their contexts and which referential identity is absolutely clear. Second, the article is often omitted in poetry, particularly in archaic poetry (Waltke and O'Conner, 250 [§13.7.a], Joüon and Muraoka, 507 [§137f]), but it is difficult to understand vs. 12 as poetry (see the poetic analysis in chap. 3 below).

[2]See Hasslberger, 106.

[3]See Gane, "The Syntax of *Tēt Ve* . . . in Daniel 8:13," 381. Of course the specification that this host in vs. 13c is for a trampling proves that the host of heaven is in view here (cf. vs. 10c).

[4]Hitzig, 133; Rohling, *Daniel*, 239; Zöckler, 176; BDB, 839; Driver, *Daniel*, 117 (optional); Maier, 306.

[5]Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, 456 (§174g).

[6]Plöger, *Daniel*, 122, who besides Isa 40:2 also refers to צָבָא גָדוֹל "great tribulation" in Dan 10:1.

Therefore, because a contrasting masculine gender of צָבָא is missing in vss. 10-13, the feminine gender in vs. 12a does not seem to function as an explicit indicator for a different host or for something other than a host. Furthermore, if the feminine gender of צָבָא is the means by which to identify a different meaning for it, this would create an inconsistency with the use of a masculine צָבָא in Dan 10:1 where it refers to something other than a host—namely to conflict or warfare. It appears that the unusual feminine gender of צָבָא in 8:12a serves a different purpose rather than to help identify syntactically the meaning of צָבָא (see the literary analysis).

3. *Other occurrences of* צָבָא *in Dan 8:10-13.* The term צָבָא occurs five times in vss. 10-13. In vss. 10, 11, and 13 it refers to an entity negatively affected by the activities of the horn. In fact, צָבָא falls victim of the horn's aggression. In vs. 10a צָבָא is connected with heaven. It is called the "host of the heaven," and some of the host are thrown down to earth (vs. 10b), implying a heavenly setting for the host. In vs. 11a the host in the construct chain the "commander of the host" again refers to a heavenly setting for the host. The lexical link between vs. 10b-c, namely, some of the host are caused to fall to earth and the horn trampling (רמס) them, and a "host of trampling (מרמס)" in vs. 13c leads to the conclusion that the same host is addressed in vss. 10b-c and 13c.

These other occurrences of צָבָא, in which it always refers to a host, indicate that צָבָא in vs. 12a should have the same lexical meaning, since there are no valid reasons for it to mean "warfare" or "service." צָבָא as host therefore designates a military entity, which fits into the context of the military-type activities of the horn. It is interesting to note that צָבָא can also attain the notion of "sacredness." Inasmuch as the host fights a

holy war, the army also has a "sacred" function. Herein lies the use of צָבָא describing the service of the Levites (Num 4:3, 23, 30, 35, 39, 43; 8:24, 25). Considering the blend of military and cultic terminology in Dan 8:9-12 the term צָבָא qualifies perfectly to represent both notions.[1]

The question remaining is whether or not the host in vs. 12a refers to the host of heaven mentioned in vss. 10, 11, and 13. Or: What host is referred to in vs. 12? On the one hand, the uniform use of צָבָא in vss. 10, 11, 13 with reference to the host of heaven, and to a lesser degree the grammatical similarity between וְצָבָא in vss. 12a and 13c, could suggest that וְצָבָא in vs. 12 refers to the same entity as in its other occurrences.[2] On the other hand, the indefiniteness of צָבָא in vs. 12a could signify that a different host is being considered. A hostile host under the leadership of the horn would match the entities under attack, namely the "commander of the host" and the "host of heaven." The noun צָבָא in vss. 10-13 could without any problem refer to two opposing hosts.

In weighing the evidence, it crystallizes that neither the other occurrences of צָבָא nor its feminine gender alone can ultimately decide the issue of the referential identity of צָבָא in vs. 12a, while its indefiniteness suggests that it refers to a different host from that in vss. 10-11. It appears the word צָבָא itself simply does not provide enough unambiguous information about its referential identity. In the end, only by analyzing the

[1]For the cultic notion of צָבָא see especially the section on "Cultic terminology" in chapter 3. In contrast to צָבָא, the term חַיִל is used in the book of Daniel to designate specifically an army in the military sense only (11:7, 10, 13, 25 [2x], 26). The use of חַיִל and צָבָא in Daniel is then consistent: the former refers to a military army, the latter in addition to the military sense can also have a cultic association.

[2]See Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 163.

meaning of the entire clause is it possible to determine which entity צָבָא in vs. 12a refers to.

The preposition עַל in עַל־הַתָּמִיד

A variety of translations have been suggested for the preposition עַל in the phrase עַל־הַתָּמִיד: those with comitative function— "along with,"[1] "together with,"[2] "in addition to,"[3] "beyond,"[4] or simply the general indication that עַל is comitative[5]— and others such as "against,"[6] "(in charge) over,"[7] "(control) over,"[8] "because,"[9] "instead of,"[10] "(to be laid) on,"[11] or "as a despite of."[12] The versatility of the preposition עַל is well known, yet

---

[1]Barnes, 2:112; Archer, 7:100.

[2]Kranichfeld, 295; C. P. Caspari, *Zur Einführung in das Buch Daniel* (Leipzig: Dörffling and Francke, 1869), 136-137; Keil, 300; Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Knabenbauer, 213; Tiefenthal, 269; Obbink, 56, 110; Leupold, 348; Young, *Daniel*, 172; Wood, 216; Péter-Contesse and Ellington, 214.

[3]Van Lengerke, 381; Maurer, 144; Charles, 335; Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 171.

[4]Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 163.

[5]Rosenmüller, 264; Kliefoth, 257; Walvoord, 188.

[6]Hävernick, 279; Hitzig, 133; Rohling, *Daniel*, 239; Zöckler, 176; Prince, "Daniel viii. 11, 12," 204; Driver, *Daniel*, 117; Aalders, *Het boek Daniël*, 164; Goettsberger, 62; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 178; Hasslberger, 103; Baldwin, 157-158; Maier, 306; Lebram, *Daniel*, 94; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 417; Haag, *Daniel*, 64; Gane, "The Syntax of *Tēt Ve* . . . in Daniel 8:13," 382; *DCH*, 5:813.

[7]Beek, 84; possibility mentioned by Buchanan, 245.

[8]Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 417; Shea, "Spatial Dimensions," 516.

[9]Possibility mentioned by Buchanan, 245.

[10]Bertholdt, 522; Jeffery, 475 (in combination with interpreting צָבָא as "temple service").

[11]*HALOT*, 2:735.

[12]Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 146.

it is surprising to find that almost the whole spectrum of possible translations has been suggested for Dan 8:12a. It appears that most of the translations suggested have been arrived at almost solely by considerations which originate from a pre-proposed understanding of the sentence and its context. Syntactic and semantic features are rarely given the thoughtful study they deserve.[1]

In analyzing a preposition it is necessary to bear in mind that it does not only governs the following entity but in its semantic function is also dependent upon the preceding phrase to which the preposition relates, which could be a verb,[2] a noun, or even the whole nucleus of a clause (sometimes called "core"). E. Jenni has convincingly demonstrated that prepositions have these two relations and that the semantic model upon which an investigation of prepositions should be based could be abstracted as *X - r - Y*, in which r stands for the relation in which X, the core of the preceding phrase or the referee, stands to Y, the core of the following phrase or the referent.[3]

While in general this semantic model refers to semantic functions and not to a

---

[1]Unfortunately, Max Budie does not include Dan 8:12a in his study on the preposition עַל that is based to some extent on syntactic consideration (*Die hebräische Präposition 'al [עלֿ]* [Halle: Niemeyer, 1882]).

[2]*BHRG* points out that "some semantic functions that are attributed to prepositions are largely due to the verbs that govern those prepositions" (276). As a matter of fact, the closer the relation is between a preposition and a verb the more one is inclined to speak of "prepositional verbs," that is, verbs which occur with certain prepositions in a relationship which may almost be called a lexeme (ibid., 275).

[3]In Ernst Jenni's terminology the "x-Seite" and "y-Seite" (*Die hebräischen Präpositionen*, vol. 1, *Die Präposition Beth* [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1992], 14-16).

syntactic structure,[1] this model can successfully be connected to the syntactic elements of the sentence in most of the נתן-clauses with the preposition עַל. Most of these clauses exhibit the following basic syntactic structure:

Verb (נתן) + subject + X (direct object) + עַל + Y

In other words, in clauses with נתן the preposition עַל relates the first correlate (X), which most often is the direct object, to the second correlate (Y), the entity governed by the preposition. For identifying the semantic function of עַל in clauses with נתן it is therefore important to take the semantic qualities of both the first and the second correlate into consideration. For the passive sentence in Dan 8:12a this implies that עַל establishes a relation between צָבָא and הַתָּמִיד and that its semantic function is dependent upon the semantic qualities of these two words.

One may argue that in Dan 8:12a the preposition עַל is not governed by the verb נתן but rather relates the whole נתן-clause (וְצָבָא תִּנָּתֵן) to הַתָּמִיד. If that would be the case, any function that עַל exhibits in BH needs to be considered as a possible function of its use in Dan 8:12a. However, there are several reasons to regard עַל־הַתָּמִיד as constituent part of the נתן clause and not as relating to the whole clause. First, sentences with נתן tend to take an additional constituent besides the direct object. In Dan 8:12a the direct object is צָבָא (after the passive-active transformation) and the additional constituent would be עַל־הַתָּמִיד.[2] Second, the prepositional phrase עַל־הַתָּמִיד is

---

[1]Jenni emphasizes this important point correctly (ibid., 14). Furthermore, the model says nothing about word order in a sentence or clause.

[2]The verb נתן is considered to be a double transitive verb which takes a noun phrase and a prepositional phrase or two noun phrases, respectively. In terms of valency, נתן is a trivalent verb,

juxtaposed to the verb, which is a usual position for a prepositional object considering the unmarked word order in the main field of a verbal clause.[1] The phrase עַל־הַתָּמִיד is thus in a marked position and should be connected closely with the verb. Third, the Masoretes marked תִּנָּתֵן with the conjunctive accent *mêᵉkā*, which is the same accent connecting וְצָבָא and תִּנָּתֵן, and thus joining תִּנָּתֵן with עַל־הַתָּמִיד, whereas הַתָּמִיד is accented with the disjunctive accent *ṭifḥā* marking separation between עַל־הַתָּמִיד and בְּפָשַׁע. According to the Masoretic accents, the words in Dan 8:12a are grouped in two parts: the phrase וְצָבָא תִּנָּתֵן עַל־הַתָּמִיד and the prepositional phrase בְּפָשַׁע which apparently relates to the first three words. All these facts indicate that עַל־הַתָּמִיד is closely connected to the verb תִּנָּתֵן so much so that "the two words can hardly be interpreted independently."[2] Therefore, the combination of the verb נָתַן and the preposition עַל therefore needs to be analyzed together.

Semantic functions of עַל in clauses with נתן. In order to determine the semantic function of עַל in Dan 8:12a, it is indispensable to have a closer look at the use of עַל in נתן-sentences and what kind of relations it establishes between the two correlates. It will be determined which of the semantic functions obtained by this procedure might be applicable to the preposition עַל in Dan 8:12a. Thereafter the proposed translations for עַל can be evaluated. The analysis includes both sentences with

---

that is, it requires a subject, a direct object, and an indirect object.

[1]For word order in the main field of verbal clauses see Groß, *Satzteilfolge*, 257-295 (esp. 286-287 for the position of objects); for a simplified summary of Groß's research see *BHRG*, 342 (§46.1/3[iii]).

[2]Goldingay, *Daniel*, 197; cf. Lucas, *Daniel*, 217.

נתן in the Niphal stem and sentences with נתן in the Qal stem since prepositional phrases in general are not affected by an active-passive transformation (here from Qal to Niphal) and thus retain the same function in either case.

According to the analysis and classification of the semantic functions of עַל in clauses with נתן (see Appendix 1), the basic function of עַל in these clauses is to indicate spatial position (195 times). Thus, עַל most often denotes simple locational function ("on," "upon," "over") or metaphorical locational function indicating incumbency and rank ("over," "in control of") or value and supremacy ("over," "above"). Other and more infrequent semantic functions of עַל in נתן-clauses are to indicate disadvantage ("against"), and even more rarely, goal ("to," "for") and comitative ("along with," "together with," "in addition to"). Although the uses of עַל in the book of Daniel (65 times in BH, 70 times in BA) appear to play only a minor role in determining the function of עַל in Dan 8:12a, an investigation shows that עַל is used in similar fashion.[1]

---

[1]For my purposes the following distinction of semantic functions of the preposition עַל in the book of Daniel (leaving Dan 8:12a aside) is sufficient, although certainly more study on עַל is necessary—e.g., the locational and metaphorical locational use of עַל could be presented in a more nuanced way—and the criteria for identifying specific uses should be explained in detail—e.g., at times, the metaphorical locational use of עַל and its use indicating dis/advantage or its referential use are not easy to distinguish and may indeed overlap to a certain extent (cf. the classification of translation equivalents of עַל in *HALOT* 2:825-827; 5:1946-1947). The preposition עַל, occurring in the book of Daniel 65 times in BH and 70 times in BA:

(1) Indicates spatial positioning as simple locative or metaphorical locative ("on," "over"): in BH in 1:11; 2:1 (marks indirect object); 8:2, 5, 17, 18 (2x), 9:1, 11, 12γ, 13, 14β, 17, 18α, 19 (2x), 27 (2x); 10:4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16 (2x); 11:5 (comparative?), 20, 21 (2x), 27, 36α (comparative?), 37δ (comparative?), 38; in BA in 2:10, 28, 29, 34, 46, 48 (2x), 49; 3:12α; 4:2, 7, 10, 13, 14, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 29, 33; 5:5, 7, 9, 16, 21, 29; 6:2, 4β, 11, 15α, 18, 19; 7:1, 4, 6, 28.

(2) Seems to mark the direct object and functions as metaphorical locative and/or indicates dis/advantage with verbs referring to an activity of the mind: in BH in 1:8 (with שׂים); 9:14α (with שׁקד); 11:30β, 37α.β.γ (all with the verb בין); in BA in 3:12β; 6:14 (2x) (all with שׂים); 3:28 (with רחץ in the Hitpeel); 4:24 (with שׁפר); 6:24 (with טאב).

(3) Indicates advantage ("for," "on behalf of"): in BH in 9:20, 24 (2x); 12:1.

(4) Indicates disadvantage (in a hostile sense: "against"): in BH in 1:1 (marks direct object);

Semantic function of עַל in Dan 8:12a. These categories of the semantic function of עַל, especially in sentences with נתן, can now be used to identify the semantic function of עַל in Dan 8:12a. Here, the preposition עַל relates צָבָא (X) to הַתָּמִיד (Y). The X-part צָבָא refers to a personal entity, whereas the Y-part הַתָּמִיד is a nominalized adverb and seems to refer to an abstract entity. According to the classification in Appendix 1 the preposition in Dan 8:12a may function as a metaphorical locative, or may indicate disadvantage, or it indicates a comitative relationship. The simple locational sense seems less probable here, since *tāmî d* does not have the semantic feature "locative," which is required for a locational sense. Furthermore, to interpret the preposition as an indicator of either goal, instrument, comparison, cause, reference, or norm does not result in a meaningful sentence.

The three possible semantic functions of עַל identified by the means of the classification in Appendix 1 lead to the following array of meanings and translation equivalents for Dan 8:12a. First, if עַל functions in a metaphorical-locational sense ("over"), it indicates that "a host" is set in a position of rank and/or control over the *tāmî d.* In this case the clause would be translated as "a host is given/set (into control)

8:25β; 9:12α.β; 10:21; 11:14, 24, 25 (2x), 28, 30α (direct object?), 36β, 40; in BA in 3:19α, 29; 4:30 (referential?); 5:23 (metaphorical locative?); 6:5, 6 (both metaphorical locative?).

(5) In BA also includes the meaning of BH אֶל when it indicates the goal of a movement or process: 2:24; 4:31; 4:33 (2x); 6:7, 16; 7:16α.

(6) Indicates comitative in the sense of accompaniment ("with"): in BH in 11:34.

(7) Indicates instrument ("by," "through"): in BH in 8:25α.

(8) Indicates comparison ("more than"): in BH in 1:20; BA in 3:19β; 6:4α.

(9) Indicates cause ("on account of," "because"): in BH in 9:18β.γ; in BA in 2:15 (compound עַל־מָה), 30 (referential?).

(10) Indicates reference ("with regard to," "concerning"): in BH in 8:27; 9:14γ; in BA in 2:18; 3:16; 5:14, 16, 29; 6:13, 15β; 7:16β, 19, 20.

over the *tāmî d*."[1] Second, if עַל indicates disadvantage ("against"), it would signify that "a host" is to the disadvantage of the *tāmî d*. The clause would then read "a host is given/set against the *tāmî d*."[2] In either case the object of the giving, "a host" (צָבָא), would stand in opposition to the *tāmî d* (הַתָּמִיד) which belongs to the commander of the host (vs. 11b). The third possible semantic function of עַל would lead to a fundamentally different meaning of the clause. If עַל indicates comitative function ("along with," "together with"; "to," "in addition to"), it combines "a host" and the *tāmî d*, either by accompaniment ("a host is given over together with the *tāmî d*") or by addition ("a host is given over in addition to the *tāmî d*").[3] In this option, "a host" is exposed to the same action as the *tāmî d*: both are given over, probably into the power of the horn.

For the following reasons, however, it is rather unlikely that in Dan 8:12a the preposition עַל is used with comitative function.[4] These observations are based on an

---

[1]Daniel 8:12a would not be the sole occurrence in the book of Daniel where עַל would have such a specific metaphorical locative function. Several times עַל indicates incumbency or rank ("over," "in control over"): over persons (1:11; 2:48β), over an area/administrative entity (Dan 2:48α ["province of Babel"]; 4:14; 5:21 [both: מַלְכוּת אֲנָשָׁא "kingdom of mankind"]; 6:2, 4β [מַלְכוּת "kingdom"], and over an administrative system (Dan 2:49; 3:12α [both: עֲבִידְתָּא "the administration"]).

[2]In the book of Daniel עַל indicates disadvantage in BH in 1:1 (marks direct object); 8:25; 9:12 (2x); 10:21; 11:14, 24, 25 (2x), 28, 30, 36β, 40; in BA in 3:19α, 29; 4:30 (referential?); 5:23 (metaphorical locative?); 6:5, 6 (both metaphorical locative?).

[3]The comitative function of עַל occurs in the book of Daniel in 11:34, but there with the Niphal of לוה II "join" which several times takes a comitative עַל (Num 18:2, 4; Isa 14:1; 56:6; Esth 9:27; Dan 11:34). Cf. Budie, 38. In these instances, the comitative function of עַל is rather dependent on the verb לוה II "join" than it is an independent function of עַל.

[4]It should not be argued that the singular verb תִּנָּתֵן excludes a comitative function of עַל on the grounds that the two entities joined by עַל should be regarded as plural in number (as it is in Jer 3:18; Job 38:32), for it is possible that the verbal predicate is singular when its subject consists of two entities joined by עַל (cf. Hos 10:14). In Dan 8:12a the singular verb would indicate just that the premier subject is וְצָבָא.

examination of all the verbal clauses listed in GKC, BDB, and *HALOT* as references for עַל of accompaniment and עַל of addition.

First, when two entities are joined together by עַל they are part of the same semantic group in which these entities can be distinguished, for example, both are either personal or physical objects.[1] However, in Dan 8:12a the two entities are of a different nature since צָבָא is personal and הַתָּמִיד is certainly not personal. Furthermore, the following clauses show צָבָא to be on the side of the horn (on the basis that צָבָא is the subject throughout vs. 12), whereas הַתָּמִיד is on the side of the prince of the host. A comitative function of עַל should therefore be rejected,[2] unless one assumes that Dan 8:12a is an exception to the general observations.

Second, regarding word order, when two entities are combined by עַל, they almost always appear next to each other. This is the case with the עַל of accompaniment[3] as well

---

[1]In all cases of a נתן-clause with עַל *comitantiae* the two entities joined together both are parts of a slaughtered animal (Exod 29:17), or cities (Num 35:6), or people (Ezek 25:10).

[2]To read עַל as "together with" means that there should be "a community of nature between the things linked together by the עַל" (Charles, 207). Therefore, עַל cannot be rendered here "together with" (ibid., 207; Hasslberger, 101; cf. Driver, *Daniel*, 117; Aalders, *Daniël* [1962], 178). Ozanne judges the rendering "together with" as "difficult if not impossible" ("Three Textual Problems," 445).

[3]With עַל of accompaniment, X and Y stand next to each other as subject in Exod 35:22; Jer 3:18; Hos 10:14 (passive verb); as object in Gen 32:12; Deut 22:6; 1 Kgs 15:20; Amos 3:15; Job 38:32. Note that in Hos 10:14 both the grammatical subject אֵם "mother" and the prepositional phrase עַל־בָּנִים "with the children" occupy the preverbal field of the clause; they are not separated by another constituent (cf. similarly Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; 19:5 with עַל indicating addition). In comparison, in Dan 8:12a only וְצָבָא occupies the preverbal field, but עַל־הַתָּמִיד stands after the verb in the main field. In the only instance where a preposition עַל indicating accompaniment occurs in the book of Daniel the noun רַבִּים and the prepositional phrase with עַל stand also next to each other (Dan 11:34; not listed in GKC, BDB, or *HALOT*). The exception to the above observation is Num 31:8. Here the object stands in the preverbal field in focus position, whereas the prepositional phrase occurs in the main field.

as with the עַל of addition.[1] In Dan 8:12a, however, צָבָא occurs in the preverbal field, whereas עַל־הַתָּמִיד stands after the verb in the main field. Unless again, Dan 8:12a belongs to the category of exceptional cases.

Third, when עַל is indicating addition, it also indicates a sequence of events in relation to the entities X and Y, namely the activity concerning Y happens before the activity concerning X. This seems to be the very reason why an entity can be added in some way to another entity. To interpret the function of עַל in vs. 12a as indicating addition (and as a consequence to regard the host in vs. 12a as the same host mentioned in vss. 10-11) would therefore reverse the sequence of events as they were mentioned before in vss. 10-11. In this scenario the host is given over in addition to the giving over of the *tāmî d*, that is, the host is given over *after* the *tāmî d* had been given over. Such an interpretation is contrary to the explicit sequence of events in vss. 10-11, where the horn first acts against the host (vs. 10) and then acts against the *tāmî d* (vs. 11b).

Fourth, a more serious problem yet for interpreting the semantic function of עַל as

---

[1]With עַל of addition, X and Y stand next to each other in Exod 12:8, 9; 23:18; 34:25; Lev 2:2,16; 4:11 (pendensed); 7:12; 10:15; 14:31; 23:18, 20; Num 9:11; 19:5; Deut 16:3 (2x). Of these references, in Exod 23:18; 34:25; Lev 23:18; Deut 16:3 (2x) the noun and the prepositional phrase change places so that the prepositional phrase comes before the noun, but still they stand next to each other. In Lev 3:4, 10, 15; 4:9; 7:4, 30 the object, which is mentioned in a pendensed construction, is referred to by means of a pronominal suffix attached to the verb whereas the prepositional phrase stands before the verb. In Lev 19:26; 1 Sam 14:32, 33; Ezek 33:25 where the direct object is omitted by ellipses, only the prepositional phrase with עַל of accompaniment occurs. The only cases where the noun is separated from the prepositional phrase is in Lev 7:13, in Num 6:17, and in Num 35:6 (the construction in Lev 7:13 may be easily explained by the fact that the verb קרב and its accompanying object קָרְבָּן stem from the same root and form a fixed expression—e.g., Lev 2:1, 4; 7:13, 38; 9:15; 17:4; 22:18; Num 6:14; 7:11, 19; 9:7; 15:4; 31:50—and thus tend to occur next to each other). The function of עַל in Mic 5:2 is taken by Caspari, Keil, and Kuenen as עַל of accompaniment (the clause would be another instance of separation between X and Y regarding word order), but others take it as expressing direction which seems to better fit the meaning of the clause (thus Mic 5:2 is listed in BDB under the function of accompaniment but with reference to the function of direction [755]).

comitative is that such an interpretation does not give due attention to the immediate context of vs. 12. When עַל indicates accompaniment the entity governed by the preposition undergoes the same action as the one which it is placed in accompaniment with (see the references listed above). This means that if the preposition עַל in Dan 8:12a is interpreted as indicating accompaniment, the *tāmî d* (the entity governed by עַל) undergoes the same action as the host, namely to be given over. To argue that God is the one "giving over" the host is to say that the *tāmî d* also is "given over" by God. However, the context is clear that the *tāmî d* is not given over by God but rather removed by the horn (vs. 11b). The *tāmî d* is affected by the activity of the horn, not by an activity of God. In vss. 9-11, as well as in the angelic interpretation in vss. 24-25e, the sole agent is the horn, or the king respectively. The interpretation making God the implied agent of vs. 12a giving over host and *tāmî d* does not fit the immediate context which mentions solely the aggressive activity of the horn. Of course, this is not to deny the concept that in the end God may be the one who "allows" the horn to act in this way (cf. Dan 7:25), especially since 8:14 puts the vision into a time frame set by God.

To sum up the discussion on עַל־הַתָּמִיד, it can be concluded with a high degree of probability that the preposition עַל in Dan 8:12a is used either in a metaphorical-locational sense ("over," "control over") or used to indicate disadvantage ("against"). However, the possibility that עַל could function as comitative indicating accompaniment or addition, though per se one of the semantic functions of עַל, should not be chosen

based on the syntax in vs. 12a and considering the meaning of the immediate context.[1]

The preposition ב in בְּפָשַׁע

In regard to methodological considerations for the analysis of prepositions, it is self-evident that what has been set forth at the beginning of the discussion of עַל־הַתָּמִיד is equally valid for the discussion of the phrase בְּפָשַׁע.[2]

Like the function of עַל, the function of the preposition ב in Dan 8:12a (בְּפָשַׁע) seems to be difficult to interpret. A glance at the different translations testifies to this matter. The preposition ב has been interpreted as causal *beth* ("on account of," "by reason of," "because of"),[3] as *beth pretii* ("on account of," "because of"),[4] as modal *beth* or ב of accompaniment ("unlawfully," "in an illegal, criminal manner," "wickedly,"

[1]The analysis of the function of the preposition עַל is then a good example to illustrate the relation between syntax and semantics. Here is a case in which the semantic meaning of a term (צָבָא) influences the process of determining the syntactic function of a preposition.

[2]The following discussion on the semantic function of ב in Dan 8:12a uses as a source of information Jenni's groundbreaking work on the preposition ב (Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*). Jenni's exhaustive study and close attention to minute detail combined with a refreshing methodology—so that one reviewer praises it as "careful, competent, and imaginative analysis" which "has made a most significant contribution of lasting value to Classical Hebrew semantics and lexicography" (T. Muraoka, review of *Die hebräischen Präpositionen*, vol. 1, *Die Präposition Beth*, by Ernst Jenni, *BO* 53 [1996]: 761, 763)—though sometimes in danger of overdoing, is of great help when examining the function of ב in the difficult clause of Dan 8:12a.

[3]Von Lengerke, 379; Kranichfeld, 294; Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Prince, "On Daniel viii. 11, 12," 204; Lattey, 86; Barnes, 2:112; Baldwin, 158; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 163; Archer, 7:100; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 417- 418, 441; Miller, *Daniel*, 227; Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 171.

[4]Maurer, 144; Kliefoth, 257; Keil, 300; Tiefenthal, 269. The difference in interpretation between causal *beth* and *beth pretii* in Dan 8:12a is not always clear in the literature.

"in/through/with transgression")[1] as temporal *beth* ("in the course of"),[2] as indicating purpose ("in order"),[3] substitution ("for transgression"),[4] or a metaphorical location ("into"),[5] or even as indicating the agent of the passive ("by wantonness").[6] Jenni lists Dan 8:12a among seventy occurrences of ב (out of 15,570) of which a lexicographic investigation is not possible "because of textual corruption or other exegetical difficulties."[7]

In contrast to עַל־הַתָּמִיד, the phrase בְּפָשַׁע is not, or at least to a lesser degree, governed by the verb נתן, since it is an adjunct or an optional phrase in vs. 12a. This is clearly indicated by the position of the prepositional phrases: עַל־הַתָּמִיד close to the verb and בְּפָשַׁע distant to it. For this reason, to investigate the function of ב only in clauses with נתן and thereupon to decide its function in vs. 12a is not enough. Other verbal

---

[1]Zöckler, 176; Behrmann, 54; Driver, *Daniel*, 117; Beek, 84; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 178; Hasslberger, 103; Maier, 306; Lebram, *Daniel*, 94; Shea, "Spatial Dimensions," 516; Haag, *Daniel*, 64; as one of two options mentioned in Bader, "Reale und gedachte Welt," 45; *DCH*, 5:813.

[2]Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 335; mentioned as possibility by Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 171: "during the time of wantonness (of the desolator)."

[3]Walvoord, 188: "in order to permit him [Antiochus] to transgress."

[4]Leupold apparently believes that בְּפָשַׁע belongs to הַתָּמִיד and then expresses that "the transgression took the place of the daily offerings" (349). In his interpretation, the transgression refers to the heathen altar.

[5]Rosenmüller in referring to the expression נתן ב "give into the power of," believes that the abstract פֶּשַׁע "rebellion" stands for the concrete "rebellious ones" so that vs. 12a means that the host, together with the *tāmî d*, are given into the power of the rebellious ones (263).

[6]Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," 9; as one of two options mentioned in Bader, "Reale und gedachte Welt," 45.

[7]Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 48-49 (46, 361-396 for the statistics and a reference list of ב). *DCH* counts 15,722 occurrences of ב (2:37, 82).

clauses with a similar prepositional phrase using ב need to be considered as well. The crucial question is, What is the function the preposition has when it governs an abstract entity (Y-component), or more exactly an abstract entity referring to sin or transgression, and how does the preposition relate this entity to the verbal clause (X-component)?

Semantic functions of ב. The profile of the semantic function of ב in clauses with נתן in the Niphal and in the Qal stem is found in detail in Appendix 2 and is briefly summarized here. In נתן-clauses the preposition ב (a) can realize an action (circumstantial sense) by indicating referential identity (*beth essentiae*), movement of a body part (*beth gesticulationis*), cause (*beth causae*), instrument (*beth instrumenti*), or price (*beth pretii*); (b) it can indicate different kinds of localization (often followed by יָד "hand" used in the figurative sense meaning "control/power/authority"); (c) it can indicate a temporal frame; (d) it can be used in a modal sense; and (e) it can indicate nominalization of a sentence predicate as a whole. It is obvious that in נתן-clauses ב shows the same basic spectrum of functions as are attributed to it in general.[1] The verb נתן is thus not the premier factor which determines the semantic function of ב.

The decisive factor in determining the semantic function of ב is the semantic quality of the Y-component, the entity governed by the preposition ב. Table 8 distinguishes the different uses of ב according to Jenni.[2]

---

[1]Jenni calls these functions *Lokalisation*, *Temporalisation*, *Realisation*, *Modalisation*, and *Parallelisation*.

[2]Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 64-68. The percentages of the use of ב in the Hebrew Bible are supplied by Jenni and are based on a total of 15,570 occurrences (69); Jenni did not classify seventy occurrences of ב, that is, 0.4 % of the total.

Table 8. Semantic Function of ב (according to Jenni)

Semantic Function of ב	Semantic Quality of Y-Component	Frequency in BH
Circumstantial sense	Y = physical object (person, animal, thing)	18.7 %
Locational sense	Y = location	57.9 %
Temporal sense	Y = time	15.9 %
Modal sense	Y = abstract entity	5.7 %
Nominalizing sense	Y = sentence predicate ([pro]nominalized)	1.4 %
Not classified	—	0.4 %

An abstract entity may, of course, be hypostatized functioning like a physical object, a location, or a temporal entity and the governing ב in such cases may be used in a circumstantial, locational, or temporal sense. An abstract entity may also be a nominalized sentence predicate and in such instances ב functions in a nominalizing sense. This is important to keep in mind for the analysis of בְּפָשַׁע in Dan 8:12a since the Y-component is the noun פֶּשַׁע which refers to an abstract entity.

Semantic functions of ב in front of a word for sin. The next and crucial step in determining the function of בְּפָשַׁע is an analysis of those occurrences of ב in which it governs an abstract entity referring to crime or sin. For this purpose not only the occurrences are considered in which ב is connected with פֶּשַׁע[1] but also those in which ב

[1]Within the scope of a tradition-historical analysis of the term פֶּשַׁע, Rolf Knierim examines the combination of פֶּשַׁע with the preposition ב (*Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im Alten Testament*, 2nd ed. [Gütersloh: Mohn, 1967], 131-133). He concludes that this combination "serves as explanation of

is connected with lexemes of the semantic field of פֶּשַׁע, namely with עָוֹן "iniquity," חֵטְא "sin," חֲטָאָה "sin," and חַטָּאת "sin," the major terms for sin in the Hebrew Bible.[1] In the lists below, each occurrence of ב with one of these terms occupies a line with the following information given: 1) the text reference, (2) the semantic function of ב as classified by Jenni, (3) Jenni's classification number for ב, (4) any additions to the abstract noun—the attachment of a pronominal suffix (pron. sf.), the appearance in a construct phrase (CsP), the expansion by a relative clause (relative cl.) or by a prepositional phrase (PP)—, and (5), in case of a verbal clause, the root of the verbal predicate of the clause.[2]

The preposition ב in connection with פֶּשַׁע "crime" (9 times)

Ezek 14:11	*beth causae*	1676	pron. sf.	טמא hitp. "be unclean"
Ezek 37:23	*beth instrumenti*[3]	1785	pron. sf.	טמא hitp. "defile onself"
Isa 50:1	*beth pretii*	1873	pron. sf.	שלח pu. "be sent off"
Mic 1:5	*beth constitutionis*	1396	CsP	—

---

correlating consequences which are announced or requested, or alternatively have already taken place" (131).

[1]For the semantic field of פֶּשַׁע, see *HALOT* 3:981-982; Seebass in Helmer Ringgren and Horst Seebass, "פֶּשַׁע *pāšaᶜ*," *TDOT*, 12:145. See the study of the main terms for sin by Knierim, *Hauptbegriffe für Sünde*. Lexemes which are not so prominent in the semantic field of פֶּשַׁע are not considered here (e.g., מְשׁוּבָה "apostasy," רָעָה "wickedness," טֻמְאָה "uncleanness").

[2]Included are those instances in which between ב and the abstract noun the indefinite pronoun כֹּל "all" (with פֶּשַׁע in Ezek 14:11; 37:23; with חֵטְא in Deut 19:15; with חַטָּאת in Num 16:26; 1 Kgs 15:3; 2 Kgs 17:22; Isa 40:2; Jer 15:13) or the noun רֹב "multitude" is inserted (with פֶּשַׁע in Ps 5:11; with עָוֹן in Jer 13:22). There are no occurrences of the combination ב + חֲטָאָה.

[3]Here is an example that shows the classification of the function of ב is not always clear. Jenni identifies ב in Ezek 14:11 as *beth causae* (Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 116) whereas ב in the identical clause construction in Ezek 37:23 is identified as *beth instrumenti* (ibid., 145; the text reference is mistakenly given as "Ez 37,25"). This is probably due to the Hitpael form of טמא which could be understood as intransitive ("be unclean"), in which case ב is *beth causae*, or as reflexive ("make oneself unclean"), in which case ב is *beth instrumenti.*

Ps 5:11	nominalization	5322	pron. sf.	נדח hif. "banish"
Prov 12:13	*beth causae*	1657	pron. sf.	—
Prov 28:2	nominalization	5321	pron. sf.	—
Prov 29:6	*beth causae*[1]	1657	CsP / —[2]	—
Dan 8:12	?	?	—	נתן nif. "be given"

The preposition ב in connection with עָוֹן "iniquity" (35 times)[3]

Gen 19:15	*beth causae*	1647	CsP	ספה nif. "be swept away"
Lev 26:39α	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מקק nif. "rot away"
Lev 26:39β	*beth causae*	1647	CsP	מקק nif. "rot away"
Josh 22:20	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	גוע "perish"
1 Sam 3:13	*beth pretii*	1871	relative cl.	שפט "judge"
Isa 14:21	*beth pretii*	1871	CsP	כון hif. "prepare"
Isa 43:24	*beth instrumenti*	1783	pron. sf.	יגע hif. "make weary"
Isa 50:1	*beth pretii*	1871	pron. sf.	מכר nif. "be sold"
Isa 57:17	localization: social contact[4]	2638	CsP	קצף "be angry"
Isa 59:3	*beth causae*	1657	—	גאל nif. "be defiled"
Jer 13:22	*beth pretii*	1871	pron. sf.	גלה nif. "be removed"
Jer 31:30	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מות "die"
Jer 51:6	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	דמם "be destroyed"
Ezek 3:18	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מות "die"
Ezek 3:19	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מות "die"
Ezek 4:17	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מקק nif. "rot away"
Ezek 7:13	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	חזק hitp. "become powerful"
Ezek 7:16	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	המה "mourn"
Ezek 18:17	*beth causae*	1647	CsP	מות "die"
Ezek 18:18	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מות "die"

[1]Though Jenni does not classify בְּפֶשַׁע in Prov 29:6 (*Die Präposition Beth*, 49), its parallel to Prov 12:13 gives reason to regard ב also as *beth causae*.

[2]Either בְּפֶשַׁע stands alone (lit. "because of transgression, an evil person, a snare") or בְּפֶשַׁע is in a construct phrase (lit. "because of transgression of an evil person, a snare"). For the latter cf. Roland E. Murphy, *Proverbs*, WBC, vol. 22 (Nashville: Nelson, 1998), 219; and Richard J. Clifford, *Proverbs: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 249.

[3]Note that בְּעֲוֹנִי (*ketib*) in 2 Sam 12:16 should be read as בְּעֵינִי (*qere*), and, therefore, is not listed here.

[4]This construction could also be interpreted as *beth pretii*.

Ezek 18:19	localization[1]	2648	CsP	נשׂא "carry"
Ezek 18:20α	localization	2648	CsP	נשׂא "carry"
Ezek 18:20β	localization	2648	CsP	נשׂא "carry"
Ezek 24:23	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מקק nif. "rot away"
Ezek 33:6	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	לקח nif. "rot away"
Ezek 33:8	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מות "die"
Ezek 33:9	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מות "die"
Ezek 39:23	*beth pretii*	1871	pron. sf.	גלה "go into exile"
Hos 5:5	*beth causae*	1657	pron. sf.	כשׁל nif. "stumble"
Hos 14:2	*beth causae*	1657	pron. sf.	כשׁל "stumble"
Ps 31:11	*beth causae*	1657	pron. sf.	כשׁל "stumble"
Ps 51:7	modalization: abstract of activity	4475	—	חיל polal "be brought forth"
Ps 106:43	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מכך "be humiliated"
Dan 9:16	*beth pretii*	1871	CsP	—
Ezra 9:7	*beth pretii*	1871	pron. sf.	נתן nif. "be given"

The preposition ב in connection with חֵטְא "sin" (7 times)

Num 27:3	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מות "die"
Deut 19:15	pronominalization	5631	relative cl.	קום "rise up"
Deut 24:16	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מות "die"
2 Kgs 14:6	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מות "die"
Ps 51:7	modalization: abstract of activity	4476	—	יחם pi. "conceive"
Dan 9:16	*beth pretii*	1871	pron. sf.	—
2 Chr 25:4	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מות "die"

The preposition ב in connection with חַטָּאת "sin" (22 times)

Num 16:26	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	ספה nif. "be swept away"
1 Kgs 14:22	*beth instrumenti*	1783	pron. sf.	קנא pi. "annoy"
1 Kgs 15:3	localization: way	2191	CsP	הלך "walk"
1 Kgs 15:26	localization: way	2191	pron. sf.	הלך "walk"
1 Kgs 15:34	localization: way	2191	pron. sf.	הלך "walk"
1 Kgs 16:2	*beth instrumenti*	1783	pron. sf.	כעס hif. "provoke to anger"
1 Kgs 16:19	localization: way	2191	pron. sf.	הלך "walk"

[1]In Ezek 18:19 and 20 (2x), ב is used in a local sense for it indicates participation in carrying a burden (verb נשׂא "carry"; cf. Num 11:17; Job 7:13; Neh 4:11). Previously, this function of ב has been regarded as partitive (see Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 266-273).

1 Kgs 16:26	localization: way	2191	pron. sf.	הלך "walk"
1 Kgs 16:31	localization: way	2191	CsP	הלך "walk"
2 Kgs 3:3	localization: material contact	2618	CsP	דבק "cling"
2 Kgs 17:22	localization: way	2191	CsP	הלך "walk"
2 Kgs 24:3	*beth pretii*	1872	CsP	סור hif. "remove"
Isa 40:2	*beth pretii*	1872	pron. sf.	לקח "receive"
Isa 43:24	*beth instrumenti*	1783	pron. sf.	עבד hif. "cause to labor"
Jer 15:13	*beth pretii*	1872	pron. sf.	נתן "give"
Jer 17:3	*beth pretii*	1872	PP	נתן "give"
Ezek 3:20	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	מות "die"
Ezek 16:52	*beth causae*	~~1787~~[1]	pron. sf.	צדק "be righteous"
Ezek 18:24α	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.	זכר "remember"
Ezek 18:24β	*beth causae*	1647	pron. sf.[2]	מות "die"
Mic 1:5	*beth constitutionis*	1396	CsP	—
Neh 9:37	*beth pretii*	1872	pron. sf.	נתן "give"

The data of these seventy-three clauses show that when ב occurs in combination with one of the major words for sin (חַטָּאת, חֵטְא, עָוֹן, פֶּשַׁע) the preposition can be used in a circumstantial sense (as *beth causae, beth instrumenti, beth pretii, beth constitutionis*),[3]

---

[1]Jenni regards the preposition in בְּחַטֹּאתַיִךְ as *beth instrumenti* (1787) because he takes this phrase together with the verb פלל-Piel "mediate (for)" (*Die Präposition Beth*, 146). However, בְּחַטֹּאתַיִךְ is rather the beginning of the next clause (cf. Masoretic accents), which has as verb the intransitive צדק "be righteous," and thus ב functions as *beth causae.*

[2]The pronominal suffix in בָּם refers back to מַעֲלוֹ "his trespass" and חַטָּאתוֹ "his sin," both being specified by pronominal suffix.

[3]See Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, for definitions of the different circumstantial uses of ב (71-78), for *beth causae* (100-101), for *beth instrumenti* (118), for *beth pretii* (150), and for *beth constitutionis* (78). The *beth causae* indicates the cause when an agent is missing; the clause is marked by an intransitive verb, e.g., מות "die" (Ezek 3:18). The *beth instrumenti* provides the agent of bivalent transitive verbs—verbs which require a subject and an object, e.g., קנא-Piel "annoy" (1 Kgs 14:22)—or causative intransitive verbs, e.g., יגע-H "make weary" (Isa 43:24), with a helping agent, the instrument, by which the activity is carried out. The *beth pretii* occurs with trivalent verbs—verbs which require a subject, an object and a prepositional object; these are the verbs of giving and taking, e.g., מכר "sell" (Isa 50:1) or נתן "give" (Jer 15:13)—and indicates the price of a transaction that is the means for the realization of that reciprocal transaction. The *beth constitutionis* specifies or limits the predicate of a nominal clause, usually an adjective, and is closely related to the *beth causae* (see Mic 1:5) In regard to the X-component and Y-component Jenni expresses the different functions as follows (ibid., 78):

in a local sense,[1] in a modal sense,[2] or to indicate nominalization of a sentence predicate.[3] In table 9 the texts (except Dan 8:12a) are grouped according to the semantic function of the preposition ב.

Semantic function of ב in Dan 8:12a. Having identified the possible semantic functions of ב in combination with an abstract noun for sin, the specific function of ב in Dan 8:12a can be further determined by paying attention to the verbal root נתן. The verb נתן in Dan 8:12a does not require ב to indicate localization. Also, being a trivalent verb, נתן allows ב to be interpreted neither as *beth causae*, which occurs with intransitive or monovalent verbs, nor as *beth instrumenti*, which occurs with bivalent verbs, nor as indicating nominalization of a sentence content. In other words, a comparison of the נתן-clause in Dan 8:12a with the possible functions of "ב + abstract for sin" in other clauses

---

(1) *beth causae*:	Y independently affecting X,
(2) *beth instrumenti*:	Y in substitution acting directly for X,
(3) *beth pretii*:	Y in substitution acting indirectly for X,
(4) *beth constitutionis*:	Y characteristic of X.

[1]The preposition ב is followed by a hypostatized abstract which now designates a place or space. This function of ב is also dependent upon the verbal element, for example, it is easily recognizable with the verb הלך "walk" (1 Kgs 15:3).

[2]In a modal sense the prepositional phrase with ב is always followed by an abstract that is not hypostatized. This construction expresses abstract of quality or abstract of activity (see Ps 51:7).

[3]Nominalization of a sentence predicate means that the entire sentence content (Y) is paralleled to the sentence on the X-side. This is achieved by nominalization with an infinitive, with a verbal noun *dicendi* (commanding or authorizing), or with the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר / שֶׁ־, by nominalization of an existence clause or a nonexistence clause, or by pronominalization with כֹּל, with זאת, with דָּבָר / ב + pronominal suffix, or with מֶה / מָה (Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 353-354). In Ps 5:11 and Prov 28:2, ב indicates the nominalization of an existence clause with causal function, which is closely related to *beth causae*; in Deut 19:15 ב indicates pronominalization with כֹּל.

Table 9. Semantic Function of ב in Combination with Major Terms for Sin

Semantic Function of ב	פֶּשַׁע "Crime" (9 times)	עָוֹן "Iniquity" (35 times)	חֵטְא "Sin" (7 times)	חַטָּאת "Sin" (22 times)
beth causae (34 times)	Ezek 14:11; Prov 12:13; 29:6	Gen 19:15; Lev 26:39 (2x); Josh 22:20; Isa 59:3; Jer 31:30; 51:6; Ezek 3:18, 19; 4:17; 7:13, 16; 18:17, 18; 24:23; 33:6, 8, 9; Hos 5:5; 14:2; Pss 31:11; 106:43	Num 27:3; Deut 24:16; 2 Kgs 14:6; 2 Chr 25:4	Num 16:26; Ezek 3:20; 16:52 18:24 (2x)
beth instrumenti (5 times)	Ezek 37:23	Isa 43:24		1 Kgs 14:22; 16:2; Isa 43:24
beth pretii (14 times)	Isa 50:1	1 Sam 3:13; Isa 14:21; 50:1; Jer 13:22; Ezek 39:23; Dan 9:16; Ezra 9:7	Dan 9:16	2 Kgs 24:3; Isa 40:2; Jer 15:13; 17:3; Neh 9:37
beth constitutionis (2 times)	Mic 1:5			Mic 1:5
localization (12 times)		Isa 57:17; Ezek 18:19, 20 (2x)		1 Kgs 15:3, 26, 34; 16:19, 26, 31; 2 Kgs 3:3; 17:22
modal sense (2 times)		Ps 51:7	Ps 51:7	
nominalization (3 times)	Ps 5:11; Prov 28:2		Deut 19:15	

shows that the preposition ב can only be used either as *beth pretii* or in a modal sense.[1]

Regarding the function of a *beth pretii*, Jenni remarks that "in figurative speech, a retaliating activity of a human or (often) of God is depicted by means of *beth pretii* as a kind of payment for an offence."[2] This means that if the preposition ב in Dan 8:12a is understood as *beth pretii*, the crime or transgression (פֶּשַׁע) would refer to one committed by the host for which, in an act of retaliation or abandonment, it is given over. The analysis given above shows that the usual phrase to express retaliation for sin or guilt seems to be ב in combination with עָוֹן "iniquity" (7 times) or with חֵטְא / חַטָּאת "sin" (6 times).[3] Nevertheless, the concept of retaliation is expressed once by ב + פֶּשַׁע (Isa 50:1), perhaps indicating a plausible alternative for Dan 8:12a as well.[4] Possible translation equivalents for a *beth pretii* in Dan 8:12a are:

1. "and a host will be given over . . . on account of [its] rebellion"
2. "and a host will be given over . . . for [its] rebellion"
3. "and a host will be given over . . . in exchange for [its] rebellion."

The function of a modal use of ב is to give answer to the question "how? / in what

---

[1]Here, the definitions of the different functions of the preposition ב follow those by Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 71-78, 100-101, 118, 150.

[2]Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 157.

[3]The terms עָוֹן as well as חֵטְא / חַטָּאת, especially in the formulaic phrases with ב, indicate particularly the reality of the act and its consequences. For the holistic concept of offense and consequence with regard to חֵטְא / חַטָּאת see Knierim, *Hauptbegriffe für Sünde*, 73-75, 89-91, 131; and with regard to עָוֹן see ibid., 131, 238, 242, 251.

[4]In addition the *beth pretii* for retaliation for sin and guilt is also found in combination with the terms רִשְׁעָה "wickedness" (Deut 9:4, 5), מַעַל "unfaithful deeds" (Dan 9:7; 1 Chr 9:1), אַשְׁמָה "guilt" (Ezra 9:13β; 2 Chr 24:18), מַעֲשֵׂינוּ הָרָעִים "our evil deeds" (Ezra 9:13α), כַּעַס "provocation" (1 Kgs 15:30), and דָּמִים "blood-guilt" (2 Chr 24:25). See Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 157-158.

manner? / under what circumstances?" The prepositional phrase thus functions as an adverbial circumstantial phrase.[1] If the preposition ב in Dan 8:12a indeed indicates modalization, the phrase בְּפָשַׁע would express an abstract of a negative activity (from פָּשַׁע "to rebel"), functioning like an adverb.[2] This would mean that the activity described in Dan 8:12a is carried out rebelliously. The giving of a host is an act of rebellion. To put it differently, it is said of the host that it is placed (נתן) against the *tāmîd* or set in control over the *tāmîd* in such a manner that a crime has occurred.

The modal function of ב can be translated in a variety of ways, differing only in minor ways. In an attempt to start from broad to specific, at least the following translations suggest themselves:[3]

1. "and a host will be set against the *tāmîd* in rebellion"
2. "and a host will be set against the *tāmîd* with rebellion"
3. "and a host will be set against the *tāmîd* in a rebellious act"
4. "and a host will be set against the *tāmîd* rebelliously"
5. "and a host will be set against the *tāmîd* whereby rebellion takes place"

---

[1]Jenni admits that some of the modal uses may be close to a *beth instrumenti* and thus the abstract entity may function as a helping agent (ibid., 330). However, in Dan 8:12 it is not the crime which sets a host against or in control over the *tāmîd*.

[2]The modal use of ב is found several times in clauses with נתן (see Appendix 2). The prepositional phrase with ב can express an abstract of quality (Isa 61:8 and 2 Chr 31:15: "in truth" > "faithfully"), or an abstract of outer activity (Gen 45:2: "in weeping") or inner activity expressed by an intransitive verb (Ezek 36:5: "with wholehearted joy"), or an abstract of an activity which is expressed by a transitive verb (Isa 27:4: "in battle"; Hos 13:11: "in anger"; Ezek 36:5: "with contempt of soul"; Prov 13:10: "through insolence"). Since פשע "to rebel" is a transitive verb, בְּפָשַׁע in Dan 8:12a is an abstract of an activity, not an abstract of quality.

[3]For the purpose of comparing the different translation options of a modal ב I have chosen to translate the other clause elements consistently, although other translation equivalents are possible.

6. "and a host will be set against the *tāmî d* (by the horn), while (the horn is) being rebellious"

7. "and a host will be set against the *tāmî d* with rebellious intent."

Translation number 1 is preferable as it represents the broad meaning a modal ב could have in this clause, and at the same time encompasses the different meanings of the more specific translations.

Which of the two functions of ב should be favored? Is it modal or a *beth pretii*?[1] Assessing the two options for the function of בְּפָשַׁע in Dan 8:12a, it is interesting to note that the term for sin is specified in most of the cases in which it is combined with ב (69 out of 73). This specification is accomplished either by a pronominal suffix (49 times), by a construct relation (17 times), or by expansion with a relative clause (twice) or a prepositional phrase (once).[2] With a *beth pretii* the term for sin is specified in all fourteen occurrences, obviously to make clear that it is the offense committed by the person(s) referred to for which retribution is inflicted upon. When the term for sin is used in the absolute without any specification, ב functions in a modal sense with a transitive verb (twice in Ps 51:7) or in a causal sense with an intransitive verb (Isa 59:3 and, perhaps, Prov 29:6). This observation is important for Dan 8:12a where פֶּשַׁע occurs in the

[1]The previous conclusion that the verbal root נתן is not the premier factor which determines the semantic function of ב is important to remember. The consequence at this point is that though the verb נתן occurs often with a *beth pretii* (cf. Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 150-160), especially in legal and commercial contexts (cf. E. Lipiński, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, "נָתַן *nātan*," *TDOT*, 10:96-101), this does not at all mean that the preposition ב in a נתן-clause has to be a *beth pretii*.

[2]The pronominal suffix refers to the person/s whose sin/s are spoken of. In a construct phrase the word for sin is always in the construct state and the respective absolute designates the person/s who sinned. Similarly an expansion by relative clause or by a prepositional phrase describes or specifies the sin spoken of.

absolute state without any addition or specification. If the preposition ב functions as *beth pretii* one would expect a pronominal suffix attached to פֶּשַׁע or another addition in order to indicate for whose or what sin retaliation is carried out. The absolute use of פֶּשַׁע without any specification or addition therefore seems to indicate that ב functions in a modal sense.[1] Indeed, in all the twenty-five occurrences listed in Jenni, in which a modal ב is followed by an abstract referring to deceit or severity (פֶּשַׁע belongs to this category), the abstract noun does not have a pronominal suffix.[2] This observation, combined with the conclusion that the verb נתן is not the primary factor in determining the semantic function of the preposition ב, proves that cases of נתן with *beth pretii* (Esth 7:3; Ezra 9:7) are not syntactic parallels to Dan 8:12a.[3]

---

[1]The tentativeness of this conclusion is justified by a few cases where a ב functioning in a modal sense is followed by an abstract with a pronominal suffix, for example, in the eight נתן-clauses with modal ב this occurs once (Hos 13:11).

[2]Jenni lists the following words and occurrences (*Die Präposition Beth*, 347): מִרְמָה "deceit" (Gen 27:35; 34:13); עָרְמָה "shrewdness" (Exod 21:14; Josh 9:4); עָקְבָּה "craftiness" (2 Kgs 10:19); עָוֹן "crime" and חֵטְא "sin" (both Ps 51:7); זִמָּה "wickedness / evil device" (Prov 21:27); עַוְלָה "injustice" (Isa 61:8, if בְּעוֹלָה is read with a few manuscripts, LXX, Peshitta, and Targum as בְּעַוְלָה); רֶשַׁע "wickedness" (Ps 141:4); מַעַל "unfaithful act" (Job 22:22β; Ezra 9:2); מֶרֶד "rebellion" (Josh 22:22α); עֹשֶׁק "oppression" (Ezek 22:7, 12); פֶּרֶךְ "severity" (Exod 1:13, 14; Lev 25:43, 46, 53; Ezek 34:4).

[3]*Pace* P. B. Petersen who claims that Ezra 9:7 is "a syntactically parallel example" (206). A comparison of Dan 8:12a with Ezra 9:7 shows some similarities:

Ezra 9:7 וּבַעֲוֹנֹתֵינוּ נִתַּנּוּ אֲנַחְנוּ מְלָכֵינוּ כֹהֲנֵינוּ בְּיַד מַלְכֵי הָאֲרָצוֹת
"and on account of our iniquities we, our kings *and* our priests have been given into the power of the kings of the lands"

Dan 8:12a וְצָבָא תִּנָּתֵן עַל־הַתָּמִיד בְּפָשַׁע

Both clauses use the verb נתן and a prepositional phrase consisting of ב with an abstract noun for sin. However, the prepositional phrase in Ezra 9:7 (וּבַעֲוֹנֹתֵינוּ) has a pronominal suffix, which I believe is the decisive factor in distinguishing the different function of ב in Ezra 9:7 (*beth pretii*) from the function of ב in Dan 8:12a (modal *beth*). Syntactically different are of course the different prepositional phrases with בְּיַד (Ezra 9:7) and עַל (Dan 8:12a). The distinct prepositional phrase ב + figurative יַד "into the power" in Ezra 9:7 adds to the verbal idea the semantic notion of "giving over" or "handing over." Such a notion is absent in Dan 8:12a (see further below). In the case of Esth 7:3

In conclusion, the occurrence of the absolute of פֶּשַׁע without further specification suggests that בְּפָשַׁע should be regarded as modal phrase ("in rebellion," "rebelliously"). This inference however is not reached without due caution. The use of ב as *beth pretii* ("on account of transgression") as an exceptional case cannot be entirely excluded, though it certainly is the less likely option.

Semantic Analysis of Words and Phrases

Meaning of פֶּשַׁע

פֶּשַׁע is one of several Hebrew terms for sin. But what kind of sin does it designate? The scholarly discussion about the exact connotation of פֶּשַׁע centers around the question whether it designates rebellion, crime, legal offense, or covenant treachery.[1]

(תִּנָּתֶן־לִי נַפְשִׁי בִּשְׁאֵלָתִי וְעַמִּי בְּבַקָּשָׁתִי "let my life be given me as my petition, and my people as my request") the two prepositional phrases with *beth pretii* have pronominal suffixes—such as וּבַעֲוֹנֹתֵינוּ in Ezra 9:7—and thus do not provide an exact syntactic parallel to Dan 8:12a.

[1]Based on the analysis of Exod 22:8, Ludwig Köhler suggested that פֶּשַׁע is a protest or contestation, which then led to the translation "dispute, rebellion" ("Zu Ex 22:8: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des hebräischen Rechts," *ZAW* 46 [1928]: 213-218). Köhler's view of פֶּשַׁע as rebellious or disputative attitude has initially gained acceptance in later studies. Štefan Porúbčan argues that the noun פֶּשַׁע "indicates an act (or state?) of 'rebellion, revolt', always in moral and religious sense" (*Sin in the Old Testament: A Soteriological Study*, Slovak Studies, no. 3 [Rome: Herder, 1963], 25). "The root *pš'*, then, presents sin as an act of rebellion, revolt against (or defection from) God's rule and dominion over the world and mankind, an insubordination against his laws and commandments" (ibid., 26). Cf. similarly Stanislas Lyonnet and Léopold Sabourin, *Sin, Redemption and Sacrifice: A Biblical and Patristic Study*, AnBib, no. 48 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1970), 13: The verb and the noun "designate sins offending man, for example the king, or, more frequently sins offending God, especially when more grievous sins are involved. In their proper sense these terms designate a rebellion of man against God, but sometimes also a rebellion against man or a human institution." Köhler's understanding has been challenged by Rolf Knierim (*Hauptbegriffe für Sünde*, 143-160). For Knierim, פֶּשַׁע "does not describe the attitude but the criminal act," and "whoever commits פֶּשַׁע does not merely rebel or protest against Yahweh but breaks with him, takes away what is his, robs, embezzles, misappropriates it" ("פֶּשַׁע *peša*ᶜ crime," *TLOT*, 2:1036). פֶּשַׁע is then equivalent to crime; the term "fundamentally applies to all types of legally definable criminal acts" (ibid.; cf. *Hauptbegriffe für Sünde*, 176-184). Knierim's suggestion is reflected in the definition and translation equivalents in *HALOT*, 3:981-982. There, the verbal root פשע is translated with "break with, break away from,

It seems that the consensus tends to regard פֶּשַׁע, correctly, as an offensive act (of breaking a relationship or law) that signals a rebellious attitude. It is a "willful, knowledgeable violation of a norm or standard."[1] פֶּשַׁע is generally the term used to describe sin as a rebellious act against God and should thus be defined as an "inexpiable, defiant sin."[2] In most contexts פֶּשַׁע "is a theological term because the deeds it describes affect Yahweh or his sovereignty and consequently require his judgment or forgiveness."[3] This is especially true for how פֶּשַׁע is used in Dan 8.

In the context of Dan 8:12a and 8:13c, פֶּשַׁע should be understood as referring to a violation of a divine norm, as a rebellious act against God. The cry for divine intervention and judgment in vs. 13c uses among others the term פֶּשַׁע, which is one of the offenses that demand a divine response.

---

behave as a criminal" and the noun פֶּשַׁע with "crime, misdemeanour, wantonness, wrongdoing." Seebass concludes that פֶּשַׁע is best designated as legal offense (*Rechtsbruch*), "a general term for various offenses arousing outrage or indignation" (Ringgren and Seebass, 12:141). Robert Koch understands פֶּשַׁע as a "covenant term" designating relational breaches, especially with the covenant lord (*Die Sünde im Alten Testament* [Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1992], 27-28, 43). In like manner and building on the analysis of Seebass, Carpenter and Grisanti argue for a definition of פֶּשַׁע in the context of covenant: "it occurs most frequently to designate the disruption of an alliance through violation of a covenant" so that "in a fundamental sense *peša'* represents covenant treachery" (Eugene Carpenter and Michael E. Grisanti, "פֶּשַׁע [# 7322]," *NIDOTTE*, 3:707). In the recent *TRE* article on sin, Knierim still maintains his former position, though he appears to bring the concepts of crime (act) and rebellion (attitude) closer together. Accordingly, פשע describes an intentional breaking away which then acquires the sense of rebellion and revolt. "A breach is primarily not to be understood as temporary behavior but as its fact that has taken place, been carried out and completed" ("Sünde II. Altes Testament," *TRE* [2001], 32:366). Here, Knierim's position is much closer to the positions of Seebass and of Carpenter and Grisanti.

[1]Robin C. Cover, "Sin, Sinners (OT)," *ABD*, 6:32.

[2]Roy Gane, *Cult and Character: Purification Offerings, Day of Atonement, and Theodicy* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 294-298.

[3]Knierim, "פֶּשַׁע," 2:1036.

This brings up whether פֶּשַׁע in Dan 8:12-13 refers to the sins or the apostasy of the host, which then is identified with the host of heaven, God's people,[1] or to the rebellious offense of the horn.[2] The term itself does not offer much help. Although פֶּשַׁע often refers to serious offenses committed by people who are in a relationship with God, it can also refer to those committed by foreign cities and nations (e.g., Amos 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 13: 2:1) or by the unrepentant in Israel (e.g., Pss 5:10; 37:38; 89:33).

There are two reasons advanced for linking פֶּשַׁע with the host of heaven so that it refers to the sins of God's people. First, the prepositional phrase בְּפָשַׁע in vs. 12a is said to consist of a *beth pretii* or a *beth causae*. In this instance the clause would mean that a host (God's people) is given over for the sake of or because of its transgression. However, as shown above, in such a construction with a transitive verb the term for sin always carries a pronominal suffix to identify the person or group who is acting in violation. In Dan 8:12a this is not the case. For this reason it is better not to attribute פֶּשַׁע to the host of heaven. A second argument proposed is that the relation between Dan 8 and Dan 9 should also extend to include the nature of the sins. In other words, since the sins mentioned in the prayer of Dan 9, and maybe also the פֶּשַׁע in 9:24, seem to refer to the sins of God's people, פֶּשַׁע in Dan 8 should be interpreted similarly. By doing so, the

---

[1]So, e.g., Jerome, 855; Keil, 300; Behrmann, 54; Prince, "On Daniel viii. 11, 12," 204; Lattey, 86; Young, *Daniel*, 172; Barnes, 2:112; Baldwin, 158; P. B. Petersen, 207-208. Though Hasel offers the possibility that the prepositional phrase could describe the host's action ("in" or "with" transgression), he believes that the preposition expresses cause in the sense that the host's action causes transgression among God's people ("The 'Little Horn'" [1986], 417- 418, 441). For a few scholars the transgression can refer to the wickedness displayed by the horn or hostile host or to the transgressions of God's people (so Terry, 61-62, Rose and Fuller, 344; Slotki [1951], 67).

[2]So, e.g., Wood, 216; Shea, "Spatial Dimensions," 516; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 211; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 335; Longman, *Daniel*, 204; Lucas, *Daniel*, 217.

covenant context of the prayer in Dan 9 is transferred to the vision in Dan 8. However, whereas the sins in Dan 9 are correctly identified as the sins of God's people, in Dan 8 such a relationship is not stated at all.[1] In chap. 8 "little evidence" exists for attributing the rebellion to God's people.[2] The idea therefore to infer the concepts of the prayer in chap. 9, where God's people are responsible for the Babylonian exile, into chap. 8 without any specific evidence should be rejected.

The פֶּשַׁע mentioned in Dan 8:12a and 8:13c should rather be regarded as the horn's violation. First, the immediate context describes only activities of the horn. No activities of the terrorized host of heaven are mentioned, which in the text is completely passive. The passage is solely concerned with the horn and its presumptuous and rebellious attitude and behavior, and the term פֶּשַׁע fits well with such a portrait of the horn. Second, the syntactic analysis of vs. 13c in combination with the comparison of Dan 8:13c with 11:31 and 12:11 will show that the devastating sin (הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם) is given or set up in replacement of the *tāmîd*.[3] The use of הַפֶּשַׁע with the definite article refers back to its occurrence in vs. 12a and there seems to designate the transgression or rebellion of the logical subject of vs. 12a, that is, the horn. In vs. 13c it is extremely difficult to regard the host of heaven as the agent of the transgression or rebellion,[4] considering that the other elements in vs. 13c all point to activities of which the horn is

---

[1]For the intertextual relationship between Dan 8 and Dan 9 see chapter 4 (below).

[2]So Longman, *Daniel*, 204; cf. 209.

[3]See below.

[4]So also Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 335.

the agent. And third, a comparison of the phrase הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם תֵּת in 8:13c with similar phrases in both 11:31 (נָתְנוּ הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשׁוֹמֵם) and 12:11 (לָתֵת שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם) shows that the term פֶּשַׁע stands in paradigmatic relationship to the term שִׁקּוּץ "abomination." The abomination replaces the *tāmî d* in these texts, and no mention is made that this replacement has anything to do with the transgression of God's people. Hence, פֶּשַׁע in 8:13c should not be linked to rebellious sins of the host of heaven or God's people.

In sum, the term פֶּשַׁע in Dan 8:12a and 8:13c is used in reference to the criminal activity of the horn and its host. Since the term occurs in a cultic context it signifies the religious-cultic dimension of the horn's "high-handed" offense.[1] In Dan 8, פֶּשַׁע is frequently considered as an equivalent to שִׁקּוּץ[2] and is interpreted in light of the supposed historical context of the Antiochus era. The majority of translations offered in lexica[3] as well as the explanations in a number of commentaries reflect this tendency to interpret פֶּשַׁע as referring to the heathen altar and worship as well as to the unclean sacrifices

---

[1]One is reminded of the Hebrew idiom בְּיָד רָמָה "high-handedly" (Num 15:30; cf. 33:3; Exod 14:8) that describes a person's deliberate defiance and "conveys the sense of brazen or blatant behavior" (Levine, *Numbers 1-20*, 398). In the cultic context in Num 15:30, the phrase is used for the transgressor who rebels against God consciously or wantonly, in opposition to the inadvertent sinner (בִּשְׁגָגָה; Num 15:24-29).

[2]There is a subtle difference between viewing פֶּשַׁע and שִׁקּוּץ as parallel terms (as argued above) and viewing פֶּשַׁע and שִׁקּוּץ as equivalents. One should avoid conflating the meaning of פֶּשַׁע with the meaning of שִׁקּוּץ. In Dan 8, the term פֶּשַׁע is probably used for the specific reasons. See the literary and thematic analysis (below).

[3]For example, פֶּשַׁע in 8:12a is rendered with "heathen worship" (Julius Fuerst, *A Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament*, 3d ed., trans. S. Davidson [Leipzig: Tauchnitz; London: Williams & Norgate, 1867], 1162, who translates פֶּשַׁע in 8:13c with "an idol-image, the object of transgression"), "punishment for transgression" (BDB, 833), "the culmination of heathen sin" (Wilhelm Gesenius and Frants Buhl, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 17th ed. [Berlin: Springer, 1915], 665), or "a term for a violation [of] cultic law (desecration of the temple)" (*HALOT*, 3:982).

offered instead of the daily sacrifices.[1] Here the interpretative meaning is being preferred over the semantic meaning. However, it seems better to understand פֶּשַׁע as designating the specific transgression of setting up a host against the *tāmî d* (vs. 12a), referred to as the devastating, rebellious sin (vs. 13c), as well as the horn's rebellious attitude in doing so. Such an offense desecrates God and defiles his sanctuary.

Meaning of the Clause

The analysis above has demonstrated again the close interrelation of syntax and semantics. It is now possible to combine the analyses of the individual clause elements in order to determine the meaning of the clause as a whole. Due mainly to the multi-functional character of the prepositions עַל and בְּ, but also due to the non-designation of the logical subject and the indefiniteness of וְצָבָא, two different understandings of vs. 12a seem to be possible. The analyses of the individual clause elements provide the following two sets of functions and translation equivalents:

	בְּפָשַׁע	עַל־הַתָּמִיד	תִּנָּתֵן	וְצָבָא
1.	modal *beth*	disadvantage	agent: horn	counter-host
	in rebellion	against the *tāmî d*	will be given	and a host
	with rebellion	metaphorical locative	will be set	
	(rebellion of the horn)	in control over . . .		
2.	*beth pretii*	comitative	agent: God	host of heaven
	on account of rebellion	together with . . .	will be given over	and a host
	because of rebellion	in addition to . . .		
	(rebellion of "a host")			

[1]Bertholdt, 104; von Lengerke, 382; Hitzig, 133; Kliefoth, 257; Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Heinrich Schneider, *Das Buch Daniel. Das Buch der Klagelieder. Das Buch Baruch: übersetzt und erklärt*, Herders Bibelkommentar, vol. 9, no. 2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1954), 54.

The first understanding of vs. 12a is that the horn as agent sets a host, which is not the host of heaven, either against the *tāmî d* or in control over the *tāmî d*. The activity of the horn is marked by rebellion against God, that is, the activity itself is a rebellious act and/or the horn, while acting, is in a rebellious state.[1] I call this view the "horn's counter-host understanding" (patient = host of the horn/counter-host; agent = horn). This view could also be altered insofar as the anti-host is permitted by God upon the *tāmî d*.[2]

The second understanding of vs. 12a is that God as agent gives a host over into the power of the horn together with the *tāmî d* that God also gives over. The handing over of the host by the initiative of God is an act of judgment or retaliation for the transgression committed by some of the host of heaven.[3] I call this view the "divine retaliation understanding" (patient = host of heaven; agent = God). Here, it should be noted that this view could be altered insofar as the host of heaven is still being handed over, probably with God's permission, but that the transgression or violence is attributed to the horn.[4]

---

[1]Driver, *Daniel*, 117; Goettsberger, 61; Hasslberger, 103; Lebram, *Daniel*, 94; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 416-418; Shea, "Spatial Dimensions," 516; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 197, 211; Haag, *Daniel*, 64; Langer, 91; Rodríguez, "Daniel 8, 9," 6 (cf. idem, "The Sanctuary," in *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*, ed. R. Dederen, Commentary Reference Series, vol. 12 [Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 2000], 395); Gane, "The Syntax of *Tēt Ve* . . . in Daniel 8:13," 381-382; *DCH*, 5:813; Lucas, *Daniel*, 217; Seow, "The Rule of God," 241.

[2]So Seow, *Daniel*, 124.

[3]Jerome, 855; Kliefoth, 257; Caspari, 137, 139; Wordsworth, 39; Fausset, 1:637; Knabenbauer, 213; Prince, "On Daniel viii. 11, 12," 204; idem, *Daniel*, 141, 147; Stokmann, 127-128; Young, *Daniel*, 172; Barnes, 2:112; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 163; Péter-Contesse and Ellington, 213-214; Miller, *Daniel*, 227; Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 171; Carpenter and Grisanti, *NIDOTTE*, 3:709; P. B. Petersen, 207; cf. Rohling, *Daniel*, 239 (with subject "war, warfare").

[4]So Wambacq, 126-127; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 335; Lust, "Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel," 291; Longman, *Daniel*, 204.

Before one can decide which one of the two suggested meanings of vs. 12a is more plausible, the following arguments need to be considered, some of which have already been investigated by the analyses of the individual clause elements above.

The divine retaliation understanding

There are several reasons brought forward to argue that the host is given over and that God is the agent of vs. 12a. First, the passive form תִּנָּתֵן is regarded as *passivum divinum*, that is, the passive is used exactly because it is God who should be understood as the agent.[1] However, immediately before vs. 12a another passive form is used—the Hophal הֻשְׁלַךְ—which has the horn as agent: "the foundation of his sanctuary is thrown down" (vs. 11c). Obviously it has to be determined by the immediate context if a passive functions as divine passive which would indicate that God is the agent. For instance, out of seventy-one Niphal forms in the Hebrew sections of Daniel only eleven appear to have God as logical subject.[2] The ratio of divine passives in the Aramaic section of Daniel is higher.[3] Still, a divine passive always has to be determined contextually.

---

[1]So Enno Janssen, *Das Gottesvolk und seine Geschichte: Geschichtsbild und Selbstverständnis im palästinischen Schrifttum von Jesus Sirach bis Jehuda ha-Nasi* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1971), 53. Bauer (*Das Buch Daniel*, 171) and Seow (*Daniel*, 124) note that the passive is frequently a circumlocution for the activity of God who gives somebody into the hands of the enemy (cf. Gen 9:2; 2 Kgs 18:30; 19:10; Isa 36:15). P. B. Petersen cites as examples of Danielic divine passives 2:18 [*sic*, correct: 2:19]; 7:6; 9:1, 12b, 25b (207 n. 1, 208). However, 9:1, 12b, 25b could be interpreted differently. Instead of pointing to God's activity, Leupold suggests that the passive in Dan 8:12a indicates God's permission (348).

[2]Dan 8:1 (2x), 14, 25; 9:24, 26e (?), 27 (?); 10:1a, 12; 11:36g; 12:10 (?).

[3]In the Hebrew sections of Daniel, in addition to the Niphal forms, the only Pual form has God as logical subject (10:11), and the four Hophal forms seem not to have God as logical subject (8:11c; 9:1, 21; 12:11). In the Aramaic section of Daniel, 23 Peil forms have God (2:19, 30; 4:30; 5:21 [2x]; 5:24 [2x], 25, 27, 28 [2x]; 7:4 [3x], 6, 9, 10, 11 [2x], 12, 14, 22, 27) and 7 Peil forms have

Second, it could be argued that the verb נתן in the book of Daniel is associated with divine action.[1] In the BH section this is less evident, since only in four of seventeen cases God clearly functions as the subject of the verb נתן.[2] In BA, however, the picture is different. There, it could be argued that God is the agent of נתן or יהב "give" in nineteen of twenty-four occurrences.[3] Interestingly, for each passive verbal form of יהב God is the implied agent, because it is always used expressing divine predictions (Dan 4:13; 5:28; chap. 7) that are based on a God who is lord of history, who removes and establishes kings. Nevertheless, the passive forms of נתן in the prediction in Dan 11:6, 11 do not appear to have God as agent. It is again the immediate context which determines whether God is actually doing the giving. And the question עַד־מָתַי "how long?" posed by a celestial being in Dan 8:13c followed by a list of horrors caused by the horn implies rather clearly that in vss. 9-12 God is not perceived to be in control of the events.

Third, the act of giving is said to imply "delegation of power in history" and thus

---

human beings as logical subject (3:21 [2x], 29; 4:3; 5:30; 6:11, 18, 27); 6 Hophal forms have God (4:33 [2x]; 5:20; 7:4, 5, 11) and 3 Hophal forms have human beings as logical subject (5:13, 15; 6:24). Though it may be disputable, I take the passive verb forms in the vision and interpretation of Dan 7 with God as logical subject.

[1]The Niphal of נתן occurs in the Book of Daniel only in 8:12a; 11:6, 11. The Qal form occurs in 1:2, 9, 12, 16, 17; 8:13; 9:3, 10; 10:12, 15; 11:17, 21, 31; 12:11. In BA נתן occurs in 2:16; 4:14, 22, 29. The BA יהב, a replacement for the perfect of נתן, occurs in the Peal in 2:21, 23, 37, 38, 48; 3:28; 5:17, 18, 19; 6:3; as Peal passive in 5:28; 7:4, 6, 11, 12, 14, 22, 27; and as Hitpeel in 4:13; 7:25.

[2]Dan 1:2, 9, 17; 9:10.

[3]God is the agent of giving in 3 out of 4 occurrences of Peal imperfect forms of נתן (Dan 4:14, 22, 29), in 6 out of 10 occurrences of a Peal perfect forms of יהב "give" (2:21, 23, 37, 38; 5:18, 19), in all 8 occurrences of a Peal passive or Peil form of יהב (5:28; 7:4, 6, 11, 12, 14, 22, 27) and in the 2 occurrences of a Hitpeel form of יהב (4:13; 7:25).

seems to point to God as the one who delegates power in 8:12a.[1] It is indeed true that the verb נתן can suggest “a shift in the delegation of power,”[2] but by the same token the “delegation of power” could be initiated by the horn giving it to a counter-host also.

Fourth, the other occurrences of צָבָא in vss. 10-13 all refer to the host of heaven and thus “an abrupt change from the meaning of צבא elsewhere in the chapter can hardly be accepted.”[3] In this statement Collins refers to the referential meaning or identity of צָבָא since its lexical meaning in both suggested interpretations is the same, namely, “host.” The indefiniteness of צָבָא in 8:12a however seemingly indicates that in this instance צָבָא refers to another host rather than the host of heaven.

Fifth, if Dan 8:13 were to link the terms פֶּשַׁע and צָבָא to the verb נתן it would have a similar meaning as in vs. 12a if “a host” were to refer to the host of heaven.[4] Careful analysis of vs. 13c however shows that the infinitive תֵּת (from נתן) should not be connected with the following וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא but rather with the preceding וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם.[5] Thus, there is no combination of the terms נתן and צָבָא in vs. 13 to function as a possible parallel to vs. 12a.

---

[1]P. B. Petersen, 208; see also André LaCocque, “Allusions to Creation in Daniel 7,” in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, VTSup, no. 83, FIOTL, no. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1:123. Both authors cite Dan 1:2; 2:21, 37, 38; 7:6, 12b; 8:12a; LaCocque adds 8:13.

[2]LaCocque, 123 n. 34.

[3]Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 335.

[4]So P. B. Petersen who translates vs. 13c with “until when . . . the *sin*, causing desolation and *the giving over* (from נתן, the infinitive used nominally) of both sanctuary and *host* (צבא) to be trampled down” (208, emphasis his).

[5]See the analysis of vs. 13c below.

Sixth, the idea that God's people are "given over" is found in Dan 7 and 9. In chap. 7 it is clearly stated that the saints are given over into the power of an enemy king—as in chap. 8 symbolized by a horn—after he is active against the Most High and against the holy ones (Dan 7:25). One may even point out that the Aramaic verb used in 7:25 (יהב "to give") is the equivalent to BH נתן in 8:12a. However, the two texts should not be considered to express the same thought on the basis of syntactic (different prepositions) and semantic considerations (different logical subjects). Whereas in 7:25 the passive verb, an impersonal or a divine passive, is used with the preposition ב and the noun יַד, expressing in a figurative sense the idea of might or power, to designate the giving over of the holy ones of the Most High "into the power" of the horn, in 8:12 the passive verb with the horn as logical subject is used with the preposition עַל to designate the establishing of a host against or in control of the *tāmî d*.

The difference in prepositional word groups is indeed significant. The idea of persons giving into the power of other persons is expressed by the preposition ב followed by the noun יָד or כַּף in a figurative sense. Jenni counts 214 occurrences of such constructions.[1] The verb predominantly used with figurative בְּיָד "into the power" is נתן (163 times): 129 times with God as subject, 11 times with humans as subject, and 23 times in intransitive or passive clauses.[2] Since the construction נתן with figurative בְּיָד is

[1]Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 198-199.

[2]Ibid. (this count includes the two passages of ב + כַּף in Judg 6:13 and Jer 12:7). See also *DCH*, 4:90, which lists 165 passages of ב + יָד with נתן qal and 23 passages with נתן nif., however, with a slightly different semantic categorization (cf. *DCH*, 5:798, 812). For the other verbs used with figurative בְּיָד "into the power" see Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 199, and *DCH*, 4:90.

also known in the Hebrew of Daniel (1:2; 11:11), and in the Aramaic in the form of יהב "to give" + בְּיַד (2:38; 7:25) as well,[1] one can infer that the clause in 8:12a, in which בְּיַד is not used, indeed does not designate the giving over of a host into the power of the horn but has a different meaning.[2]

Moreover, thematically nothing in chap. 7 suggests that the giving of the holy ones into the power of the king happens because of some misbehavior or sin on the part of the holy ones. Since in the vision in Dan 7 the holy ones are not imputed with transgression or rebellion, one should be extremely hesitant to ascribe such things to the host of heaven in the parallel vision in Dan 8. In contrast, in chap. 9 the sins (from חֵטְא) and iniquities (from עָוֹן) of the people which kindled God's anger and wrath were the reason for the desolation of Jerusalem and God's people (9:16) as well as the sanctuary (9:17).[3] The covenant and the breaking of the covenant are certainly a major theological theme in chap. 9. Whether it is hinted at in Dan 8:12a is however another question. That the covenant concept is foundational to the prayer in Dan 9 should not lead one at any rate to infer that the covenant idea, in particular the breaking of the covenant, must also

---

[1]In BA figurative בְּיַד "in the power" occurs with the verb יהב also in Ezra 5:12. Moreover it is used in nominal clauses in Dan 5:23; Ezra 7:14, 25.

[2]This is also the reason why Ezra 9:7 should not be regarded as syntactic parallel to Dan 8:12 (*pace* P. B. Petersen, 206). Although the prepositional phrase בַּעֲוֹנֹתֵינוּ "on account of our iniquities" in Ezra 9:7 appears to be close to בְּפָשַׁע "in transgression" in Dan 8:12a—however, note the significant difference that בַּעֲוֹנֹתֵינוּ carries the pronominal suffix, whereas בְּפָשַׁע does not (see p. 283 n. 3)—the clause in Ezra 9:7, unlike Dan 8:12a, is also construed with figurative בְּיַד "into the power."

[3]Importing the covenant theme from Dan 9, P. B. Petersen detects in 8:12a a covenantal pattern of cause and effect, whereby the sin of God's people would be the cause and the giving over of God's people the effect (204, 209-211).

be present in Dan 8:12, even though chap. 9 is closely linked to chap. 8 for a number of other reasons.[1]

Seventh, the other two passive forms of נתן in Daniel (11:6, 11) describe the activity of the giving up/over of persons. Yet, they do not form a parallel to 8:12a since the clause structures are decisively different: subject + verb (11:6)[2] and subject + verb + prepositional phrase with בְּ and figurative יָד (11:11) as opposed to subject + verb + prepositional phrase with עַל (8:12a).

A major problem with the "host given over" view is that the preposition עַל needs to be attributed comitative function ("together with" or "in addition to"). This is hardly possible in Dan 8:12a in light of the above presented reasons which shall be briefly restated here: (1) the host and the *tāmî d* do not share the same semantic group and (2) they do not stand next to each other, both of which would usually be the case with עַל comitative; and more importantly, (3) the sequence of events in vss. 10-11—attack on the host, then attack on the *tāmî d*—is contrary to what would be expressed in vs. 12a if עַל had comitative function; and (4) it is inconceivable that God gives the *tāmî d* (as understood in the analysis of vs. 11b above) over to the horn.

Furthermore, such an interpretation would necessitate a change of agent from vs. 12a to vs. 12b without any indication, which raises another major problem. According to the proposed understanding of vs. 12a the agent in this clause is God, whereas the agent

---

[1]See the analysis of textual relations between Dan 8:9-14 and Dan 9 in chapter 4 (below).

[2]The use of נתן with personal object and without any prepositional phrase appears to have the meaning of "hand over," "deliver up," "surrender" (*DCH*, 5:786, 812).

in vs. 12b would be the horn. The difficulty is that there is no agent mentioned in vs. 12b and that the verb וְתַשְׁלֵךְ neither with an indicative nor with an optative meaning indicates a change of agent but rather indicates sequential action to vs. 12a. Thus, if God would be the agent of vs. 12a one cannot really explain a sudden change to another agent in vs. 12b. Neither is the sense of the text increased if one would assume that the grammatical subject of vs. 12a (i.e., "a host") would be the agent in vs. 12b, since why would some of the host of heaven throw down the truth?

And finally, the context of vs. 12, in fact the entire chap. 8, carries no clear sign that the host of heaven would engage in sin or transgression. There is just no clear evidence that God would hand over some of the host of heaven to that power which is attacking him, that is, to the horn.

The horn's counter-host understanding

In addition to the considerations refuting the "host given over" view, which do not need to be repeated here, several other reasons point to the fact that in vs. 12a a counter-host is set in place by the horn. The foremost reason in vs. 12a itself is the indefiniteness of צָבָא, which in all probability indicates that another host is in view here rather than the host of heaven mentioned previously in vss. 10-11.

Second, it is crucial to put vs. 12a into the context of vss. 9-11 and 12-13. The horn as agent in vs. 12a fits better following the text in vss. 9-11 in which the horn is the sole agent. Also, as far as the agent or the subject is concerned, the succession from vs. 12a to vs. 12b is smooth. Both the horn or a counter-host fit well as subject in vs. 12b-d.

Third, if according to the analysis of vs. 13c below the words הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם תֵּת in vs. 13c indeed form a unit (as opposed to the view that תֵּת belongs to וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס), the giving of the transgression in vs. 13c has rebellious characteristics and the activity in vs. 12a, to which vs. 13c obviously refers, should be regarded as the activity of the horn. The textual relationship between פֶּשַׁע in 8:13c and שִׁקּוּץ in 11:31 and 12:11 underscores such an interpretation.

The fourth argument originates from the structural analysis of Dan 8:9-14 (see below). It shows that vs. 12a serves as an audible explanation or expansion to vs. 11b, explaining how the horn removes the *tāmîd* from the commander of the host of heaven, namely, by setting another host against the *tāmîd*. The "host given over" meaning would be difficult to incorporate in any structure of Dan 8:9-14 since there seems no obvious reason why the text, after portraying the horn's attacks on the commander, his *tāmîd*, and the foundation of his sanctuary, would advert to God's giving over the host and after such a brief interlude turn back to the activities of the horn. The "host given over" understanding interrupts the flow of the text and its information structure. From this viewpoint, the counter-host meaning should be preferred.

Fifth, the preposition עַל is best understood as having metaphorical-locational sense or as indicating disadvantage. In contrast to the comitative function (see above) there cannot be forwarded any counterarguments against these functions.

One should point out that some aspects are not decisive in determining the clausal meaning. For example, the prepositional phrase בְּפָשַׁע can be subjected to two different interpretations, either using *beth pretii* or modal ב, although from syntactic considerations

the latter is much more likely. Using the former it indicates God giving over a host in retaliation for transgression. Using modal ב the phrase indicates that the horn's giving of a host has criminal intent and is a rebellious act against God. For such a modal use of the preposition argues the fact that the noun for sin, פֶּשַׁע, is used without a pronominal suffix in the absolute state. Also, the ensuing interpretation by the angel does not shed further light on the meaning of vs. 12a. Neither a counter-host nor the retaliating or permissive giving of the heavenly host into the power of the king is mentioned in 8:23-25.

In the further analysis, other arguments for the counter-host understanding will be detected, which should be mentioned at this place. They are connected with the structural place of vs. 12. Without anticipating the analysis, the poetic elements in vs. 11 show that this verse is the climax of the vision proper, and the change of tense in vs. 12 indicates that the vision proper came to an end in vs. 11 and that vs. 12 starts the audition. This structural arrangement leads to the conclusion that one of the holy beings explains in vs. 12a how the horn takes away the *tāmî d* from the commander of the host of heaven: by setting up a host against the *tāmî d*. Finally, although the unusual feminine gender of צָבָא in vs. 12a cannot serve as a syntactic argument to determine the referential identity of the host, it does serve a rhetoric function by surprising the readers, who might have regarded צָבָא as masculine, and thus heightening their attention to the introduction of a new agent.

Conclusion

Two different interpretations for vs. 12a try to do justice to the syntactic-semantic features of the clause: the divine retaliation understanding and the horn's counter-host

understanding. Since many features of the text can be satisfied by either interpretation, it is evident that those aspects of any analysis which clearly tend towards one or the other solution are the crucial factors in deciding the meaning of vs. 12a. Such unambiguous features are the agent in the clauses preceding vs. 12a (the horn), the agent of vs. 12b (the horn or the host) which according to the feminine *w*[e]*yiqtol* form וְתַשְׁלֵךְ is linked to the agent or subject of vs. 12a, the indefiniteness of וְצָבָא, the unlikeliness of the preposition עַל functioning as comitative, and the association of פֶּשַׁע in vs. 13c with the horn's rebellious activities and with שִׁקּוּץ in 11:31 and 12:11, and the structural function of vs. 12. All these suggest that in vs. 12a the agent is the horn and that the host mentioned in this verse is not the host of heaven but a different host, thus supporting the "horn's counter-host understanding."

A condensed description of the most likely syntactic arrangement of vs. 12a with its respective meaning can now be given. Daniel 8:12a is a *x-yiqtol* clause. The Niphal verb תִּנָּתֵן has passive meaning, the noun צָבָא is the subject of the passive verb and refers to a host different from צָבָא in vss. 10 and 11. Regarding the function of the prepositions in vs. 12a it can be stated that (1) עַל is used in metaphorical-locational sense ("control over") or with the semantic function of disadvantage ("against"), and (2) ב is used in a modal sense so that either the activity is criminal and rebellious or the agent is in a condition of rebellion and transgression. A proper translation of vs. 12a would therefore be as follows: "And a host was set against the *tāmî d* in rebellion."

Clause 12b

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

12b [וְתַשְׁלֵךְ] [אֱמֶת] [אַרְצָה]

waw+Hiphil-ipf/3sgf/ noun/sgf/ noun/sgf/+he locale

w^e^yiqtol(waw+Hiphil-ipf/3sgf/) noun/sgf/ noun/sgf/+he locale

P.Sy [+1.Sy] +2.Sy +6.Sy[dislocative: directive]
predicate [+subject] +direct object +description of change of location

Clause-type: *w^e^yiqtol.*

The short imperfect form תַּשְׁלֵךְ with conjunctive *waw* invites two discussions. The first concerns the subject of the verbal form: Is it the host or the horn? The second discussion revolves around the form of the verb itself: Does וְתַשְׁלֵךְ have a perfective or an imperfective aspect, and, if it is imperfective, does it have optative or indicative mood? It is exactly because of these two areas of discussion that suggestions for different vocalizations arise.

Subject of וְתַשְׁלֵךְ[1]

The view enjoying the widest acceptance maintains that the subject of vs. 12b, and thus also of vs. 12c and 12d, is the horn.[2] The reasoning usually goes as follows. If the

---

[1]The analysis here supersedes my earlier tentative analysis where I was inclined to view the horn as the subject of vs. 12b-12d (Pröbstle, "A Linguistic Analysis of Daniel 8:11, 12," 88-89).

[2]Most scholars argue that the subject of vs. 12b-d is the horn: Hävernick, 280; van Lengerke, 383; Kliefoth, 258; Kranichfeld, 295; Keil, 301; Zöckler, 176-177; Tiefenthal, 269; Prince, "On Daniel viii. 11, 12," 204; idem, *Daniel*, 147, 242; Rose and Fuller, 344; Obbink, 110; Leupold, 349; Young, *Daniel*, 173; Bentzen, 56; H. Schneider, *Daniel*, 54; Plöger, *Daniel*, 122; Wood, 216; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 158; Maier, 306; Anderson, *Signs and Wonders*, 96; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 418; Haag, *Daniel*, 64; Miller, *Daniel*, 228; Stahl, *Weltengagement*, 174; Bauer,

horn is indeed the logical subject of vs. 12a, that is, the agent of the passive תִּנָּתֵן, it could function as the subject and the agent of the next three sentences (8:12b-d). All the activities described in vss. 9-12a can be attributed to the horn which is introduced in vs. 9a. In the passive sentences of this section (11c, 12a) the grammatical subject is not the horn, but it still is the logical subject, the one who is the understood agent even though not explicitly mentioned. This function of the horn as agent could be extended in vss. 12b-d. However, the shift of verbal gender with the horn as subject, from masculine verb forms in vs. 11a-b to feminine ones in vs. 12b-d, would be difficult to explain.[1] There is no apparent reason for such a shift. Put differently, the feminine verbal gender in vs. 12a-d should not be understood as referring to the horn since the horn was just previously associated with masculine verbs in vs. 11a-b. Moreover, the word קֶרֶן (vs. 9a), after two passive clauses (vss. 11c, 12a) and without being reiterated again, seems too far away (vs. 9a) to be understood as the subject of vs. 12b-d. To identify the subject of vs 12b-d as the horn becomes even more difficult if one holds to the position that the agent of vs. 12a is God,[2] since there would be an abrupt change in agent between vs. 12a (God) and vs. 12b

---

Das Buch Daniel, 171; P. B. Petersen, 206-207. The same position is expressed when some suggest that the subject of vs. 12a-12d is the horn (in vs. 12a the horn is of course the logical subject or agent): Niditch, 217, 220; Shea, "Spatial Dimensions," 516-517; Redditt, 139. Some take the horn as subject of vs. 12c-12d but consider vs. 12b as passive like vs. 12a (Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Montgomery, 337; Charles, 202-203) or leave the subject of vs. 12b unidentified (Langer, 91).

[1]From a text-oriented viewpoint, it is unsatisfactory to suppose (with Lebram, *Daniel*, 95, and Stahl, 174) that there is a textual discontinuity between vs. 12a and 12b and to regard vss. 11-12a as a later interpolation, so that 12b continues vs. 10 and returns again to the horn as subject.

[2]Scholars who believe that God is the logical subject of vs. 12a and the horn is the subject of vs. 12b-d include Kliefoth, 257-258; Prince, "On Daniel viii. 11, 12," 204; idem, *Daniel*, 147; Leupold, 348-349; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 158, 163; Miller, *Daniel*, 227-228; Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 171; P. B. Petersen, 206-207.

(horn) without any indication whatsoever.

The other possibility, one that is argued by only a few scholars, is that the subject in 12b-12d is צָבָא which is the grammatical subject in vs. 12a.[1] The syntactic evidence supports this view. Verse 12 shows a sequence of four verbal forms which all have the same gender and number, that is, feminine singular. Further, no subject is introduced in 12b-d. One would usually expect that the subject of the feminine singular verb in vs. 12a is also the subject of the singular feminine verbs in vs. 12b-d. Thus, צָבָא "a host" may not only be regarded as the subject of vs. 12a but also as the subject of the following three sentences. Additional support for this view is received by the sentence-initial position of "a host" in vs. 12a indicating argument focus, that is, after the horn was the subject of the verbs in vss. 9-11b, a new entity is introduced by means of placing צָבָא in the preverbal field. This new subject will be the topic in the following three clauses (vs. 12b-d). As a consequence, the noun צָבָא, as subject of 12a-d, differs in meaning from צָבָא in vss. 10a, 10b, and 11a, designating a counter-host which is hostile to the truth.[2]

The lexical relation between Dan 8:12 and 8:24 also plays a role regarding the subject in vs. 12b. The verbal forms of עשׂה and צלח hif. in vs. 12c-d occur again, albeit

---

[1]So Kliefoth, 257; Rohling, *Daniel*, 239 (צָבָא "war, warfare" is subject of 12a-12d because of the feminine verb forms); König 3:506 (§364f); Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 145 n. 250; Hasslberger, 102 (the fronting of צָבָא in vs. 12a introduces a new topic); Gane, "The Syntax of *Tēt Ve* . . . in Daniel 8:13," 381; Lucas, *Daniel*, 202, 206. Aalders believes that the subject of 12a-b is צָבָא "worship service," whereas with the two perfects in 12c-d the description of the vision is resumed and the horn is again the subject. Verse 12a and 12b is then an insertion about the counter worship service (*Daniël* [1962], 178-179; earlier, Aalders interpreted the two perfects as *w^{e}qatal* forms with future time reference naturally following the *yiqtol* forms in 12a-b [*Het boek Daniël*, 165]). Hasel allows for the possibility that the host is the subject of vs. 12b, but on contextual reasons (referring to vss. 24-25) he decides to take the horn as subject ("The 'Little Horn'" [1986], 418).

[2]So similarly Hasslberger, 102.

in different sequence, in the interpretation of the vision in 8:24d-e.[1] This establishes an indisputable textual and thematic relation between 8:12c-d and 24d-e.[2] In 8:24, the subject of עשׂה and צלח hif. is the "king" (vs. 23), which is the interpretive equivalent to the horn in the vision.

For some, this link is the key to identifying the subject in vs. 12b. Just as the subject of עשׂה and צלח hif. in Dan 8:24 is the king, the subject of עשׂה and צלח hif. in Dan 8:12 can be the horn, and as a consequence, the subject of the *yiqtol* form תַּשְׁלֵךְ can be the horn, too. In other words, the sequence of the verbal forms in vs. 12 together with the interpretive key of vs. 24d-e may suggest that the horn is the subject of vs. 12b-d.[3]

However, it is equally possible that the horn by setting up the host is acting by means of this host so much so that the acts of the host and the horn are one and the same. This way the angelic interpretation would clearly reveal that the counter-host is nothing else but a medium of the horn. When the counter-host performs and prospers (vs. 12c-d) the horn prospers and performs (vs. 24d-e). Thus, vs. 12b-d describes the activity of the host acting under the control and leadership of the horn.

In summary, it is grammatically better to regard the four feminine singular verb

---

[1]In the book of Daniel, עשׂה and צלח-H occur together only in Dan 8:12, 25 and 11:36, which again shows the intertextual importance of Dan 11:36 for Dan 8:12, 25. Outside the book of Daniel, עשׂה and צלח-H occur beside each other in Ps 1:3 and 2 Chr 31:21, in a parallelism in Ps 37:7, in close proximity in Josh 1:8 and 1 Chr 22:13[12], and עשׂה occurs in an object clause to the verb צלח in Gen 39:3, 23 and 2 Chr 7:11.

[2]Hasslberger does not feel the strength of this argument, because he views Dan 8:11-14 as a later interpolation (17-20). However, his argument that the different sequence of עשׂה and צלח-H shows that different authors had been at work is not convincing.

[3]I took this view previously (Pröbstle, "A Linguistic Analysis of Daniel 8:11, 12," 88).

forms in vs. 12 as having the same grammatical subject, namely, the host. The lexical relation between Dan 8:12 and 8:24 makes it sufficiently clear that this host acts as an instrument for and in the interest of the horn.

Aspect and mood of וְתַשְׁלֵךְ

The function of the short *yiqtol* וְתַשְׁלֵךְ depends upon the temporal setting of the context, and particularly on how one understands the *yiqtol* verb תִּנָּתֵן in vs. 12a since it provides the setting for all of vs. 12. Two different aspects have been suggested for וְתַשְׁלֵךְ: a perfective or a non-perfective (imperfective) aspect. First, if vs. 12 shows a past setting וְתַשְׁלֵךְ has a perfective aspect ("*and it cast* truth to the ground"). It is then either revocalized as active *wayyiqtol* וַתַּשְׁלֵךְ,[1] or the passive *wayyiqtol* form וַתֻּשְׁלַךְ,[2] or the *w*[e]*yiqtol* וְתַשְׁלֵךְ is regarded in past contexts as alternative to the *wayyiqtol* form, which is certainly a possible function of *w*[e]*yiqtol* forms.[3] In these suggestions the *yiqtol*

---

[1]Driver, *Treatise*, 216 (§174); Moore, 197; Driver, *Daniel*, 117. Driver suggests that וְתַשְׁלֵךְ is a false vocalization of וַתַּשְׁלֵךְ due to false exegesis, originating in the preceding verb (תִּנָּתֵן) being referred incorrectly to the future (*Treatise*, 216 [§174]). Accordingly, the following two *w*[e]*qatal* forms are regarded by him as simple perfects (ibid., 162-163 n. 3, supplemented by the correction on p. xvi). Interestingly, later Driver notes that the word as it stands in the MT "ought strictly to be construed as a future." However, because he believes that "the rest of the description is in the past time" he suggests changing the punctuation. The two verbs וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה (vs. 12c-d), which "may denote either future or past time," are then understood according to the supposed past tense of the previous two verbs (Driver, *Daniel*, 117).

[2]Hitzig, 132; von Gall, 48 n. 4; Kamphausen, 33; Marti, *Daniel*, 59; Montgomery, 337; Charles, 208; Obbink, 65; Linder, 337.

[3]Gibson implies that in Dan 8:12b וְתַשְׁלֵךְ occurs in past context and is perfective in aspect and thus should be translated as "*and it cast* truth to the ground" (*Syntax*, 71 [§62a]). He employs Dan 8:12 as comparison to the *yiqtol* form אַעֲלֶה "I brought you up" in Judg 2:1 which describes narrative action (other examples of *yiqtol* forms in narrative past contexts cited by Gibson are Pss 80:9-13; 116:3-4; Hab 3:3-5; Job 4:12-16 or Job 3:3; 15:7, 8; Isa 51:2). Gibson lists וְתַשְׁלֵךְ under instances where the simple *waw* with *yiqtol* is an alternative to *wayyiqtol* (Isa 43:28; 1 Kgs 14:5; Ps 18:43; Dan 8:12b) and thus is consecutive (ibid., 105 [§85c]). Furthermore he distinguishes the

תִּנָּתֵן needs to be interpreted as referring to the past. However, to attribute an imperfect aspect to תִּנָּתֵן in a future time setting better fits the function of vs. 12 and its setting in this context.

Second, if vs. 12 shows a non-perfective setting, וְתַשְׁלֵךְ has a non-perfective or imperfective aspect.[1] Two moods are suggested. On the one hand, the short form may indicate a jussive/optative meaning ("*and it shall cast* truth to the ground") which is thought to be the usual meaning of a short imperfect form.[2] On the other hand, the short imperfect form can have an indicative meaning ("*and it will cast* truth to the ground"),[3] which would follow the imperfect indicative meaning of תִּנָּתֵן in vs. 12a.

There are several different explanations as to why there is a short form for the

---

consecutive function of the *yiqtol* form in Dan 8:12 from the non-consecutive function of *yiqtol* forms in other passages (ibid., 104 [§85b]) which are partly used by Ewald, GKC, and Davidson to infer an imperfect aspect to the short *yiqtol*. For the use of וְתַשְׁלֵךְ in Dan 8:12 this means that Gibson argues that Dan 8:12 should not be compared with these other passages. Similarly, Josef Tropper includes וְתַשְׁלֵךְ (Dan 8:12b) in a list of short imperfect forms that have, contextually justified, a perfective-preterite meaning (Deut 32:8b, 18a; 2 Sam 22:14; Isa 12:1b; 42:6a; Hos 6:1b; 11:4b; Pss 18:12; 47:4a; 68:15b; 90:4a; 107:29a; Job 23:11b; 29:3b; 33:11; 40:19b; Dan 8:12b) ("Althebräisches und semitisches Aspektsystem," *ZAH* 11 [1998]: 169-171).

[1]Meinhold suggests a revocalization of the active וְתַשְׁלֵךְ into the passive וְתֻשְׁלַךְ with present meaning ("Daniel," 309). However, a change of voice from active to passive is not necessary.

[2]For König the jussive form (וְתַשְׁלֵךְ) after the *yiqtol* (תִּנָּתֵן) has a final sense "and it (the צָבָא) shall cast" (3:506 [§364f]). A. B. Davidson cites among other texts (e.g., Dan 11:4, 10, 16-19, 25, 28, 30 etc.) Dan 8:12 as example for the use of jussive forms which are "full of difficulty" (*Hebrew Syntax*, 3d ed. [Edinburgh: Clark, 1901], 93 [§65 remark 6]).

[3]Ewald cites Dan 8:12 as an example that a modified imperfect with *waw* is used instead of the imperfect (*Syntax*, 249 [§343c]). E. J. Revell, "The System of the Verb in Standard Biblical Prose," *HUCA* 60 (1989): 30 n. 26: "Short imperfect forms are also used at the beginning of a clause with (apparent) indicative meaning in Dan. 8:12, 9:25." Lucas takes וְתַשְׁלֵךְ as a "simple *waw* + jussive" being "future in tense" (*Daniel*, 206) and translates "it will throw truth to the ground" (ibid., 202).

indicative imperfect in Dan 8:12b,[1] but only one is convincing. As Qimron has demonstrated, in poetry and late biblical prose "the conjunctive *waw* engenders the shortened form of the imperfect."[2] Hence, according to Qimron's observations, the short imperfect after a *waw* conjunctive in Dan 8:12b does not necessarily indicate an optative mood; it is merely triggered by the preceding *waw*. In light of the data for Dan 8–11 the short imperfect form וְתַשְׁלֵךְ in 8:12b can very well be used indicatively.

In summary, as required by the temporal setting established by תִּנָּתֵן in vs. 12a and based on the tendency in Late BH[3] where a short imperfect form is used after conjunctive

---

[1]The explanations given by GKC and Joüon and Muraoka are not satisfactory. GKC states that "the jussive is used, without any collateral sense, for the ordinary imperfect form" (323 [§109k]). Though, according to GKC, the jussive in Dan 8:12 may be a misunderstanding of the defective writing, it should be "explained on rhythmical grounds" so that the jussive is "a simply rhythmical shortening due to the strong influence of the tone" (ibid.). However, the consideration of rhythm seems rather doubtful, since vs. 12 with its extra-long first clause (vs. 12a), medium second clause (vs. 12b), and ultra-short final clauses (vs. 12c and 12d) does not exhibit a clearly recognizable rhythmic pattern. Joüon and Muraoka conjecture that the *scriptio defectiva* occasioned the incorrect jussive vocalization and the form was then originally the indicative וְתַשְׁלִךְ (377 [§114l]).

[2]This is the basic thesis of Elisha Qimron, "Consecutive and Conjunctive Imperfect: The Form of the Imperfect with *Waw* in Biblical Hebrew," *JQR* 77 (1986-1987): 149-161, citation on p. 153, which of course, applies to II Waw and II Yod verbs, to III He verbs (originally III Yod / III Waw), and to all Hiphil verbs. Qimron finds this phenomenon especially in poetry or late biblical prose (ibid., 158) and explains it by the fact that "the forms with *waw* were repatterned after the cohortative jussive system" (ibid., 161). As part of his argumentation, Qimron presents data of simple imperfect and conjunctive-imperfect forms occurring in Dan 8–11 (ibid., 156): the simple imperfect form occurs always in the unabridged, long form (22 times: in Dan 8:19, 24, 25 [2x], 9:25, 26, 27; 11:2 [2x], 8, 17, 18, 23, 25, 29 [2x], 33, 37 [2x], 39 [2x of which one is *qere*], 42), which means that there is no shortened simple imperfect; the imperfect form with *waw* occurs four times in the long form (Dan 11:10 [*qere*]; 12:4, 12, 13) and eleven times in the shortened form (Dan 8:12; 9:25; 11:5, 10, 16, 17, 18 [*qere*], 19, 25, 28, 30). Cf. already Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, HSS, no. 29 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986), 46; idem, "A New Approach to the Use of Forms of the Imperfect without Personal Endings," in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Leiden University, 11-14 December 1995*, ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde, STDJ, no. 26 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 174-181.

[3]One needs to be aware that the term "Late Biblical Hebrew" is not yet clearly defined on linguistic grounds (see Sverrir Ólafsson, "Late Biblical Hebrew: Fact or Fiction?" in *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Józef Tadeusz Milik*, ed. Z. J. Kapera, Qumranica Mogilanensia, no. 6 [Kraków:

waw, I judge it most plausible to attribute to the short imperfect וַתַּשְׁלֵךְ an imperfect indicative meaning.

Semantic Analysis of Words and Phrases

Meaning of אֱמֶת

In vs. 12b the noun אֱמֶת is used in the absolute state without the article.[1] The abstract meaning which is obviously intended here is "truth." But is it possible to define more closely what is meant by אֱמֶת in Dan 8:12b?[2] Several suggestions have been made, of which the main ones are interrelated and just illustrate the complex semantic range of the term: divine truth, Torah, law, true religion, true worship.[3] Based on the text in Dan

---

Enigma, 1992], 135-147). It is here used to refer to those writings of the Hebrew Bible that are generally assumed to have an exilic or a postexilic origin.

[1]The lack of the article is not unusual for אֱמֶת which occurs 127 times in the Hebrew Bible, of which 7 times it is used with the article and 23 times with preposition and article. See already Hasslberger, 103-104; and Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 419 n. 102.

[2]Apparently, the versions faced the same question. In Dan 8:12b the Greek versions and the Syriac differ from MT. OG and Theodotion render אֱמֶת with δικαιοσύνη "righteousness," as also in 9:13. Elsewhere in Daniel, אֱמֶת is rendered with the noun ἀλήθεια "truth" (8:26; 10:21; 11:2) and with the adjective ἀληθής "true" (10:1). The Peshitta reads in Dan 8:12b ܩܘܕܫܐ *qûdšāh* "the holy" which could refer to the abstract holiness, or to holy things, sacrifice, or to the holy place, sanctuary (the same Syriac word is used in vs. 13c for the Hebrew קֹדֶשׁ). Elsewhere in Daniel, the Syriac renders אֱמֶת with ܩܘܫܬܐ "truth" (8:26; 10:21; 11:2), ܗܝܡܢܘܬܟ "truth" or "firmness, faithfulness" (9:13), and ܫܪܝܪ "truth" (10:1). R. A. Taylor explains the Syriac in 8:12b as "either an interpretive rendering of אמת, or more probably an inner-Syriac corruption of ܩܘܫܬܐ," the Syriac for "truth" that is also used in 8:26 for אֱמֶת (*The Peshitta of Daniel*, 225).

[3]The abstract meaning "truth" (Hasslberger, 103-104) has been further differentiated in "truth, correctness of words, statements, etc." (*DCH*, 1:330) or divine truth (Baldwin, 158; *HAHAT*, 1:79) as revealed in the word of God (Hävernick, 280; van Lengerke, 383; Maurer, 144; Kliefoth, 258) and in divine, salvific promises (Kranichfeld, 295, for whom the horn overthrows the promises of salvation). Often אֱמֶת is regarded as synonymous for the law or the Torah; see Pss 43:3; 119:43 (Rashi; Ibn Ezra [both cited in Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 163]; Calvin, 103; Bertholdt, 491; Rohling, *Daniel*, 239; Walvoord, 188; Hartman and Di Lella, 226; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 163; Goldwurm, 225; Russell, 146; Maier, 306; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 211; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 335; Redditt, 140; Doukhan, *Secrets*, 124; Lucas, *Daniel*, 217), or the Jewish religious law that is understood to be the

8:12b and its immediate and wider context, two different lines of argumentation are possible. First, the throwing down of אֱמֶת (vs. 12b) is linked terminologically (by שׁלך) and structurally to the throwing down of the foundation of the sanctuary of the heavenly commander (vs. 11c).[1] If vs. 12b is parallel or explanatory to vs. 11c, "truth" refers to the metaphorical foundation of the sanctuary. In other words, the foundation of the sanctuary is "truth." In this sense, truth involves the principles upon which rest the very things (i.e., the *tāmî d* and the sanctuary) that the horn attacks.

Second, regarding the use of אֱמֶת, it is interesting to note that in all the other

---

"true universal law of the world" (Heinrich Hoffmann, *Das Gesetz in der frühjüdischen Apokalyptik*, SUNT, no. 23 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999], 98, 102). Another suggestion, which is closely related to the previous one, is that אֱמֶת stands for true religion and true worship: the true religion (Driver, *Daniel*, 117; BDB, 54; Stokmann, 128; Linder, 338; Slotki [1951], 67) that is revealed by God and preserved in the law (Montgomery, 338; Saydon, 636; Porteous, 125; Delcor, 175; Wood, 216; Péter-Contesse and Ellington, 214) or in the law and prophecy (Zöckler, 177; Rose and Fuller, 344), or in all teachings and Hebrew Scriptures (Miller, *Daniel*, 228). אֱמֶת is then said to refer to the true religion as manifested in the cult and its institutions and in the observance of the law and true worship (Hitzig, 133; Keil, 301; Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Tiefenthal, 269; Aalders, *Het boek Daniël*, 165; Obbink, 110; Young, *Daniel*, 173; Barnes, 2:112; Nelis, 97; Jeffery, 475; Aalders, *Daniël* [1962], 178). Hence, for Diethelm Michel, אֱמֶת designates human actions in his conduct toward God, in Dan 8:12b the fulfilling of God's regulations for sacrifices ("'ÄMÄT: Untersuchung über 'Wahrheit' im Hebräischen," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 12 [1968]: 45). It is clear that the true religion is often understood to be the Jewish religion. For example, Rudolf Bultmann argues in a study on the meaning of אֱמֶת in the Old Testament that in Dan 8:12b the term means "the Jewish religion" and is used in this absolute sense ("the truth") under the influence of Iranian concepts ("Untersuchungen zum Johannesevangelium," *ZNW* 27 [1928]: 118-119); cf. also *HALOT* 1:69: "the true, Jewish religion"; and H. Wildberger, "אמן *ᵓmn* firm, secure," *TLOT*, 1:156: "the truth of Judaism." Most of these understandings of the term אֱמֶת in Dan 8:12b are apparently based on the interpretation that Dan 8:11-12 refers to the abolition of the Jewish cultic system by Antiochus Epiphanes. Closer to the immediate context is the suggestion that אֱמֶת refers to the truth about the ministry of the prince of the host in his sanctuary (Shea, "Spatial Dimensions," 517). Finally, Lebram considers אֱמֶת to be the translation equivalent for the Egyptian *Maat* so that the throwing down of truth is equivalent to "the dethronement of *Maat*, the cosmic-ethical *Weltordnung* of the Egyptians" ("König Antiochus," 769). Similarly, Bauer believes that אֱמֶת designates neither philosophical truth nor the Jewish cultic law but the *Weltordnung* (cf. "the times and the epochs" in Dan 2:21, or "times and law" in Dan 7:25) (*Das Buch Daniel*, 171).

[1]See Hardy, 282-284.

occurrences of אֱמֶת in the book of Daniel[1] it is connected with a revelation by God and denotes its truthfulness and reliability,[2] and in this sense the use of אֱמֶת in the book of Daniel is unique.[3] The divine revelation or prophecy is אֱמֶת "truth": the vision of the evenings and mornings (8:26), the warnings and commandments spoken by God, designated as "your truth" (9:13),[4] and the divine message revealed to Daniel (10:1) existing in written form and revealed by the angel (10:21; 11:2), obviously comprising what was heard in chaps. 11 and 12. אֱמֶת in the book of Daniel therefore is always linked with God, never with humans. אֱמֶת is divine truth only, not human truth.[5]

In the light of the other uses of אֱמֶת in the book of Daniel, אֱמֶת in 8:12b

---

[1]אֱמֶת occurs six times in the book of Daniel: 8:12, 26; 9:13; 10:1, 21; 11:2.

[2]Freer notes that אמת is used in Dan 8-12 "to describe the truthful nature of the information communicated to Daniel" (33). Only in Dan 8:12, Freer connects the destruction of truth to the establishment of an abomination and suggests that here אמת means something else. That אֱמֶת is used in Dan 8:26; 10:1, 21; 11:2 for the truthfulness and reliability of God's revelation is also recognized by Michel, "'ÄMÄT," 39; H. Wildberger, 1:156; Alfred Jepsen, "אָמַן *ʾāman*," *TDOT*, 1:314. Cf. also the designation of God's promises as being אֱמֶת in 2 Sam 7:28; Jer 23:28; Ps 132:11 (Diethelm Michel, "*ḥæsæd wæʾæmæt*," in *Studien zur hebräischen Grammatik*, ed. A. Wagner, OBO, no. 156 [Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997], 79).

[3]Wildberger, 1:156. However, while Wildberger upholds that in the other Danielic occurrences אֱמֶת means truth in the sense of revelation, he believes that in Dan 8:12b אֱמֶת "refers to the truth of Judaism, with its individual legal regulations" and then follows Bultmann, who suggested a foreign influence upon Dan 8:12b (118-119). However, the meaning of אֱמֶת in Dan 8:12b should not be detached from the meaning of its occurrences in Dan 8–11.

[4]The phrase "not . . . giving attention to your truth" in Dan 9:13 stands in parallel to the other phrases in the section of Dan 9:4-14 which describe the unfaithfulness of God's people as not heeding the messages of God: "turning aside from your commandments and your ordinances" (vs. 5), "not listened to your servants the prophets who spoke in your name" (vs. 6), "we have not obeyed the voice of YHWH our God to walk in his teachings" (vs. 10), "all Israel has transgressed your law" (vs. 11), "not obeying your voice" (vs. 11), "we have not obeyed his voice" (vs. 14).

[5]Those explanations that relate אֱמֶת to humans do not pay attention to this terminological use of אֱמֶת in the book of Daniel.

designates the truth of God's revelation, his prophecy or commandment.[1] According to this line of argumentation it is the truth of the divine message, given by a prophet, which is thrown down by the counter-host. With regard to 8:26a one is tempted to suggest that the divine revelation of the evenings and mornings itself belongs to that truth. If the noun אֱמֶת is not rendered with an English adjective but with a noun—as in vs. 12b—the clause in 8:26a could be translated with "the vision of the evenings and mornings which has been told is (the) truth." The two passages in Dan 8:12b and 26a may indeed be connected since אֱמֶת occurs only here in chap. 8, in the audition in vs. 12b and in the auditive interpretation in vs. 26a.

The two observations above—one based on the structural link between vs. 12b and vs. 11c, the other based on the terminological use of אֱמֶת in the book of Daniel—do not exclude each other but when combined promote the idea that "the foundation of his sanctuary" is the truth—the sanctuary is, so to speak, built upon the truth—that is, the divine word as given through prophetic revelation. Thus, when the horn throws down the foundation of the sanctuary and the host throws down the truth, they actually cast down the divine prophetic word. Based on the terminological link between 8:12b and 26a, it is conceivable that the author wants to indicate that this attack on the truth is directed at the very same prophetic word just revealed in chap. 8.

---

[1]In a similar way Hasel understands "truth" in 8:12b "to refer to God's revelation in its comprehensive sense, including both 'the law of Moses' and the prophetic-apocalyptic revelation contained in the book of Daniel itself" ("The 'Little Horn'" [1986], 419).

Clauses 12c and 12d

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

12c [וְעָשְׂתָה]

waw+Qal-pf/3sgf/

ConjWG(waw+Qal-pf/3sgf/))

P.Sy [+1.Sy]
predicate [+subject]

Clause type: *w^eqatal.*

12d [וְהִצְלִיחָה]

waw+Hiphil-pf/3sgf/

ConjWG(waw+Hiphil-pf/3sgf/))

P.Sy [+1.Sy]
predicate [+subject]

Clause type: *w^eqatal.*

The two clauses in vs. 12c and 12d can be considered together because of their identical syntax. Both are *w^eqatal* clauses. The verb forms וְעָשְׂתָה and וְהִצְלִיחָה are sequential to the clauses 12a and 12b and should be understood in the same future sense.[1] All other suggestions are less convincing.[2] Since no other subject is introduced the agent

[1]So also Goldingay, *Daniel*, 195, 198; Lucas, *Daniel*, 202, 206.

[2]Behrmann assumes that the perfect is introduced because the formula-like expression of עשה and הִצליח tends to be used in the perfect in Dan 8:24; 11:36 (54). Yet, the use of these verbs in participle form (Gen 39:3, 23) or imperfect form (Ps 1:3) jeopardizes such a view. For Moore, the perfects וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה "cannot well be either future or frequentative" (196). He suspects them to be repeated here from vs. 24 and therefore excites them. Montgomery could follow Moore's suggestion but forwards also the possibility that the perfects are used as frequentatives: "was doing

is the same as in vs. 12b, that is, the host of vs. 12a. The two clauses וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה could be translated paratactically ("and it will do and it will prosper") or the second verb may be understood as adverbially modifying the first one ("it will act successfully").[1]

Meaning of the Clauses

At first sight, vs. 12c and 12d seem to use anticlimactic terms when compared to the previously mentioned attack on the truth and the removal of the *tāmî d*, which are expressed in pithy language. However, the significance of the use of צלח should not be underestimated. First, a statistic of its occurrences in the Hebrew Bible (see table 10) shows a comparatively frequent use of צלח in the book of Daniel where it is found seven times (3:30; 6:29; 8:12, 24, 25; 11:27, 36).

---

and was prospering" (337). This suggestion may be supported by Joosten's thesis that the main function of *w^eqatal* is the expression of modality and that an "important subsidiary function . . . is the expression of iterativity in a past-tense, usually narrative, context" ("Biblical Hebrew *w^eqāṭal*," 4), although he does not refer to Dan 8:12c and 12d. The problem with an iterative sense of the *w^eqatal* forms is that one is required to attribute a past-tense meaning to vs. 12a-d, which has been proven to be rather unlikely (see the comments on תִּנָּתֵן [vs. 12a] above). According to Gotthelf Bergsträsser, the first *w^eqatal* of the two connected *w^eqatal* in Dan 8:12c and 12d marks a conditional sentence and both *w^eqatal* have past-tense meaning (*Hebräische Grammatik: mit Benutzung der von E. Kautzsch bearbeiteten 28. Auflage von Wilhelm Gesenius' hebräischer Grammatik* [Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929, reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1962], 2:44 [§9k]). In this case, the best translation of וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה would be "when it performed it prospered." Unfortunately, in the texts cited by Bergsträsser to prove such a construction, the two *w^eqatal* forms follow after previous *wayyiqtol* forms (Exod 16:21; Num 10:17; 2 Sam 12:16; 2 Kgs 6:10) or *qatal* forms (1 Sam 17:34; 1 Kgs 18:10). Therefore, these passages do not constitute parallels and thus are not relevant for the case in Dan 8:12, where the two *w^eqatal* forms are preceded by a *yiqtol* (vs. 12a) and a *w^eyiqtol* form (vs. 12b).

[1]Gzella opts for the second alternative (60).

Table 10. Occurrences of the Verbal Root צלח in the Hebrew Bible

	Gen–Deut	Josh–2 Kgs	Isa–Ezek	Hos–Mal	Dan	1+2 Chr	Others
Qal	1	9	12	1	1	0	1
Hiphil	8	4	5	0	4	13	6
Haphel	–	–	–	–	2	–	2
Total (69)	9	13	17	1	7	13	9

Second, the root צלח "bears a marked theological imprint in the vast majority of its occurrences."[1] Particularly in the Hiphil the verb often indicates that YHWH is at work who provides progress and success and that there is a connection between what a person does and what happens to that person, a direct or an indirect relationship between piety or faithfulness and success.[2] In other words, "success or nonsuccess depends on the conformity with the will of God, and on his support."[3] The use of צלח with this theological implication is already well established in the Pentateuch and occurs also in the prophets and writings.[4] This theological idea is similarly suggested by the absolute use of

[1]M. Sæbø, "צלח *ṣlḥ* to succeed," *TLOT*, 3:1079.

[2]See Jutta Hausmann, "צָלַח *ṣālaḥ*," *TDOT*, 12:384-385.

[3]Baltzer, *Deutero-Isaiah*, 423. Cf. also Sæbø, "צלח," 3:1079: "'success' comes—directly or indirectly—from God"; Alex Luc, "צלח (# 7502/7503)," *NIDOTTE*, 3:804: "Theologically, *ṣlḥ* emphasizes that God alone is the one who gives success"; and Merten Rabenau, *Studien zum Buch Tobit*, BZAW, no. 220 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 103-106, who in his brief survey on the use of צלח in the OT points to the "close relationship of the divine guidance and the thus achieved success with the person's behavior and deeds that are pleasing to God," as well as to the link of צלח with the concept of "God's being with" (*'Mit-Sein' Gottes*) (105).

[4]In the Torah, צלח occurs in the encounter of the oldest servant of Abraham with Rebekah (Gen 24:21, 40, 42, 56), in the Joseph narrative (Gen 39:2, 3, 23), in Moses' warning to the people not

עשׂה of God in the Psalms.[1]

The combination of עשׂה and צלח echoes those passages in which עשׂה and צלח are used to express that someone is acting and having success: Gen 39:3, 23; Ps 1:3 (וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂה יַצְלִיחַ); Dan 8:12, 24; 2 Chr 31:21 (בְּכָל־לְבָבוֹ עָשָׂה וְהִצְלִיחַ).[2]

In the book of Daniel, first the three friends (3:30) and then Daniel (6:29) prosper with God's help. Thus, the use of צלח in the narrative section of the book of Daniel reflects its usual theological implications. However, in the occurrences in chap. 8 it is the horn, respectively its host, which prospers. Despite the fact that the horn's host does not have God on its side, it still prospers.[3] This is incongruent with the theological meaning of צלח.[4]

The comment given by a holy one in vs. 12d,[5] stating that the host prospers, is

---

to go up to Canaan because YHWH is not with them (Num 14:41 Qal); and in the covenantal blessings and curses (Deut 28:29). In all these occurrences it is explicit that success depends on the will of God. In the prophets and writings, see Josh 1:8; Judg 18:5; 1 Kgs 22:12, 15; Isa 48:15; Jer 2:37; Ps 1:3; Neh 2:20.

[1]Pss 22:32; 37:5; 52:11. So pointed out by Driver, *Daniel*, 118.

[2]Cf. the use of עשׂה and צלח in close relation in Josh 1:8; Isa 55:11 (the only example which refers to the activity of God); Ezek 17:15; Ps 37:7; Dan 11:36; 1 Chr 22:13; 2 Chr 7:11; and the combination of מַעֲשֶׂה "work, deed" and צלח in 2 Chr 31:21; 32:30.

[3]*Pace* Kranichfeld, 295; Zöckler, 177; Prince, *Daniel*, 147; and Rose and Fuller, 344, who believe that the use of צלה and עשׂה indicates that the enemy prospered "by God's permission."

[4]Hävernick points out: "that which otherwise can only be said about the pious (Ps 1:3), seems to apply here with just as much right to the tyrant" (281). Von Lengerke even suggests that the words in Dan 8:12c-d are borrowed from Ps 1:3 (383).

[5]See the analysis of vs. 13a and the text-grammatical analysis below.

therefore all the more so incomprehensible.[1] Why should an aggressor and enemy of God be successful if real success "depends on the conformity with the will of God, and on his support"? Seen from its theological implications וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה "and it will do and it will prosper" represents a fitting climax to the attack on the *tāmî d* and truth. The "how long" question by another holy one appears as a logical reaction and raises the question about the (non)involvement of God. "How long will the prospering of the horn and its host last?" implies "When will God bring to an end the success of the horn?" This question is well justified, since, as can be concluded from Dan 11:27 and 11:36, God does set an end to the prospering of evil forces. The success of the wicked lasts only for a limited time (cf. Ps 73:17). Thus, the question in 8:13c expresses the desire to know the time of the predetermined end of the horn's and its host's success.

In light of the above the use of צלח in Dan 8:12d is pregnant with theological meaning. It reminds the reader of YHWH who is the grantor of success and prosperity, but who is seemingly absent here. At the most, צלח may indirectly indicate that God is still present and allows the horn and its host to prosper, but only for a limited time. However, the limitation of the horn's success is only explicit through the answer in 8:14b-c. More probable, צלח is another indication of the divine prerogatives which the horn takes. As God grants success to those in conformity with his will, so the horn gives success to the host which acts according to the horn's will.

---

[1]Plöger comments that vs. 12c and 12d by stating that the horn's activities have success express the incomprehensibility of the events (*Daniel*, 126).

Clause 13a

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

13a [וָאֶשְׁמְעָה] [אֶחָד־קָדוֹשׁ מְדַבֵּר]

waw+Qal-ipf/1sgc/+*he*-ending num/sgm/ adj/sgm/ Piel-ptc/sgm/

wayyiqtol(waw+Qal-ipf/1sgc/+*he*-ending) NumWG(num/sgm/ adj/sgm/) Piel-ptc/sgm/

P.Sy [+1.Sy] +2.Sy
predicate [+subject] +object

Clause type: *wayyiqtol.*

The verbal first person form וָאֶשְׁמְעָה refers to the narrator Daniel (8:1; cf. vss. 15, 27). The paragogic ־ָה can be added to the *wayyiqtol* form; a phenomenon that occurs ten times in the book of Daniel and should not be considered as an argument of discontinuity or even different authorship in this instance.[1] It is not necessary to detect a specific function of the cohortative, though in light of the meaning of the clause, which will be discussed later, Schindele's suggestion is intriguing that וָאֶשְׁמְעָה "designates an intensive form of hearing" that could be translated with "to hear exactly" (*genau hören*).[2]

The numeral may precede its accompanying noun as it does in אֶחָד־קָדוֹשׁ, though

---

[1]*Pace* Hasslberger, 104. *Wayyiqtol* forms with paragogic ־ָה occur in Dan 8:13, 15, 17; 9:3, 4 (2x); 10:16 (2x), 19; 12:8; whereas the *wayyiqtol* /1sgc/ does not have the ending ־ָה in Dan 8:3, 16, 27 (2x); 10:5, 9, 16; 12:7. The *wayyiqtol* /1sgc/ with paragogic ־ָה occurs predominantly in the first person narrative portions of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah (Driver, *Treatise*, 74-75 [§69]), but it should not be considered a feature of "late" BH (Robert Rezetko, "Dating Biblical Hebrew: Evidence from Samuel–Kings and Chronicles," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. I. Young, JSOTSup, no. 369 [London: Clark, 2003], 227-228).

[2]Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," 9.

this is rare.[1] Here the numeral אֶחָד could indicate indefiniteness,[2] and with the occurrence of a second אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ in vs. 13b it is best to take the אֶחָד . . . אֶחָד construction as being used with antithetical function, meaning "one . . . another" or "the one . . . the other."[3] Thus, the two phrases אֶחָד־קָדוֹשׁ "a holy one" and אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ "another holy one" in vs. 13a-b show that two distinct holy ones are engaged in conversation.[4]

---

[1]Also in Num 31:28, 30 and Cant 4:9. Cf. König, 3:317-318 (§310b); Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, 50 (§35 R. 1); Lambert, *Grammaire hébraïque*, 216 (§621 n. 2). Ewald notes that the place of the numeral אֶחָד before the accompanying noun is also found in Aramaic (*Syntax*, 40 [§278a]; thus also Zimmermann, "Aramaic Origin," 257).

[2]See Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 179.

[3]So König 3:317-318 (§310b); followed by Marti, *Daniel*, 59; Charles, 209-210. The translation "one . . . another" is chosen by Driver, *Daniel*, 118; Montgomery, 344; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 198; Lucas, *Daniel*, 206; the translation "the one . . . the other" by Bevan, 134; Hasslberger, 104. Thus, אֶחָד is in apposition with קָדוֹשׁ so that אֶחָד־קָדוֹשׁ means "one, a holy one" (so GKC, 401 [§125b]; Montgomery, 344; Charles, 210). It is not necessary to explain an omission of the definite article before קָדוֹשׁ (cf. Paul Riessler, *Das Buch Daniel: textkritische Untersuchung* [Stuttgart: Roth, 1899], 31, who supposes such an omission and explains it as a late Hebrew feature).

[4]Three unique suggestions are questionable. First, Behrmann proposes that אֶחָד־קָדוֹשׁ should be understood as a divine name, viz. "the Only-Holy-One" (*Einzig-Heilige*) (54). This proposal fails for two reasons. For one, קָדוֹשׁ is not determined by the article which would have been expected if Behrmann's suggestion has credit (so König, 2:417 [§122.5b], 3:318 [§310b]). And then there is another אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ in the following clause (vs. 13b) whose identity is clearly different from the first holy one, since the article in הַמְדַבֵּר has anaphoric function and refers to the holy one speaking in vs. 13a (so Hasslberger, 104). The second suggestion is that the holy one in vs. 13a and the holy one in vs. 13b refer to the same being. Lacocque suggests that אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ singles out "one of the Saints" of the host in vss. 11-13 and that the second אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ designates the same individual as before: "and this particular Saint spoke to the individual (named Daniel) who had asked . . . he told *me*: for 2,300 evenings and mornings, etc." (*The Book of Daniel*, 163-164). Also Maier believes that the holy one in vs. 13a and 13b is the same, but in contrast to Lacocque he regards the one spoken to (פַּלְמוֹנִי) as being Gabriel (308). However, both Lacocque's and Maier's proposal are highly hypothetical and cannot explain adequately the function of second הַמְדַבֵּר (vs. 13b), which refers to מְדַבֵּר in vs. 13a. Finally, Archer regards it as possible that even three "holy ones" are involved in conversation: the second angel ("another holy one") posed the question to the third angel (לַפַּלְמוֹנִי הַמְדַבֵּר) who answers in vs. 14 (7:102). Again, the relation between הַמְדַבֵּר (vs. 13b) and מְדַבֵּר (vs. 13a) creates a problem.

מְדַבֵּר and the syntax of object clauses to שמע with
a predicative participle of uttering

The phrase אֶחָד־קָדוֹשׁ מְדַבֵּר functions as object clause after the predicate וָאֶשְׁמְעָה, a verb of perception.[1] Such a participial object clause following the verb שמע, with the participle being a verb of utterance, occurs sixteen times in BH.[2] These clauses express an acoustic perception of someone who is speaking, whereby "the person speaking is only perceived through its word. The person itself is not object of the perception, rather its word, respectively its words."[3] The focus of perception in Dan 8:13 therefore is not so much on the appearance of a holy one but on the speaking of a holy one. Schult regards the form of Dan 8:13a as unclear whether the indeterminate participle מְדַבֵּר functions as verbal predicate ("I heard a holy one *speaking*") or as nominal attribute to אֶחָד־קָדוֹשׁ ("I heard a *speaking* holy one").[4] Syntactically speaking, Schult's undecidedness is supported. However, a comparison with all the other references of the verb שמע + object clause with participle of דבר shows that the participle of דבר always

[1]Object clauses with indeterminate participle occur after verbs of perception. See König 3:597-598, §410; for the verb שמע + participle object clause see §410d; GKC, 365 (§117h); Hermann Schult, "Akkusativ mit Partizip bei Verben der Wahrnehmung im Bibelhebräischen," *DBAT* 12 (1977): 7-13, who provides a list of references of this construction with the verbs of perception ראה "see," שמע "hear," and מצא "find"; and for שמע see Jesús Arambarri, *Der Wortstamm "hören" im Alten Testament: Semantik und Syntax eines hebräischen Verbs*, SBB, no. 20 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1990), 218-222. Schult formulates the grammatical rule: "After the verbs ראה 'see,' שמע 'hear,' and מצא 'find' stands the accusative with participle when it should be expressed that a 'subject' together with its 'predicate' is the direct object of the perception" (7).

[2]Gen 27:6; 37:17; Num 7:89; 11:10; Deut 4:33; 5:26 (cf. vs. 23); 1 Sam 2:24; Isa 6:8; Jer 20:1; 26:7; 31:18; Ezek 1:28; 2:2; 43:6; Eccl 7:21; Dan 8:13. Participial object clauses after שמע in which the participle is not a verb of utterance occur only in Gen 3:8 and 1 Kgs 14:6 (cf. Schult, 8-9).

[3]Arambarri, 200; cf. 220.

[4]Schult, 8.

functions predicatively. Thus, מְדַבֵּר in Dan 8:13a may assumed to be a predicative participle also.[1]

The question to be considered is whether the participle "speaking" in Dan 8:13a is used without any reference to the content of what was spoken. The syntax of the object clause to שמע that contains a predicative participle of uttering sheds light on this issue.

The extended form of שמע + object clause is "שמע + object (person or קול + person in a construct relation)[2] + indeterminate participle of uttering" which can be translated "to hear someone/a voice uttering." The object clause to שמע can be transformed into a clause by itself with the participle as predicate. For example, the object clause (in italics) in "The priests . . . heard *Jeremiah speaking these words in the house of YHWH*" (Jer 26:7) can be transformed into the clause "Jeremiah was speaking these words in the house of YHWH." The participle of the object clause, a verb of utterance, becomes the verb of the transformed clause. The question here, as well as for Dan 8:13a, is whether and how often an object to the verb of utterance occurs in such a transformed clause.[3] Table 11 illustrates the findings (Dan 8:13a is included).

---

[1]Arambarri, 220.

[2]Arambarri differentiates between clauses in which the object is a person and clauses in which the object is קול (219-222). The distinction has semantic value as the addition of קול appears to emphasize the audibility. Syntactically, however, there is no difference between the two, as Arambarri himself admits: "Syntaktisch bleibt der Satz unverändert, nur wird jetzt die Hörbarkeit betont. Das geschieht, weil der Vorgang in den konkreten Belegen ausschließlich durch קול sinnlich hörbar wird" (220). U. Rütersworden has the impression that קול as object of שמע functions as expletive, affirming its syntactic insignificance ("שָׁמַע *šāmaʿ*," *ThWAT*, 8:261). It is therefore not necessary to distinguish in my syntactic presentation between the semantic nuances of a person as object and of קול + person as object.

[3]Such an object of a verb of utterance can be a direct object in the clause itself, or indirect speech that constitutes a clause, or direct speech that can consist of a number of sentences.

Table 11. Syntax of Object Clauses to שמע with Predicative Participles of Uttering

Verbal Root of the Participle	With Object	Content of Utterance Supplied by the Context[1]	Without Object
אמר say	Gen 37:17 F[2] Isa 6:8 F[2]		
בכה weep		Num 11:10 P[3]	
דבר speak	Gen 27:6 F[4] Jer 26:7 P	Num 7:89 F[5] Deut 4:33 P Deut 5:26(23) P[6] Ezek 1:28 F[7] Ezek 2:2 F[8] Ezek 43:6 F[9] Dan 8:13 P	
נבא prophesy	Jer 20:1 P		
נוד lament	Jer 31:18 F[10]		
עבר circulate	1 Sam 2:24 P[11]		
קלל curse			Eccl 7:21

Note: The table also indicates whether the mention of the content of what is uttered and heard precedes the clause (P) or follows the clause (F)—There may be a slight difference between the object (a syntactic term) and the content of the utterance (a semantic term). For example, in Jer 26:7 the direct object "these words" is expressed in the clause itself. However, it still can be asked whether the content of what is said, the actual words spoken, is found in the text preceding or following the clause.

[1]In these cases it may be argued that strictly on a syntactic level there is no object in the transformed object clause (especially with the verb בכה "weep"). However, the context mentions the content of what is spoken and heard, and which is therefore referred to and implied by the verb of utterance in the object clause to שמע.
[2]The object of the "saying" is the direct speech immediately following.
[3]The content of the "weeping" is found in Num 11:4-6. In vs. 13, Moses refers to the people's weeping (בכה) which he heard and states that the content of the weeping was "Give us meat that we may eat." This weeping is expressed in 11:4: "the sons of Israel wept (בכה) again, and said 'Who will give us meat to eat?'"
[4]The object of the "speaking" follows immediately as direct speech in vs. 7 after the introductory לֵאמֹר.
[5]The content of the "speaking" (Num 7:89) is given in 8:2 after the introductory (and transitory) clause in vs. 1.
[6]The "speaking" of God mentioned here does not refer to a specific utterance in the immediate context

but to the people's past experience of multiple utterances of God out of the fire. The content of speaking is therefore marked as "preceding the clause" in Deut 4:33, respectively 5:26(23).
[7]The content of the speech is reported in the next verse after the introductory וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי "and he spoke to me" (Ezek 2:1).
[8]Again, the content of what is spoken is reported in the next verse, Ezek 2:3, after the introductory וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי "and he spoke to me."
[9]For a third time in the book of Ezekiel, the content of the "speaking" is reported in the next verse, Ezek 43:7, after an off-line remark ("while a man was standing beside me," vs. 6) and the introductory וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי "and he spoke to me."
[10]The object of the "grieving" follows immediately as direct speech.
[11]The object is the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר which refers back to the report (הַשְּׁמֻעָה, vs. 24) of what Eli had heard about his sons' behavior (vs. 22).

In fourteen out of fifteen object clauses to שׁמע with a participle of utterance, excluding Dan 8:13a, the content of what is spoken is provided by the context.[1] For the verbal root דבר the results are even more compelling: In all eight instances, besides Dan 8:13a, a direct object is expressed or can be supplied from the context.

It seems then possible to draw the following conclusion: When stated that someone hears an utterance it is implied that the utterance is not merely a sound but has content and is indeed heard as an utterance with content. Therefore, it is likely that the clause "and I heard a holy one speaking" in Dan 8:13a implies a specific content that may be known by reviewing the context. The use of the cohortative וָאֶשְׁמְעָה to possibly indicate an intensive form of hearing or listening[2] provides additional support for this idea.

That the content of what the holy one was speaking is syntactically missing in Dan

---

[1]Only the verb קלל "curse" (Eccl 7:21) does not take a direct object. This exception can be explained by the fact that the verb קלל expresses a performative utterance, that is, the verb denotes an activity which is performed by just saying that one does it (e.g., "I curse you" or "I bless you"). A verb of performative utterance does not require an object that states what is said.

[2]Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," 9.

8:13a is also illustrated by a transformation of the clause וָאֶשְׁמְעָה אֶחָד־קָדוֹשׁ מְדַבֵּר into a main clause with a relative clause.[1] Such a transformation of vs. 13a results in "and I heard [*something*] that a holy one was speaking." Obviously, the content of the speech is left out or not provided (maybe because Daniel did not clearly understand what was said by the holy one?) or that which is spoken has to be supplied by the context.

Interestingly, when שמע takes the nominal object דָּבָר "word, speech" the perception of the content of the words is emphasized.[2] As has been found before, the same kind of "reception of words and their content" applies to cases where שמע takes an object clause with the verbal element דבר.[3]

---

[1]The possibility of this transformation process is easily recognized. A comparison of Jer 26:7 with Jer 38:1 suggests that the object clause "heard *Jeremiah speaking these words*" (26:7) can be transformed into a main clause with a relative clause: "heard *the words* that *Jeremiah was speaking*" (Jer 38:1). In this transformation the predicate and the subject of the object clause become the predicate and the subject of the relative clause, and the object of the object clause becomes the object of the main clause. See also Deut 5:1; Jer 28:7; Ezek 2:8 and 44:5 for constructions in which the main clause has the predicate שמע and an object that is extended by a relative clause with a participle of דבר (with a participle of אמר in Mic 6:1). In three instances, what was said follows the שמע clause (Deut 5:1; Jer 28:7; Ezek 44:5; also Mic 6:1). In Ezek 2:8 the speaking may refer to what the man figure said before (2:3-7), and/or to what he said after his command (2:8; 3:1-11), or it even may be a general call for the prophet at the beginning of his commission. The similar command in 3:10 may indicate that the commands in 2:8 and 3:10 are each given at the end of a speech in order to emphasize and affirm what has just been said.

[2]Arambarri points out that "aside from a perception relating to sound, there is also a perception relating to content. Such a perception occurs with the object שמע דבר: The perception is not dependent on sense but mainly on content. The reception of words occurs in reference to content, so that with this object there exists an activity of speaking that is different from the sense perception. The object extends the sphere of perception, and the verbal action widens. Thus, hearing is not only a reception of sounds, but also a reception of words and their contents" (230, cf. 202). Cf. W. H. Schmidt in J. Bergman, H. Lutzmann, and W. H. Schmidt, "דָּבָר *dābhar*," *TDOT*, 3:107: "*dabhar* is also used as the object of verbs of hearing, which depict the word as intelligible, understandable."

[3]Obviously the root דבר has a slightly different semantic notion when it stands in dependence of the verbal root שמע—namely, it refers also to the content of the words spoken—as when it occurs alone as the main predicate of a sentence. In the latter case דבר can also be found without referring to what was spoken and then it just focuses upon the activity of speaking and not upon the result or content of the speech. For this semantic notion of דבר, which is often pointed out in comparison with

Since the syntactic-semantic construction in Dan 8:13a implies that the content of the speech of the holy one is heard, the context may possibly supply the content. Here, another observation from the findings in table 11 above becomes important. The content of what is spoken may precede[1] or may follow[2] the clause where it is said that someone heard the utterance. In the case of Dan 8:13a it is the preceding text which should be explored for the content of the speech because the following text (vs. 13b) mentions that another holy one is speaking. The suggestion then is that the content of what is spoken by the holy one in vs. 13a is supplied in vs. 12a-12d, which is marked by the discourse type style of the verbal forms in vs. 12. Put differently, vs. 12 contains the words of the holy one who is mentioned in vs. 13a as being heard speaking by Daniel.

Wayyiqtol וָאֶשְׁמְעָה

It seems that the *wayyiqtol* form וָאֶשְׁמְעָה is a major obstacle for the suggestion that vs. 12 expresses what the holy one of vs. 13a said. Usually, this *wayyiqtol* form is

---

the semantic meaning of אמר, see G. Gerleman, "דָּבָר *dābār* word," *TLOT*, 1:327-328; Bergman, Lutzmann, and Schmidt, 3:98-100; Mats Eshkult, "Über einige hebräische Verben des Sprechens – Etymologie und Metapher," *Orientalia Suecana* 38-39 (1989-1990): 32; Samuel A. Meier, *Speaking of Speaking: Marking Direct Discourse in the Hebrew Bible*, VTSup, no. 46 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 141-144; Cynthia L. Miller, *The Representation of Speech in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: A Linguistic Analysis*, HSM, no. 55 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1996), 373. *DCH* notes that the verb דבר occurs "usu[ally] in a particular situation; with or without ref[erent] to the content of what is spoken" (2:387-388). Contrarily, it seems that דבר in the Piel "has a great capacity for taking objects" (Gerleman, 1:328; cf. the entry of "דבר I" in *DCH*, 2:387-396). On the resultative use of the Piel, Jenni suggests that דבר means "to utter specific words" with the object already implied. For him, the resultative always has in view a specific content of words, whether it is mentioned or just implied. The infinitival and participial use of דבר designates the event of speaking, respectively the agent, and therefore the object can be unspecified (Jenni, *Das hebräische Piᶜel*, 165).

[1]With דבר: Deut 4:33; 5:26(23); Jer 26:7; with other verbs: Num 11:10; 1 Sam 2:24; Jer 20:1.

[2]With דבר: Gen 27:6; Num 7:89; Ezek 1:28; 2:2; 43:6; with other verbs: Gen 37:17; Isa 6:8; Jer 31:18.

understood like the majority of *wayyiqtol* forms: as a sequential *wayyiqtol* indicating progression in time. The hearing in vs. 13a then follows in the past after Daniel had seen the events described in vs. 12; and וָאֶשְׁמְעָה is attributed perfective aspect.[1]

The above suggestion however raises the question whether it is possible that the object clause after the *wayyiqtol* form of שמע can refer to what was said previously. In such a case vs. 13a would describe the act of hearing, which in chronological sequence should precede the report of what was being said given in vs. 12. The question therefore is: Can a *wayyiqtol* form have pluperfect meaning? To this end, the major steps in the scholarly discussion on the pluperfect use of *wayyiqtol* are first briefly outlined. Then, attention is directed to possible occurrences of a *wayyiqtol* form of שמע with an object clause that refers to what was uttered previously.

***Wayyiqtol* with pluperfect sense.** S. R. Driver's *Treatise* (1892) was highly influential throughout the end of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century.[2] He denied a pluperfect use of *wayyiqtol* except for instances expressing "the *continuation* of a plupf."[3] or instances "occurring at the beginning of a narrative, or paragraph."[4] Blake, Davidson, and Bergsträsser follow Driver in that a *wayyiqtol* with pluperfect sense

---

[1]So, e.g., Gzella, 143.

[2]Driver, *Treatise*, 84-89 (§76).

[3]Ibid., 84 (his emphasis).

[4]Ibid., 88.

occurs apparently only in continuance of a preceding perfect with that meaning.[1] Similarly, for König the *wayyiqtol* is only sequential, and there is no independent pluperfect use of the *wayyiqtol*.[2]

In the second half of the twentieth century this previously accepted and dominant view has been seriously challenged. In a 1968 paper, W. J. Martin studied dischronologized narration and observes that the pluperfect sense of a verb form is demanded by the situation or context.[3] According to Martin the motives for "dischronologization" vary:

> In some cases nothing more seems to be involved than the reversal of the chronological order as a concession to memory. Or the purpose might be to arrange incidents according to their geographical distribution. A writer, on the other hand, might wish to subordinate and arrange incidents according to their relative importance. The major consideration with any writer of literary talent would be to present his material so organized as to stimulate attention and to communicate it effectively.[4]

The most extensive argumentation against Driver and in support of the use of *wayyiqtol* as pluperfect is D. W. Baker's 1973 master's thesis.[5] To him, the pluperfect sense is dependent upon any context and situation "where the temporal relationship

---

[1]Frank R. Blake, *A Resurvey of Hebrew Tenses: With an Appendix Hebrew Influence on Biblical Aramaic*, Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici, no. 103 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1951), 49 (§31); Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, 72-73 (§48c and n. 2); Bergsträsser, 2:27 (§6d).

[2]König, 3:51-53 (§142).

[3]W. J. Martin, "'Dischronologized' Narrative in the Old Testament," in *Congress Volume: Rome 1968*, VTSup, no. 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 179-186 (for the pluperfect sense see p. 181).

[4]Ibid., 186.

[5]David Weston Baker, "The Consecutive Non-perfective as Pluperfect in the Historical Books of the Hebrew Old Testament (Genesis – Kings)" (Master of Christian Studies thesis, Regent College, 1973), esp. 54-99.

between an event in the past and another event which preceded it must be expressed."[1] Baker argues that there are *wayyiqtol* forms used as pluperfect which do not follow another verbal form with the same sense. He refers to thirty-eight texts in which a pluperfect *wayyiqtol* is used.[2] Though one has to admit that not all of Baker's examples are equally convincing, the category of *wayyiqtol* functioning as pluperfect has been well established. Since Baker, the pluperfect use of *wayyiqtol* has been recognized by several other grammatical and linguistic works.[3]

The next contribution is R. Buth's linguistic analysis of "unmarked temporal overlay" in 1994.[4] He mentions cases in which a *wayyiqtol* form is used but the

---

[1]Ibid., 100 (cf. 4).

[2]Baker, 54-99. He lists Gen 19:29 (וַיְהִי); 29:12 (וַיַּגֵּד), 24 (וַיִּתֵּן), 29 (וַיִּתֵּן); 35:7 (וַיִּקְרָא), 15 (וַיִּקְרָא); Exod 2:10 (וַתִּקְרָא); 14:8 (וַיְחַזֵּק); 19:2 (וַיִּסְעוּ); Josh 2:16 (וַתֹּאמֶר); 8:4 (וַיְצַו); 13:24 (וַיִּתֵּן), 29 (וַיִּתֵּן); 18:8 (וַיְצַו); 1 Sam 7:13 (וַיִּכָּנְעוּ); 9:25 (וַיֵּרְדוּ), 26 (וַיִּקְרָא); 14:6 (וַיֹּאמֶר); 17:13 (וַיֵּלְכוּ); 26:4 (וַיִּשְׁלַח); 2 Sam 4:3 (וַיִּבְרְחוּ), 4 (וַתִּשָּׂאֵהוּ), 7 (וַיָּבֹאוּ); 12:27 (וַיִּשְׁלַח); 13:28 (וַיְצַו), 34 (וַיִּבְרַח); 1 Kgs 7:13 (וַיִּשְׁלַח); 9:14 (וַיִּשְׁלַח); 11:15 (וַיְהִי); 18:3 (וַיִּקְרָא); 21:9 (וַתִּכְתֹּב); 22:37 (וַיָּמָת); 2 Kgs 6:29 (וַתַּחְבִּא); 7:7 (וַיָּקוּמוּ), 19 (וַיַּעַן); 13:14 (וַיֵּרֶד), 24 (וַיָּמָת); 17:13 (וַיָּעַד). Under the category "problem passages" Baker refers to six *wayyiqtol* forms of which he is not certain whether they have pluperfect sense (106-111): Gen 6:1 (וַיְהִי); 25:20 (וַיְהִי); 1 Sam 18:3 (וַיִּכְרֹת), 8 (וַיִּחַר); 20:16 (וַיִּכְרֹת); 23:18 (וַיִּכְרְתוּ). Previously, the pluperfect sense of the *wayyiqtol* forms in 2 Sam 4:4; 12:27; Josh 2:16; 1 Kgs 9:14; 18:3 has been argued also by Martin ("'Dischronologized' Narrative," 181-186), who furthermore cited 1 Kgs 1:7 as example. Sporadically, grammars had also identified pluperfect *wayyiqtol*s, e.g., in 1 Sam 17:13 by Ewald, *Syntax*, 254 (§346c n. 3).

[3]Waltke and O'Connor tend to regard the use of *wayyiqtol* to represent pluperfect situations "as a subvariety of epexegetical use" and give Exod 4:19 (וַיֹּאמֶר); Num 1:48 (וַיְדַבֵּר), 1 Kgs 13:12 (וַיִּרְאוּ) as examples (Waltke and O'Conner, 552-553). Similarly, Gibson, *Syntax*, 96 (§78 n. 1), who adds 1 Sam 14:24; Isa 38:21,22; 39:1; Jer 39:11; Zech 7:2; Neh 2:9; Jan P. Lettinga, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 169 (§72d), who refers to Jonah 2:1; 3:6 (vss. 6-9 are previous to vs. 5); and 4:5 (vss. 5-8 are previous to vss. 1-4); and *BHRG*, 168 (§21.2.3). Now and then, another pluperfect *wayyiqtol* is detected, for example, Winther-Nielsen recognizes a past perfect *wayyitol* in narration in Josh 10:8 (278).

[4]Randall Buth, "Methodological Collision Between Source Criticism and Discourse Analysis: The Problem of 'Unmarked Temporal Overlay' and the Pluperfect/Nonsequential *Wayyiqtol*," in *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics*, ed. R. D. Bergen (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1994), 138-154, esp. 142-144.

"temporal development of the story pauses and retreats."[1] Buth calls this phenomenon "grammatically unmarked temporal overlay"[2] in contrast to a temporal overlay that is grammatically marked by the *waw-x-qatal* structure. At a juncture of unmarked temporal overlay a pluperfect *wayyiqtol* may occur. Such unmarked temporal overlay may be noticed by two different methods: "through lexical reference and/or repetition" (e.g., compare Lev 16:11 with 16:6-7, or Judg 20:36-39 with 20:31-33) or "based on culturally natural semantic relationships with the previous sentence" (e.g., וַיּוֹלֶד in Judg 11:1, or וַיִּשְׁמַע in Isa 39:1).[3] As motivation for unmarked temporal overlay, Buth submits the communicative effect such a structure might have. He observes cautiously that a "*wayyiqtol* cannot be allowed to indiscriminately refer to any tense situation. There were strong restrictions that made the structure quite rare and these must be part of a grammatical description."[4]

The last contribution to the discussion thus far is by C. J. Collins who builds on Buth's observations and applies them to a larger corpus. Collins suggests that an unmarked pluperfect use of *wayyiqtol* can be detected when one of three conditions are met (the first two correspond to Buth's two conditions): When "some anaphoric reference explicitly points back to a previous event," or "the logic of the referent described requires that an event presented by a *wayyiqtol* verb form actually took place prior to the event

---

[1]Ibid., 142.

[2]Ibid., 143.

[3]Ibid., 142.

[4]Ibid., 152 n. 6.

presented by a previous verb," or "the verb begins a section or paragraph."[1]

Though the pluperfect or past perfect use of *wayyiqtol* as discussed has been controversial, at the present time it seems best to allow for a pluperfect use not as a general option for the *wayyiqtol* form but under specific circumstances.

Pluperfect use of *wayyiqtol* וָאֶשְׁמְעָה in Dan 8:13a. The pluperfect use of וָאֶשְׁמְעָה in Dan 8:13a can be identified by the second criteria suggested by Buth and Collins. From the natural semantic relationship one expects that the event of hearing someone speaking (vs. 13a) is mentioned before the content of the speech (vs. 12) is reported—on the basis that the verbal forms of the clauses in vs. 12 and the construction "to hear someone speaking" indicate that vs. 12 is direct speech and reports what the holy one said.

In fact, there are three other cases in BH where after a *wayyiqtol* form of שׁמע the object clause refers to what was said previously, and the *wayyiqtol* should be translated with pluperfect sense: Jer 26:7; Jer 20:1; and Num 11:10. In this sense, Dan 8:13a is not a unique case.

In Jer 26:7 the words Jeremiah was speaking are found in the immediately preceding verses (Jer 26:2-6). Regarding time, the *wayyiqtol* form וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ in vs. 7 refers to an activity which is contemporary to Jeremiah's speaking mentioned in vss. 2-6. In other words, the *wayyiqtol* וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ does not indicate a strictly sequential action, an action

[1]C. John Collins, "The *Wayyiqtol* as 'Pluperfect': When and Why," *TynB* 46 (1995): 117-140, esp. 127-128. In addition to the instances suggested previously, Collins identifies וַיִּצֶר (Gen 2:19) as a pluperfect use of a *wayyiqtol.*

that follows in time to the activity mentioned previously. The basic structure of this passage is as follows:

26:2-6 The word from the Lord
26:7 *wayyiqtol* (וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ)
subject
object clause: subject +participle (מְדַבֵּר) +object (refers back to vss. 2-6)
26:8 וַיְהִי + temporal adjunct/clause[1] + *wayyiqtol*

The same construction is found in Jer 20:1. As Pashur was chief officer in the house of the Lord (Jer 20:1), the "words" or "things" Jeremiah had prophesied certainly refer back to Jeremiah's words of prophecy spoken "in the court of the Lord's house" (19:14) which are reported in 19:15. The structure is:

19:15 prophecy of Jeremiah in the court of the Lord's house
20:1 *wayyiqtol* (וַיִּשְׁמַע)
subject
object clause: subject +participle (נִבָּא) +object (referring back to 19:15)
20:2 *wayyiqtol*

The third occurrence of a *wayyiqtol* form of שמע with pluperfect sense is in Num 11:10. After the expressive weeping of the Israelites, which extends from vs. 4 to vs. 6, background information is given in vss. 7-9, so that the *wayyiqtol* וַיִּשְׁמַע in vs. 10 takes up the mainline narrative. In the primary storyline vs. 10 follows the words of weeping in vss. 4-6 so that the weeping which was heard (vs. 10) had already been described in vss. 4-6. The structure is:

---

[1]There is disagreement whether "וַיְהִי + temporal reference" should be regarded as an independent temporal clause or as a temporal adjunct. See Christo H. J. van der Merwe, "The Elusive Biblical Hebrew Term ויהי: A Perspective in Terms of Its Syntax, Semantics, and Pragmatics in 1 Samuel," *HS* 40 (1999): 83-114; especially his overview of the current issues on pp. 85-92.

11:4-6 weeping of the Israelites
11:7-9 background information
11:10 *wayyiqtol* (וַיִּשְׁמַע)
subject
object clause: subject +participle (בֹּכֶה) (weeping refers to 11:4-6)
11:10 *wayyiqtol*

The three texts presented show that a *wayyiqtol* form of שמע can have pluperfect meaning if the context requires it. As argued, the pluperfect meaning is also the best way to interpret וָאֶשְׁמְעָה in Dan 8:12-13a. The structure is:

8:12 the speech of a holy one
8:13a *wayyiqtol* (וָאֶשְׁמְעָה)
subject (implied in the verbal form)
object clause: subject +participle (מְדַבֵּר) +elliptical object (vs. 12)
8:13b *wayyiqtol*

To sum up, the arguments in favor of vs. 12 being a discourse and vs. 13a containing a pluperfect *wayyiqtol* are: (1) To hear somebody speaking (דבר) implies that the content of the speech is understood; (2) discourse-type verbal forms in vs. 12a-12d indicate direct speech; (3) the context suggests that a holy one is speaking to Daniel (vs. 14a and also vs. 12); (4) the vision ends structurally with vs. 11.[1] As a result, the *wayyiqtol* in Dan 8:13a has a pluperfect or past perfect sense. The clause represents an "unmarked temporal overlay" and should be translated with "And *I had heard* a holy one speaking."

This rare construction in Dan 8:13a raises two further questions regarding the motives for the use of a *wayyiqtol* pluperfect. First, Why does the narrator prefer not to be strictly sequential in Dan 8:12-13a? And second, Why does the narrator not indicate the pluperfect sense with the more common *x-qatal* clause type? Though we cannot

---

[1]For the last point see the analysis of the structure in the literary analysis in chapter 3 (below).

exactly know the intentions of the narrator, it seems possible to suggest some explanations based on the effect of the *wayyiqtol* pluperfect construction.

The placement of the content of the speech in vs. 12 without any hint before the narrative introduction to the speech in vs. 13a produces an abruptness in the speech of the holy one. The impression is that while Daniel was observing with his eyes (vss. 2, 3, 4, 5, 7), probably being absorbed by the vision, he all of a sudden heard an exclamatory statement. Such an abrupt interruption by a holy one seems to connect what he said more closely to the visionary movements just seen by Daniel. The obvious reason for this is that vs. 12a-12b is an explanatory comment on the horn's actions against the heavenly commander in chief mentioned in vs. 11b-11c. Daniel may not even have seen the holy ones, since no description at all is given of them.

In a supplementary way the *wayyiqtol* as pluperfect adds the mention of the speech while at the same time, in contrast to a *x-qatal* clause, it serves as narrative main line introduction of the short narration of the audition. The communicative effect would be to add the factual detail that the just mentioned clauses in vs. 12 had been heard without placing this narrative comment on the narrative offline.[1] In this regard it is important to note that "the backbone of the narrative . . . does not have to correlate with the actual course of events in time."[2] While the main narrative is carried on in vs. 13a, the prior report of the speech in vs. 12 emphasizes that the content of the speech is more

---

[1]For the suggestion that "the constraint of adding details to a passage without also demoting them off the mainline" may motivate a nonsequential use of the *wayyiqtol* see Buth, "Methodological Collision," 147-148.

[2]*BHRG*, 167 (§21.2.3).

important than its introduction.

At the same time the direct speech in vs. 12 and the *wayyiqtol* pluperfect use in vs. 13a provide an explanation for the puzzling אֵלַי "to me" in 8:14a. If vs. 12 and vs. 13 are structurally separated so that vs. 12 belongs to the visionary part and vs. 13 is the beginning of the audition, the two holy ones are talking to each other and Daniel merely listens to their conversation. Herein lies the reason why some scholars suggest emending אֵלַי to אֵלָיו "to him." However, the celestial being has already spoken to Daniel in vs. 12. One can imagine that this being addresses Daniel again after another celestial being asked a question that may have been on Daniel's mind, too. In other words, the first holy being speaks to Daniel in vs. 12 and, after being asked a question by another holy being (vs. 13b-c), the first one continues his speech toward Daniel in vs. 14. Table 12 illustrates the flow of the audition and why in vs. 14a it is said that the holy one speaks to Daniel.

Table 12. Structure of the Audition in Daniel 8:12-14

Text		Speaker	Addressee	Content of Speech
8:12-13a	13a:	a (first) holy one	Daniel	12a-12d
8:13b-c	13b:	another holy one	the first holy one	13c
8:14	14a:	he=the first holy one	Daniel ("to me")	14b-14c

Thus, both the vision and the audition are directed towards Daniel, making him the addressee of both. In this structure, vss. 12-13 form a small concentric pattern:

a Speech of the first holy one (vs. 12)
b First holy one (אֶחָד־קָדוֹשׁ) had spoken (vs. 13a)
b' Second holy one (אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ) said (vs. 13b)
a' Direct speech of the second holy one (vs. 13c)

Semantic Analysis of Words and Phrases

The only semantic issue in 8:13a concerns the referential meaning of קָדוֹשׁ. There is no question that the holy one mentioned in vs. 13a is a celestial being.[1] A more specific identification goes beyond the limit of this text.[2] This verse constitutes the first and only time in the Hebrew Bible that the singular "holy one" is used for a heavenly being. Elsewhere, the plural קְדֹשִׁים is used for celestial beings (Ps 89:6, 8; Zech 14:5), also קֹדֶשׁ (Deut 33:2), and in BA the singular קַדִּישׁ (Dan 4:10, 20) and the plural קַדִּישִׁין (Dan 4:14).[3] The referential meaning of the plural קַדִּישִׁין in Dan 7 (vss. 18, 21, 22, 25, 27) is disputed.[4] And the interpretation of the עַם־קְדֹשִׁים "people of holy ones" in Dan 8:24 not only depends upon the interpretation of the host of heaven and the stars in Dan 8:10 but also to some extent upon the interpretation of the holy ones of the Most High in Dan 7.

---

[1]All commentators agree that קָדוֹשׁ refers to a heavenly being, celestial spirit, or angel. For Lacocque this person is "an 'angelized' Saint" (*The Book of Daniel*, 163).

[2]Some identify these holy ones as members of the host of heaven in vss. 10-11 (so Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 163; Towner, 121). It has also been proposed that the first holy one is Gabriel (von Lengerke, 384-385; Maurer, 144-145; von Gall, 84-86) or Christ (Calvin, 105-106; Hävernick, 286; Ford, *Daniel*, 160).

[3]See Simon B. Parker, "Saints קדושים," *DDD*, 719.

[4]The question is whether the "holy ones of the Most High" in Dan 7 refers to angels or to human beings or to both. For this discussion see, e.g., Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, 234-239; and Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 313-317 (in particular the bibliographic references in notes 320-323); cf. John J. Collins, "Saints of the Most High קדישי עליונין," *DDD*, 720-722.

Clause 13b

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

13b [וַיֹּאמֶר] [אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ] [לַפַּלְמוֹנִי הַמְדַבֵּר]

waw+Qal-ipf/3sgm/ num/sgm/ adj/sgm/ prep+art+adj/sgm/ art+Piel-ptc/sgm/

wayyiqtol(waw+Qal-ipf/3sgm/) NumWG(num/sgm/ adj/sgm/)
PWG(prep+ArtWG(art+adj/sgm/)) ArtWG(art+Piel-ptc/sgm/)

P.Sy +1.Sy +3.Sy [+2.Sy = vs.13c-d]
predicate +subject +indirect object [+direct object]

Clause type: *wayyiqtol.*

After the first holy one had spoken "another holy one"[1] addresses the first one. The first holy one, already mentioned in vs. 13a as speaking, is again specified as the one who was speaking (by the adjectival participle הַמְדַבֵּר). Since speaking is the single characteristic mentioned for this holy one, it is apparently important and lends credit to the view that the speaking is actually recorded in vs. 12.

The hapax legomenon פַּלְמוֹנִי, which refers back to the holy one in vs. 13a,[2] has

---

[1]It is needless to suppose that the second אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ is a gloss (Delitzsch, 136) or, together with הַמְדַבֵּר, is an accidental repetition that should be excised (Moore, 197).

[2]Lacocque suggests that "the second אֶחָד קָדוֹשׁ should be understood as designating the same individual as before" and that לַפַּלְמוֹנִי refers to Daniel. He compares פַּלְמוֹנִי with הַלָּז "this one" which occurs as an imprecise designation for Daniel in Dan 8:16 (cf. also Judg 6:20; 1 Sam 17:26; 2 Kgs 4:25). He translates לַפַּלְמוֹנִי הַמְדַבֵּר in vs. 13b with "to the individual (namely Daniel) who had asked" and regards vs. 13c as Daniel's question (*Daniel*, 163-164). However, Lacocque's suggestion is problematic. First, the designation of the first holy one in vs. 13a as מְדַבֵּר "speaking" and the repetition of הַמְדַבֵּר in vs. 13b as designation of the פַּלְמוֹנִי indicates that the same person is meant. Up to vs. 13, it has not been mentioned that Daniel was speaking. In fact, in the whole of chap. 8, Daniel never speaks. He is simply portrayed in the position of the visionary who sees, hears and experiences the celestial revelation and explanation. It is therefore difficult to claim that in vs. 13b the attribute הַמְדַבֵּר "the speaking one" could have been given to Daniel. And second, there is no compelling reason to translate הַמְדַבֵּר as "who had asked," particularly since the same participle

been correctly explained as an extremely syncopated form of פְּלֹנִי אַלְמֹנִי "a certain one" or "so-and-so."[1] To give this expression any name-like qualities seems to be far-fetched.[2]

Clause 13c

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

13c [עַד־מָתַי] [הֶחָזוֹן] [(הַתָּמִיד) (וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם תֵּת) (וְקֹדֶשׁ) (וְצָבָא מִרְמָס)]

prep interrog art+noun/sgm/ art+adv waw+art+noun/sgm/ Qal-ptc/sgm/ Qal-inf/cs/ waw+noun/sgm/ waw+noun/sgc/ noun/sgm/

PWG(prep interrog) ArtWG(art+noun/sgm/) ArtWG(art+adv) waw+ArtWG(art+noun/sgm/) Qal-ptc/sgm/ Qal-inf/cs/ waw+noun/sgm/ waw+noun/sgc/ noun/sgm/

P.Sy +1.Sy +C.Sy
nominal predicate +subject +attributive list to the subject

Clause type: Nominal clause.

Interrogative phrase עַד־מָתַי

In BH the interrogative phrase עַד־מָתַי "how long?" or "until when?" occurs

---

מְדַבֵּר in vs. 13a is translated as "speaking."

[1]Cf. 1 Sam 21:3; 2 Kgs 6:8; Ruth 4:1; and הַפְּלֹנִי or הַפְּלוֹנִי for an unknown place in 1 Chr 11:27, 36; 27:10. For this explanation see most commentators and grammars, e.g., Ibn Ezra (cited in Judah J. Slotki, *Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah: Hebrew Text & English Translation with Introductions and Commentary*, 2d ed., ed. E. Oratz, Soncino Books of the Bible, vol. 13 [London: Soncino, 1992], 68); Bauer and Leander, *Historische Grammatik*, 267 (§34a). The simple פְּלֹנִי (m.) or פְּלֹנִית (f.) is not found in BH but in Middle Hebrew; see under "פְּלוֹנִי" in Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, 2 vols. (New York: Title, 1943), 2:1178. Thus, it is unlikely that in Dan 8:13b "פְּלֹנִי was original, and מ was inserted artificially to identify with the classical term" (Montgomery, 344).

[2]פַּלְמוֹנִי has been regarded as name or designation of a significant personage (Rose and Fuller, 344) or heavenly being, either an angel (R. Köbert, "Eine alte Erklärung von 'palmoni' [Dan. 8, 13]," *Bib* 35 [1954]: 270-272) or Christ (Calvin, 105-106; Hävernick, 286; tentatively Wordsworth, 40). However, it would be strange that the name or designation is not already mentioned in vs. 13a where this person is introduced (so Hasslberger, 105).

twenty-nine times and always asks about the end of something, almost exclusively referring to a negative attitude or negative activity.[1] The emphasis of the question "how long?" is regarding the ending of an untenable situation.[2] Thus such questions frequently imply lament over continuous distress and the plea for change.[3] These somewhat impatient questions, which are often found in the Psalms and in prophetic discourse, have the purpose "to be heard as petitions: act, intervene!"[4] The one who asks as well as the addressee of the question could be human, divine, or another celestial being.[5] In sum, "how long?" is the ultimate question of the terrorized and distressed believer.[6]

---

[1]Exodus 10:3, 7; Num 14:27; 1 Sam 1:14; 16:1; 2 Sam 2:26; 1 Kgs 18:21; Neh 2:6; Pss 6:4; 74:10; 80:5; 82:2; 90:13; 94:3 (2x); Prov 1:22; 6:9; Isa 6:11; Jer 4:14, 21; 12:4; 23:26; 31:22; 47:5; Dan 8:13; 12:6; Hos 8:5; Hab 2:6; Zech 1:12. Nehemiah 2:6 could be the only exception to the negative aura of the question, although for the king it may indeed be negative that his faithful cupbearer Nehemiah will be gone away for a long trip.

[2]See Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 429: "The emphasis is not *duration* (how long) but *termination* (until when) and what follows" (his emphasis).

[3]Ernst Jenni observes that "the vast majority" of עַד־מָתַי questions are "rhetorical questions expressing unwitting or impatient accusations in various degrees" ("מָתַי *mātay* when?" *TLOT*, 2:691) and that "the reproachful and agonizing question to God" occurs "in the community lament . . . and in the individual lament" (2:692).

[4]Helmer Ringgren, "מָתַי *māṯay*," *TDOT*, 9:102.

[5]A question headed by עַד־מָתַי is directed by God to humans (Exod 10:3; Num 14:27; 1 Sam 16:1; Jer 23:26), by a prophet (as YHWH's spokesperson) to fellow humans (1 Kgs 18:21; Jer 4:14; 31:22; 47:5; Hos 8:5; Hab 2:6), by a prophet to God (Isa 6:11; Jer 4:21; 12:4), by the praying psalmist to God (Pss 6:4; 74:10; 80:5; 82:2; 90:13; 94:3 [2x]), by humans to fellow humans (Exod 10:7; 1 Sam 1:14; 2 Sam 2:26; Prov 6:9; Neh 2:6), by wisdom to humans (Prov 1:22), by a celestial being to another celestial being (Dan 8:13; 12:6), and by the angel of YHWH to YHWH himself (Zech 1:12). Compare the similar question עַד־מָה "how long?" directed by a prophet to humans (Num 24:22), by a human to humans (Pss 4:3; 74:9), by the praying psalmist to God (Pss 79:5; 89:47), and the question עַד־אָנָה "how long?" directed to God (Ps 13:2 [2x], 3 [2x]; Jer 47:6; Hab 1:2) or to man (Exod 16:28; Num 14:11; Josh 18:3; Ps 62:4; Job 19:2). Both עַד־מָה and עַד־אָנָה have a similar function to עַד־מָתַי in that they ask for the end of an untenable situation.

[6]The importance and impact of the question עַד־מָתַי are reflected in the various ways it is succinctly described: "question of impatience" (Meinhold, *Daniel*, 309), "an antique expression of

What is the function of this question in Dan 8:13? A holy being is inquiring how long the operations of God's adversary will last without divine intervention, when will their end come, and, perhaps, if there may be hope at the end. The question expresses the belief that the crimes of the horn and of the counter-host are not the end yet. In this way, the celestial being asks indirectly for God's mercy and intervention. He urges God to limit the triumph of evil and set things right.[1] There must be hope!

The answer to the question "how long?" directed toward God is prophetic in nature. Only the prophet knows how long, and only if it were revealed to him by God. This is expressed in the parallelism in Ps 74:9, which is immediately followed by the question עַד־מָתַי אֱלֹהִים "How long, O God?" in vs. 10:

"There is no longer any *prophet*,

Nor is there any among us *who knows how long* [עַד־מָה]"

Thus, the answer to the question in Dan 8:13c, which is given in vs. 14b-14c, should be regarded as a prophetic answer.

Definiteness and referential meaning of הֶחָזוֹן

The concern of the question is הֶחָזוֹן "the vision." The noun חָזוֹן derives from the

---

religion" (Montgomery, 341), "a prayer for divine intervention and judgment" (Ford, *Daniel*, 177), "the question *par excellence* of the apocalypse, the reason the Author [*sic*] wrote chapter 8" (Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 164), "cry of anguish" (Russell, 147), "popular plea in later apocalyptic writings" (ibid., 150), "plaintive cry of prophet and psalmist" (Anderson, *Signs and Wonders*, 97), "traditional refrain in penitential literature" (Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 335), "lament" (Longman, *Daniel*, 204; Gzella, 144), "perennial apocalyptic question" (Redditt, 140), "the cry of the oppressed" (Doukhan, *Secrets*, 127).

[1]See Baldwin, 158; Redditt, 140.

root חזה "see" and designates "first of all a vision" or "revelatory vision."[1] In Dan 8 and in the rest of the book of Daniel, חָזוֹן "designates revelatory vision with special emphasis on the visionary element."[2] The question "Until when the vision?" is therefore about the end of the vision, and not about the length of the activities of the horn. In fact, the question wants to obtain an answer regarding the temporal limit of the vision.

But what is meant by "the vision"? Some argue that the vision is identified by the items following הֶחָזוֹן as the section about the horn (vss. 9-11, respectively vss. 9-12), so that the question asks about the length of time of the activities of the horn. Since the items in vs. 13c occur previously only in vss. 9-12, such an interpretation certainly has some credit. It is obvious, however, that these items mentioned in vs. 13c do not exhaustively represent the visionary part of vss. 9-11 or 9-12. Missing are terminological connections to vss. 9a, 9b, 11a, 12b, 12c, 12d. The items in vs. 13c then have to be regarded as a selective list, which has probably been given because the climax of the vision, that is, the activities of the horn, represents the most vivid impression, and also the last, of the whole vision.

The hypothesis has to be examined whether הֶחָזוֹן refers to the whole vision[3] and

---

[1]Hans F. Fuhs, *Sehen und Schauen: Die Wurzel ḥzh im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament. Ein Beitrag zum prophetischen Offenbarungsempfang*, FB, no. 32 (Würzburg: Echter, 1978), 227; cf. 101. *Pace* A. Jepsen, "חָזָה *chāzāh*," *TDOT*, 4:283-284, who believes that prophetic חזה denotes "a revelation of the divine word" in which "visual manifestation, however, plays no role, or at most a minor one" (ibid., 284), so that חָזוֹן is "not a visual image, but a word from God" (ibid., 283).

[2]Fuhs, 233. See also Jepsen, who has to admit that חָזוֹן in Dan 8 refers to "a clear image," also in Dan 10:14 ("חָזָה," 4:288). Cf. Hartman and Di Lella, 226: In Dan 8:13b; 9:24; 10:14b, חָזוֹן "refers to the substance of the vision, the things seen in a vision."

[3]See the reasons offered by Shea in support of the view that הֶחָזוֹן refers to the whole vision. Shea, *Selected Studies* (1982), 80-82 = (1992), 96-98; cf. Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 434-436.

the items in vs. 13c present just a selection of the most important part(s) of this vision. The word חָזוֹן "vision" occurs seven times in Dan 8 (vss. 1, 2 [2x], 13c, 15, 17, 26).[1] In Dan 8:1-2, which is the introduction to the vision, חָזוֹן refers to the whole vision. It makes little sense to argue that here the term חָזוֹן would refer only to the activities of the horn starting in vs. 9; and in fact to my knowledge this has never been done. It is most sensible that the next occurrence of חָזוֹן in vs. 13c refers equally to the same entire vision in vss. 3-11. The references to the vision in 8:2 and 8:13c appear to frame the vision report.

The other occurrences of the term חָזוֹן in chap. 8 confirm the conclusion that it refers to the entire vision seen by Daniel, starting from vs. 3. In vs. 15, Daniel recounts what happened after he had seen the vision. Here again the vision refers to all that he had seen before. Verse 15 forms an *inclusio* with vs. 1. Also, the verb ראה "see," which is used here in vs. 15 with the object חָזוֹן "vision," is used elsewhere in the chapter to describe the entire visionary experience of Daniel (8:1, 2) or his seeing of different elements or entities of the vision (8:1 [2x], 2 [3x], 4, 6, 7, 20). The indication that Daniel had seen the vision in vs. 15 therefore encompasses all of what he had seen before.

In vss. 17 and 26 Gabriel frames the interpretation of the vision by the comment that "the vision is for the time of the end" (vs. 17) and to "keep secret the vision for (it pertains to) many days" (vs. 26). In both instances חָזוֹן refers to the entire vision, which is also evident by the fact that Gabriel's interpretation starts with the ram (vs. 20).

[1]Outside Dan 8, חָזוֹן occurs in the Hebrew part of the book in 1:17; 9:21, 24; 10:14; 11:14 (a total of 35 times in the Hebrew Bible); in the Aramaic part 30 times as verb חזה "see," 12 times as noun חֵזוּ "vision," and twice as חֲזוֹת "sight."

Furthermore, the use of the article with חָזוֹן indicates that חָזוֹן in Dan 8 refers always to the entire visionary experience of Daniel. In vs. 1, חָזוֹן is indefinite, because there the term is introduced for the first time. In all subsequent occurrences חָזוֹן is definite (vss. 2 [2x], 13c, 15, 17, 26). The article with חָזוֹן in vs. 13c must have an anaphoric function and refers back to חָזוֹן in vss. 1-2. Finally, there is no indication in the course of the vision report that the vision should be divided at vs. 9a. The entire vision report in vss. 3-11 is given in "continuous fashion."[1]

For these reasons the mention of הֶחָזוֹן "the vision" in Dan 8:13c refers to the entire vision report given in vss. 3-11.

Syntactic function of הַתָּמִיד

Before the words and phrases following הֶחָזוֹן are analyzed individually, their syntactic function should be clarified. The substantives mentioned after הֶחָזוֹן—i.e., הַתָּמִיד, הַפֶּשַׁע, קֹדֶשׁ, and צָבָא—stand in apposition to it.[2] They identify in a selective manner important elements of the vision. In fact, the whole question in vs. 13c takes up the events referred to in vss. 10-12 by the means of "keywords."[3] These keywords are solely connected with the activities of the horn, which again show that the focal point of

---

[1]Shea, *Selected Studies* (1982), 81 = (1992), 96.

[2]So Hävernick, 287; von Lengerke, 385; Maurer, 145; Kliefoth, 259; Keil, 301; Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Behrmann, 55; Tiefenthal, 270; Driver, *Daniel*, 118; Charles, 210; Leupold, 351; Hasslberger, 105, 106; Shea, *Selected Studies* (1982), 80 = (1992), 95-96; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 326, 336. Montgomery uses the term "epexegetical" to characterize the relation between "the vision" and the subsequent items (341).

[3]Montgomery, 342 (who regards the terms after וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם as a series of glosses that have accumulated from terms in vss. 10-12); Obbink, 111; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 180, 183; Plöger, *Daniel*, 126; Lebram, *Daniel*, 95.

the whole vision is the horn and its destructive activities.[1] The identification of the specific structure of how these keywords are linked with each other and with the previous verses is the task of literary analysis.

The syntactic function of הַתָּמִיד, in particular its relationship to הֶחָזוֹן, has received some attention. All attempts to link הַתָּמִיד with another word remain unconvincing. The explanation that the two nouns function in a construct relationship fails because of the definite article before חָזוֹן, which despite futile attempts cannot really be accounted for in a construct relationship,[2] except if the article were to be deleted by textual emendation.[3] Equally improbable is to take הַתָּמִיד in co-ordination with the

---

[1]It is beyond doubt that the additional items of the question condense the contents of vss. 10-12 (see also Kranichfeld, 296; Keil, 301; Hasslberger, 105). However, to conclude therefore (with Kliefoth, 260, and others) that the question asks only about the length of the events mentioned in vss. 10-12, and not about the length of time of all the events seen in the vision (or about the horn's lifetime or the length of the horn's reign) is not legitimate.

[2]For Driver, *Treatise*, 252 (§190); König, 3:302 (§303f); Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, 25 (§20 R. 4); GKC, 412-413 (§127f); and Lambert, *Grammaire hébraïque*, 105 (§233 n. 2), הֶחָזוֹן and הַתָּמִיד should expected to be in construct relationship (so also Rosenmüller, 265; Hitzig, 133-134; Zöckler, 177; Freer, 36, 163; cf. the translation by Haag, *Daniel*, 64), although Driver counts Dan 8:13 to texts in which a compound idea is expressed by two terms standing in apposition. The problem with interpreting הֶחָזוֹן הַתָּמִיד as construct relation is that the noun חָזוֹן is preceded by the article. A noun in the construct state, however, does not take the article (if the noun חָזוֹן would be in the construct state, the construct relation would already be determined by the following הַתָּמִיד). A construct relation would have been expressed by חֲזוֹן הַתָּמִיד, similar to מַרְאֵה הָעֶרֶב וְהַבֹּקֶר "the vision of the evenings and mornings" (Dan 8:26). In order to explain the article in הֶחָזוֹן, GKC regards הַתָּמִיד as "a subsequent insertion," whereas König and Lambert argue that the placement of the article with חָזוֹן may have been influenced by the occurrences of חָזוֹן with the article in vss. 2 (2x), 15, and 17. Davidson finds the text to be seriously faulty. Ewald observes only the phenomenon: "When the first member of the series, which should be in construct state, thus becomes more detached through its assumption of the article, it sometimes even returns to the absolute state. The article may then be likewise repeated with the second word" (*Syntax*, 108 [§290e]). For a number of construct relations in which the *nomen regens* takes the article see König, 3:298-304 (§303).

[3]Prince assumes that the article ה could have been caused by "dittography with the preceding ו [*sic*]" (*Daniel*, 243). Alexander Reid Mayers suggests as "the easiest, and probably best, solution" that the article ה is caused by dittography with the following ח ("A Comparative Analysis of the Greek Translations with the Masoretic Text and the Qumran Texts of Daniel 8" [M.A. thesis,

following noun (וְהַפֶּשַׁע) since it could be neither object nor subject of the infinitive verb נתן. Some try to insert a verbal form after הַתָּמִיד, obviously in order to align it with the other keyword elements which supposedly show a similar formal structure consisting of a nominal form and a verbal form.[1]

Instead, the structure of the question in vs. 13 shows that after the initial question ("For how long is the vision?")[2] several specifications of the vision follow. The first of these is the noun הַתָּמִיד which specifies the vision in a non-phrasal manner as the vision dealing, among other things, with the *tāmîd*.[3] In the framework of such an explanation the definite article preceding both חָזוֹן and תָּמִיד is not at all unusual.

וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם תֵּת

Syntactic function of תֵּת. The syntactic function of תֵּת is certainly the major syntactic difficulty in the question of the holy one in vs. 13c. Besides a number of

---

Andrews University, 2001], 91).

[1]Thus, in analogy to vs. 11 and based on the Greek and Syriac versions, either the Hophal participle מוּרָם (Bevan, 135; von Gall, 52; Marti, *Daniel*, 59; Driver, *Daniel*, 119; Montgomery, 341; Charles, 210 [who erroneously writes "insert מורם after הפשע"]; Niditch, 220), the Hophal perfect הוּרַם (Graetz, 388; Bentzen, 56; Nelis, 97), or the Hiphil infinitive absolute הָרֵם "taking away" or הָסֵר "removing" is inserted after הַתָּמִיד (Hartman and Di Lella, 222).

[2]The question is literally "Until when the vision?" (Hartman and Di Lella, 226) or "unto how long?" (Leupold, 351). Thus, linguistically, the question is not concerned with the duration of the horn's activities but with the end of the vision.

[3]See Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," 9. This non-phrasal specification should not be mistaken as an appositional relationship of two nouns, in which both nouns refer to the same referent while the second noun qualifies the first in some way, since הֶחָזוֹן and הַתָּמִיד do not have the same referent. One cannot translate: "How long the vision, [which is] the *tāmîd*?"

solutions which prefer emendation(s),[1] there are only two suggestions in which the text is left unchanged. Either תֵּת belongs to the previous words (וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם תֵּת) or it belongs to the following words (תֵּת וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס).

According to the first suggestion the infinitive construct תֵּת relates to the preceding וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם and functions as a verbal element of this phrase. This allows two options for the analysis of the phrase and especially the function of the noun הַפֶּשַׁע. On the one hand, וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם can function as the object of תֵּת: "the setting up of the

---

[1]In short, the following emendations of vs. 13c have been suggested (cf. the recent survey of various scholarly suggestions in Gane, "The Syntax of *Tēt Ve* . . . in Daniel 8:13," 368-373):

(1) Bevan (1892) tries to reconstruct the Hebrew on the basis of the Old Greek and reads עַד־מָתַי הֶחָזוֹן הַתָּמִיד מוּרָם וְהַפֶּשַׁע שָׂם מִתִּתּוֹ קֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס "For how long is the vision to be, while the daily sacrifice is taken away, and the Iniquity set up—from the time when he shall trod down the sanctuary and the service," with an insertion of מוּרָם after הַתָּמִיד (probably a gloss from vs. 11b) and a new division of consonants from שמם תת וקדש into שם מתתו קדש (135); Bludau follows Bevan, except for two differences: Bludau adds the article before מוּרָם, and he proposes that a מ has fallen out after the preceding two so that the middle part should read וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם מִתִּתּוֹ קֹדֶשׁ (66-67).

(2) Von Gall (1895) reads הַתָּמִיד מוּרָם וְפֶשַׁע שֹׁמֵם נִתָּן with the Niphal נִתָּן (for תֵּת) "und Frevel der Verwüstung aufgestellt ist" (52); followed by Marti, *Daniel*, 59; Charles, 210, who adds the article: הַפֶּשַׁע הַשֹּׁמֵם נִתָּן; Niditch, 220; and Stahl, *Weltengagement*, 175.

(3) Driver, *Daniel* (1900), who allows also for Bevan's and von Gall's emendations, redivides the words and reads תִּתּוֹ קֹדֶשׁ "his giving the sanctuary" for תֵּת וְקֹדֶשׁ (119); followed by Montgomery, 341, and Gzella, 39, 144: תִּתּוֹ קֹדֶשׁ "his making sanctuary [and host a trampling]."

(4) Plöger (1965) considers the question in vs. 13 to be an enumeration and makes several "small changes"—וְפֶשַׁע שֹׁמֵם (instead of וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם), וְתֵת קֹדֶשׁ (instead of תֵּת וְקֹדֶשׁ), and וּמִרְמָס (instead of מִרְמָס; see also E.-J. Waschke, "רָמַס," *TDOT*, 13:510)—resulting in the translation "for how long is the vision concerning the regular burnt offering and devastating sinfulness and the abandoning of the sanctuary and tribulation and trampling?" (*Daniel*, 120, 122); followed by Delcor, 175, 177-178; likewise Rashi and Alshich, 383, who read תֵּת קֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס.

(5) Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 336: "Either the *waw* in וְקֹדֶשׁ must be omitted or the words must be divided as תתו קדש" (following Driver and Montgomery) reading "his giving over the sanctuary" with the implied antecedent God.

(6) Goldstein (2002) suggests several extreme emendations—insertion of הֵרִים before הַתָּמִיד, reading of בְּפֶשַׁע instead of וְהַפֶּשַׁע, change of the order שֹׁמֵם תֵּת to תֵּת שֹׁמֵם, and transposition of וְצָבָא (with deleted conjunction ו) before שֹׁמֵם—thus reading עַד־מָתַי הֶחָזוֹן הֵרִים הַתָּמִיד בְּפֶשַׁע תֵּת צָבָא שֹׁמֵם וְקֹדֶשׁ מִרְמָס, which he translates "For how long is the vision, the [removal of] the continual offering as a result of sin . . . , the imposition of the Host from the Sky and the sanctuary being a trampled ground" (*Peoples of an Almighty God* [2002], 462, 472 n. 69).

devastating crime . . ."[1] or "the setting up of the crime of a devastator."[2] On the other hand, הַפֶּשַׁע can function as subject and שֹׁמֵם as object of תֵּת: "the crime giving the devastation. . . ."[3] This latter option is obviously based on a specific understanding of vs. 12a in which בְּפָשַׁע is regarded as the agent of the passive.[4] However, it has been shown to be unlikely that בְּפָשַׁע in vs. 12a functions as agent. There is therefore no reason to suppose that הַפֶּשַׁע in vs. 13c is the subject of תֵּת. Moreover, if וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס or וְצָבָא מִרְמָס with the apparent sequence "object–verb" is constructed in parallel to תֵּת וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם, the phrase וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם should also be regarded as the object.[5]

Whether הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם (option 1: likely) or only שֹׁמֵם (option 2: unlikely) is taken as object of תֵּת, one has to account for the inverse word order, for the infinitive תֵּת follows its object. An infinitive construct following its object seems to be a possible but rare construction in BH. J. Carmignac refers to sixteen instances, of which nine are not contestable, in which the infinitive follows its object, with a number of instances in which

---

[1]So both Greek versions; Hitzig, 134; Graetz, 389; Moore, 196; Charles, 210; Nelis, 97; H. Schneider, *Daniel*, 54; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 180; Hasslberger, 105-106; Hartman and Di Lella, 222, 226-227; Niditch, 220; Lebram, *Daniel*, 94; Haag, *Daniel*, 64; Beyerle, 34 n. 41. Hitzig emphasizes that one should not understand the phrase in the sense "den Frevel zum Entsetzen zu machen" so as if הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם were a double object, because the question asks about the duration of the crime and not about how long the crime is given as horror (134).

[2]Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 172: "Der Frevel des Verwüsters eingesetzt."

[3]Schindele translates: "und der Frevel, eine <verwüstende Macht> aufzubieten" (Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," 14) or "Frevel, der ein Verwüstendes aufbietet" (ibid., 9). The latter is preferred by Langer, 91.

[4]So Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," 9.

[5]So already argued by Hitzig, 134.

such a word order is more or less doubtful.[1] Interestingly, only in one of the instances listed by Carmignac is the object introduced by the object marker אֵת (Judg 20:5); in all the other instances the object is not specifically marked, as in Dan 8:13c. It is more difficult to find object+infinitive clauses with the infinitive construct of נתן. Sometimes reference is given to לְקוֹל תִּתּוֹ "when he utters his voice" in Jer 10:13 which itself is a disputed phrase.[2] Here, the object ("the voice") precedes the Qal infinitive construct of נתן. Though there are minor differences to Dan 8:13c—the preposition לְ before the noun object and the pronominal suffix attached to the infinitive construct—in Jer 10:13 there is a precedent for the inverse word order in Dan 8:13c. Another example can be found in Ps 78:20.[3] It should also be mentioned that a pre-infinitive object is quite common in

---

[1]Jean Carmignac cites as examples for object-infinitive word order in BH Deut 28:56; Judg 9:24; 2 Sam 11:19; 21:4; Isa 49:6; Ps 32:9; Prov 20:25; Esth 8:11; 2 Chr 31:7 and, with the infinitive functioning as complement to another verb, Gen 42:12; Num 28:2; Deut 13:1; Judg 20:5; Ezek 36:37; 2 Chr 28:10, as well as the apocryphal Sir 6:34 ("Un aramaïsme biblique et qumrânien: l'infinitif placé après son complément d'objet,"*RevQ* 5 [1966]: 512-515).

[2]On the intricacies of the phrase לְקוֹל תִּתּוֹ in Jer 10:13 see the commentaries. On the whole, there is a tendency to regard it as an example of inverse word order with the object preceding the infinitive. After surveying various solutions David J. Reimer proposes the reading בַּעֲרָפֶל לְקוֹל תִּתּוֹ "in the clouds he gives forth thunder" ("A Problem in the Hebrew Text of Jeremiah x 13, li 16," *VT* 38 [1988]: 348-354). R. Althann leaves the text intact and argues for an inverse construct chain ("The Inverse Construct Chain and Jer 10:13, 51:16," *JNSL* 15 [1989]: 10-11). And Jack R. Lundbom points out that "in poetry . . . inversion of normal word order can stand" (*Jeremiah 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB, vol. 21A [New York: Doubleday, 1999], 597). However, I found in none of the discussion on לְקוֹל תִּתּוֹ in Jer 10:13 a reference to Dan 8:13.

[3]Gane suggests in addition to Jer 10:13 three other close analogies for the infinitive construct of נתן following its object: (1) Ps 78:20: הֲגַם־לֶחֶם יוּכַל תֵּת "can he give bread also?"; (2) Deut 7:13: עַל הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר־נִשְׁבַּע לַאֲבֹתֶיךָ לָתֶת לָךְ "in the land which He swore to your forefathers to give you"; and (3) Num 11:13: מֵאַיִן לִי בָּשָׂר לָתֵת לְכָל־הָעָם הַזֶּה "Where am I to get meat to give to all this people?" ("The Syntax of *Tēt Ve* . . . in Daniel 8:13," 374-376). However, the last two texts do not appear to be analogies to Dan 8:13c. In Deut 7:13, the infinitive clause לָתֶת לָךְ completes the relative clause. That the object of the infinitive verb is הָאֲדָמָה "the land," which is referred to by the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר and thus precedes the infinitive, should not be regarded as inverse word order. In fact, relative pronouns are of no value when it comes to determining the choice of word order as

Aramaic dialects (including BA) and appears in a number of cases in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[1] The numerous instances in the Aramaic of Daniel[2] lead to the suspicion that Dan 8:13c could have been formed in accordance with the Aramaic practice.[3]

Whether it is a true BH phenomenon or was influenced by the Aramaic, there must be a cause for the pre-infinitive object. The reason for such an object-infinitive word order is certainly that the object is emphasized in one way or the other.[4] In Dan

---

their very function requires them to be placed at the beginning of a relative clause. Hence, in Deut 7:13 there is not an inverse word order since the usual word order is followed. In Num 11:13, the infinitive construct with preposition לְ (לָתֵת) introduces a purpose clause which is added to the nominal clause question. Again this is the usual way to add a purpose clause—the infinitive clause follows the interrogative clause which it expands—and there is no case of inverse word order here. Gane recognizes that the infinitive constructions in Deut 7:13 and Num 11:13 could be explained by an ellipsis of the object: "it could be argued that the object of תֵת [respectively תֵת] here is an implied pronoun 'it' . . . " (ibid., 374-375). The example in Ps 78:20 is closer to Dan 8:13c. The infinitive תֵּת completes the verb יוּכַל "he is able" and has as its object לֶחֶם "bread," which is placed in front of both verb and infinitive. The difference to Dan 8:13c is that the object לֶחֶם is modified by the focus particle גַּם to indicate that "bread" is added to "water" and "streams" which are referred to in the preceding clauses. Since it would have been possible to place גַּם־לֶחֶם after the infinitive, there is indeed an intentional object-verb word order here.

[1]See Carmignac, 503-520, and Quimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 74. For BA see especially Randall John Buth, "Word Order in Aramaic from the Perspective of Functional Grammar and Discourse Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1987), 266-327.

[2]In the Aramaic of Daniel, the object precedes the infinitive 22 times (2:9, 10, 16, 18, 27, 46; 3:16, 32; 4:15, 34; 5:8 [2x], 15 [2x], 16 [4x]; 6:5 [2x], 16, 24), whereas 19 times an explicit object follows the infinitive (2:12, 14, 24, 26, 47; 3:2a, 2b [prepositional object], 13, 19, 20; 4:3, 23; 5:2, 7, 12; 6:8 [2x], 21a; 7:25) and 3 times the object is attached to the infinitive as pronominal suffix (6:4, 15, 21b). In the Aramaic of Ezra, the object precedes the infinitive 9 times (4:14, 22a; 5:3 [2x], 9 [2x], 13; 7:18, 24) and follows the infinitive 9 times (4:21, 22b; 5:2, 17; 6:8a, 12; 7:13 [prepositional object], 14 [prepositional object], 15). For brief analyses of these infinitive clauses see Buth, "Word Order in Aramaic," 285-320.

[3]So, e.g., Hartman and Di Lella, 226-227.

[4]For various functions that could explain the object-infinitive order in BA see Buth, "Word Order in Aramaic," 271-285, 321-327.

8:13c, the object-infinitive order appears to be used specifically in contrast to the infinitive-object order, which in the same book is used in Dan 12:11. The emphasis is on הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם, thus, focusing more on the effect of the activity than on the activity itself, namely that it is a crime with devastating consequences. Interestingly, such a focus fits with the other elements of the question in vs. 13c. The holy one who is doing the asking mentions the *tāmî d* but not the removal of the *tāmî d*, he mentions the devastating sin but not the setting up of a host, he mentions the holy but not the attack on the holy, and he mentions the trampled host but not the trampling of the host.[1]

The second suggestion for the syntactic function of תֵּת in Dan 8:13c is to place it with the following: תֵּת וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס "to give both (a) holy (place) and a host to trampling."[2] According to this option, two rare constructions need explanation. First, the

[1]An inconclusive argument is that the placement of תֵּת after its object could be for structural reasons, that is, to create a chiastic balance: Only if תֵּת were to follow פֶּשַׁע could one possibly make a case that the elements in vs. 13c occur in exactly reverse order to the words and roots they recapitulate from vss. 10-12 (as suggested by Gane, "The Syntax of *Tēt Ve* . . . in Daniel 8:13," 377-378). However, since such a chiastic structure involves at least two assumptions and thus cannot be proven beyond doubt (see my analysis of the structure of vs. 13c in chapter 3 [below]), one should avoid employing it as an argument for the placement of תֵּת.

[2]Hävernick, 288; Rosenmüller, 266; von Lengerke, 386; Kliefoth, 260; Kranichfeld, 296; Keil, 301; Zöckler, 177; Ewald, *Daniel*, 263; Meinhold, *Composition*, 79; Terry, 63; Behrmann, 55; Tiefenthal, 270; Prince, *Daniel*, 243; Driver, *Daniel*, 119 (emends to תִּתּוֹ קֹדֶשׁ); Stokmann, 128; Montgomery, 341-342 (emends to תִּתּוֹ קֹדֶשׁ); Friedrich Nötscher, *Daniel*, EB: AT, pt. 6 (Würzburg: Echter, 1948), 43 ("die Preisgabe des Heiligtums"); Leupold, 352; Young, *Daniel*, 173; Thomson, 243 (omitting the conjunction before וְקֹדֶשׁ); Slotki (1951), 68; Plöger, *Daniel*, 122 (omitting conjunction before וְקֹדֶשׁ); Porteous, 119; Delcor, 175; Goldwurm, 227; Russell, 147; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 444; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 195; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 326, 336 (reading תתו קדש instead of תת וקדש); Péter-Contesse and Ellington, 215, Mayers, 91-92 (tentatively; following Collins in reading תתו קדש); Lucas, *Daniel*, 206. König finds "how long . . . the giving up" ("wie lange . . . das Preisgeben") more probable than to take תֵּת as an attribute to "vision," and regards the infinitive תֵּת functioning as an abridged subject clause (3:575 [§397c]). For him, תֵּת takes two objects (first object: וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא; second object: מִרְמָס) of which the second designates the effect that the respective activity had on the first object (3:370 [§327t]). Apparently, König prefers a translation such as "the giving up of both a holy and a host as a trampling place."

object of תֵּת, namely וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא, would start with a conjunction *waw* which can be explained by the use of וְ . . . וְ in the sense of "both . . . and" (see below). Second, the noun מִרְמָס has no preposition, but it is expected to have one if it is governed by the infinitive תֵּת.[1] However, in Isa 10:6 the noun מִרְמָס is used without preposition after an infinitive construct of שׂים, a verb that is semantically paradigmatic to נתן.[2]

To sum up the syntactic observations, the infinitive construct תֵּת relates either to the preceding וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם or to the following וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס. Both options are syntactically possible, but each is marked by a rare, however not unexplainable, syntactic construction. If תֵּת relates to the preceding words the resulting וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם תֵּת is marked by an inverse word order in which the infinitive follows after its object, which may have precedents in Jer 10:13 and Ps 78:20. If תֵּת relates to the following words the resulting phrase תֵּת וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס is marked by an object to תֵּת which starts with the conjunction *waw*, to be explained by the use of וְ . . . וְ in the sense of "both . . . and," and by the omission of a preposition before מִרְמָס, a construction which is also found in Isa 10:6. Consequently, after the syntactic analysis the function of תֵּת remains ambiguous.

Furthermore, neither the Masoretic accentuation[3] nor the obvious contextual

---

[1]So Hasslberger's (105-106) counter-argumentation to the view that תֵּת belongs to the following words.

[2]Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 336.

[3]At first glance, the Masoretic accentuation appears to favor the view that תֵּת belongs to the following words. The disjunctive *zāqēf qāṭô n* on שֹׁמֵם seems to separate the following תֵּת strongly from שֹׁמֵם. However, it is also possible that the disjunctive accent indicates emphasis so that the focus lies on הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם and not on the giving. It is of interest to note that תֵּת also carries a disjunctive accent, *tᵉḇî r*, which would separate it from the following וְקֹדֶשׁ. For a rather negative assessment of the importance of accentuation for the interpretation of biblical texts see Sperber, *Historical Grammar*, 462-465.

relationship of תֵּת to תִּנָּתֵן in vs. 12a (both from נתן)[1] can help a lot to decide on the syntactic function of תֵּת, though both considerations are sometimes offered as arguments in the discussion.

The crucial factor in analyzing the syntactic function of תֵּת is the textual relationship of Dan 8:13c with regard to other passages in the book of Daniel. The clause analysis is here decisively influenced by terminological links inside the book of Daniel. A comparison between Dan 8:13c, 11:31c-d, and 12:11 displays several similarities (see table 13): a sequence of three words consisting of the verbal root נתן and a two-word phrase with a participle of שׁמם and a noun which semantically designates a negative entity (פֶּשַׁע or שִׁקּוּץ). In all three texts this sequence of three words is preceded by a phrase or clause in which the word הַתָּמִיד is prominent and which refers to the taking away of the *tāmîd*. Syntactically, Dan 8:13c and 11:31d show further affinity in that after a noun with the definite article the following participle of שׁמם lacks the article. Terminologically, these passages present the only occurrences of הַתָּמִיד (Dan 8:11-13; 11:31; 12:11), three of five masculine participles of שׁמם (Dan 8:13c; 9:27 [2x]; 11:31; 12:11), and the only two infinitive constructs of נתן in the book of Daniel (Dan 8:13c; 12:11).[2] It is then quite safe to conclude that Dan 11:31d and 12:11 are functionally in

---

[1]Since scholars have understood the syntax of vs. 12a in basically two different ways, although I have given reasons above as to why one should be preferred, the function of תֵּת in vs. 13c has accordingly been interpreted in the same two ways. If a scholar sees vs. 12a as referring to the (divine) giving of a host into the hands of the horn power because of the host's transgression, the infinitive תֵּת in vs. 13c is usually regarded as governing וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס. On the other hand, if a scholar sees vs. 12a as referring to the giving of a host by the horn power, the infinitive תֵּת in vs. 13c is usually taken together with וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם.

[2]In fact, there are no other infinitive forms of נתן (in BH and BA) or יהב (in BA) in the book of Daniel.

parallel to Dan 8:13c—only the noun is different (שִׁקּוּץ instead of פֶּשַׁע), which may lead to a different interpretation.[1]

Table 13. Terminological Comparison of Daniel 8:13c; 11:31c-d; and 12:11

Dan 8:13c	Dan 11:31c-d	Dan 12:11
הַתָּמִיד	וְהֵסִירוּ הַתָּמִיד	וּמֵעֵת הוּסַר הַתָּמִיד
object וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם verb (inf-cs) תֵּת	verb וְנָתְנוּ object הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשׁוֹמֵם	verb (inf-cs) וְלָתֵת object שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם

In comparison with Dan 11:31c-d and 12:11 it becomes thus evident that in 8:13c the object of the infinitive תֵּת is הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם, since in both 11:31 and 12:11 the verbal root נתן, following immediately after the mention of הַתָּמִיד, has as its object a combination of a noun referring to a negative entity (שִׁקּוּץ) and a participle of שׁמם. The close relation between these texts decides quite conclusively both the syntactic place of תֵּת in Dan 8:13c, namely that it belongs to the previous words, and the identification of its object, that is, הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם.

Phrase הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם and its meaning. The article of הַפֶּשַׁע certainly refers back to vs. 12b where פֶּשַׁע is used for the first time.[2] The form שֹׁמֵם has been analyzed as either

[1]For further similarities between these passages see the intertextual analysis. The role of Dan 11:31 and 12:11 in analyzing the syntactic function of תֵּת in 8:13c has been recognized by Graetz (389) and Gane ("The Syntax of *Tēt Ve* . . . in Daniel 8:13," 379), although both draw attention only to the terms נתן and שׁמם.

[2]So already Hävernick, 288; von Lengerke, 385-386; Kliefoth, 259. It is not clear to me why Ginsberg hypothesizes that the letter ה after ו functions as vowel-letter—similar to ה after שׁ (Lam 5:18; Eccl 6:10)—so that וְהַפֶּשַׁע in Dan 8:13c should be understood as וה־פשע (*Studies in Daniel*, 81

Qal participle[1] or as a shortened or mistaken form of the Poel/Polel מְשׁוֹמֵם,[2] both with transitive meaning "ravage" or "devastate."[3] Some scholars are undecided and offer both verbal stem options.[4] The occurrence of both מְשֹׁמֵם and שֹׁמֵם in Dan 9:27 leads however to the conclusion that שֹׁמֵם should be analyzed as a Qal participle and not as a shortened Poel participle.[5] It is difficult to regard one form as the abbreviation of the other when both forms are used in the same breath. Therefore, in the book of Daniel the use of the Qal שֹׁמֵם (Dan 8:13; 9:27; 12:11; also the feminine participle in Dan 9:18, 26) should not be blended with the use of the Poel מְשֹׁמֵם (Dan 9:27; 11:31).

The phrase הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם with a definite and an indefinite term has given rise to a

---

n. 23).

[1]Rosenmüller, 266; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 180; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 198; I. Meyer, "שָׁמֵם *šāmam*," *ThWAT*, 8:243.

[2]See König, 1:349 (§34, 4b); Terry, 63; Behrmann, 55; Prince, *Daniel*, 243 (Pilpel participle); Marti, *Daniel*, 59; Bergsträsser, 1:113 (§20 n. e); Charles, 210; Leupold, 352-353; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 159; F. Stolz, "שׁמם *šmm* to lie deserted," *TLOT*, 3:1374. A similar construction would be the Poel/Polel participle עוֹנֵן (Isa 2:6; 57:3; Jer 27:9) for מְעוֹנֵן (Deut 18:10, 14; Judg 8:37; Mic 5:11).

[3]*HALOT*, 4:1564-1565. The transitive meaning is doubted by Kliefoth (259) and Keil (302). They both refer to Dan 9:27 where the Qal participle of שׁמם occurs with its Poel participle form, arguing that since the Poel participle is clearly transitive in meaning the Qal participle must be intransitive. Kliefoth then translates הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם with "the wantonness determined for desolation" ("der zur Verwüstung bestimmte Frevel"), while Keil translates the phrase with "the wickedness which consists in laying waste." However, it is not clear whether there is an intransitive/transitive opposition between Qal and Poel (the two Poel forms outside the book of Daniel in Ezra 9:3, 4 are intransitive). Also, their translations are not convincing. Kliefoth even fails to appreciate the character of the desperate question in Dan 8:13c when he assumes that the wantonness itself is designated for desolation and will "exist only a short time."

[4]Hasslberger, 105; *HALOT*, 2:1564-1565. Riessler seems to be the only one to suggest that שֹׁמֵם could be a Poel or Pilel infinitive (*Daniel* [1902], 73).

[5]See I. Meyer, "שָׁמֵם," 8:246.

number of suggestions, the least attractive of which is the excision of one term.[1] One possible explanation of the relationship of the two words is that the participle שֹׁמֵם is in apposition to הַפֶּשַׁע and specifies this word ("the transgression, a devastating/an appalling one").[2] The other and probably better option is that the participle שֹׁמֵם is used in an attributive sense to הַפֶּשַׁע ("the devastating/appalling transgression").[3] The obvious problem with the latter view is that the participle lacks the definite article though it relates to a definite noun. However, if the indefinite participle is in attributive relation to the definite noun הַפֶּשַׁע, the omission of the definite article can be explained either as a rare possible construction in BH[4] or as characteristic of the spoken dialect of Hebrew.[5] In fact, besides Dan 8:13c the definite article before the participle is also omitted in 11:31 (הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשׁוֹמֵם) which gives us reason to believe that at the time of the composition of

---

[1]For Montgomery (342) and Hartman and Di Lella (226), שֹׁמֵם is a gloss from 9:27 on הַפֶּשַׁע "the iniquity."

[2]So Hitzig, 134; Kranichfeld, 296; Zöckler, 177; Obbink, 111. The article stands only in front of the first word (as in 1 Chr 27:5; 1 Sam 31:3).

[3]So von Lengerke, 386; Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Tiefenthal, 270; Behrmann, 55; König, 3:403 (§334m); Hasslberger, 105. Examples cited for such a construction (noun with article and an attributive adjective without article) are Jer 2:21 and Ezek 39:27.

[4]Regarding the construction "definite noun + indefinite attribute" Ewald cites a few examples (Jer 2:21; 22:26; Ezek 39:27; Dan 8:13; 11:31) (*Syntax*, 119 [§293a]); König notes several cases of an indefinite adjectival attribute in relation with a determinate noun (Num 6:19; 1 Sam 15:9; 2 Sam 6:3(?); 22:18; Jer 2:21; Ezek 34:12(?); 39:27; 42:12(?); Pss 18:18; 143:10; Esth 2:14; Dan 8:13; 11:31; 1 Chr 27:5) (3:403 [§334m]); and GKC finds no apparent reason for the lack of the article (410 [§126z]).

[5]Rendsburg explains the omission of the definite article before the attributive adjective as a peculiar feature of the spoken Hebrew dialect, referring especially to Dan 8:13; 11:31; 1 Chr 27:5; and 2 Chr 26:15 (*Diglossia*, 111-112).

the book of Daniel such a construction, although rare, was indeed possible.[1] Another, interesting suggestion is to regard the participle שֹׁמֵם as designating the one who carries out the transgression or crime, a "desolator."[2] This suggestion supposes that הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם functions like a genitive relation, which, however, is unlikely, foremost since הַפֶּשַׁע carries the article.[3] Further, in case הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם would be a genitive/construct relation, one should expect שֹׁמֵם to be definite since in the text the desolator, that is, the horn, has already been clearly designated.

The phrase הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם can then be translated with "the devastating crime/transgression" or the like. On the basis of its other uses in the book of Daniel, שמם points to an extremely negative effect of the פֶּשַׁע on the sanctuary. In at least six of its nine occurrences שמם is related to the sanctuary or temple.[4] Usually scholars believe that

---

[1]The omission of the article should therefore not be used to argue that שֹׁמֵם cannot be the attribute to הַפֶּשַׁע and that for this reason שֹׁמֵם is reminiscent of the divine name בעל שמם (*pace* Junker, 78).

[2]Lust maintains that in 9:27; 11:31; 12:11 the participle שֹׁמֵם (or מְשֹׁמֵם) is a "genitive of possession or belonging" to the one who imposed the abomination ("Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel," 297), that is, a reference to "the desolator or appaller" (ibid., 298). He points out that שִׁקּוּץ "abominable thing" is often accompanied by the name of "those who use or venerate the abomination in question" ("detestable idol of the Ammonites" in 1 Kgs 11:5; "detestable idol of Moab" in 1 Kgs 11:7; "abomination of the Sidonians . . . abomination of Moab" in 2 Kgs 23:13). Accordingly, in שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם, and in like manner in הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם, the participle שֹׁמֵם is a designation of a person and should be translated with "(the wantonness) of the desolator." Although Lust does not explicitly state that שֹׁמֵם in Dan 8:13c has the same function, it appears that he infers this (ibid., 296 n. 34). Lust is followed by Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 172-173; cf. Nötscher, *Daniel*, 43 ("Frevel des Verwüsters"). I. Meyer differentiates the Poel participle מְשׁוֹמֵם "what causes desolation" from the Qal participle שֹׁמֵם which he translates with "desolator" ("שָׁמֵם," 8:246).

[3]For the same reason it is not possible that הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם are in a construct relation, all the more so since the first noun (הַפֶּשַׁע) is not a construct form.

[4]In the Hebrew of Daniel שמם is used nine times (8:13c, 27; 9:17, 18, 26, 27 [2x]; 11:31; 12:11): once in the Hithpolel to describe Daniel's psychological condition in regard to the vision, the interpretative spectrum of which ranges from astonishment to shocking horror (8:27; cf. 4:16), once as

the different expressions with the root שמם in Dan 8:13; 9:27; 11:31 and 12:11 refer to the same entity.[1] Even so, it needs to be emphasized that there is a difference between

adjective שֹׁמֵם to describe the desolate state of the sanctuary (9:17), as participle noun "desolations" in regard to the people, possibly connected with the sanctuary since its desolate state was just mentioned before (9:18), and as participle noun "desolations" (9:26) and "desolator" (9:27), both in relation to the sanctuary, and as participle in relation to שִׁקּוּץ (11:31 Poel; 12:11 Qal) or שִׁקּוּצִים (9:27 Poel) and to פֶּשַׁע (8:13 Qal). In the latter four the sanctuary context is obvious. See, e.g., Nickelsburg, for whom שמם occurs in 8:13; 9:17, 18, 27; 11:31; 12:11, as well as in Isa 63:18; 64:10-11, in the context of desolation of the temple (Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 20). Conceptually, it may even be possible to detect a double meaning of שמם: it would then describe that the פֶּשַׁע desolates the sanctuary and at the same time, in view of 8:27 (cf. 4:16), it would indicate that the פֶּשַׁע shocks the faithful ones (so suggested already by Rowley who in addition would regard שמם as also pointing to the madness of the desolator ["The Bilingual Problem," 264-265]). The very fact of the exclamatory question in vs. 13c is indication enough that the events, including the פֶּשַׁע, were very much appalling, at least in the eyes of the holy one who is inquiring here.

[1]The suggestion by E. Nestle that in the phrases in Dan 9:27, 11:31 and 12:11 the first word (שִׁקּוּץ) is a distortion of בַּעַל and the second word (שֹׁמֵם) of שָׁמַיִם so that these phrases represent a Semitic name ("Baal-šamem") for Zeus, based on the Syriac translation of Zeus in 2 Macc 6:2 with "Baal-šamin" ("Zu Daniel," *ZAW* 4 [1884]: 248; cf. the equation of Baal-šamem and Zeus in *Philo Byblios* and in some inscriptions from Syria [Niehr, *Der höchste Gott*, 56]), has been followed by most scholars (on Baal-šamem see the comprehensive study by Herbert Niehr, *Ba'alšamem: Studien zu Herkunft, Geschichte und Rezeptionsgeschichte eines phönizischen Gottes*, OLA, no. 123, Studia Phoenicia, no. 17 [Leuven: Peeters, 2003]; cf. Hans-Peter Müller, "Der Gottesname *B'L* und seine Phraseologien im Hebräischen und im Phönizisch-Punischen," *JSS* 50 [2005]: 293-295). Interestingly, Nestle does not include the phrase הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם (Dan 8:13) in his references. Later commentators, however, do so. Montgomery believes that הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם is "the exact equivalent" to בעל שמם (388). The list of scholars who follow Nestle and usually regard the horror-causing crime as a cult object of Zeus (a statue/image or an altar) erected on the Temple altar of Jerusalem is long; see, e.g., Driver, *Daniel*, 188; Junker, 78; Otto Eißfeldt, "Ba'alšamēm und Jahwe," *ZAW* 57 (1939): 24, who calls the Danielic phrases with שמם "Rätseldoppelworte"; Bentzen, 56, 70; Nelis, 96-97; R. A. Oden, Jr., "*Baᶜal Šāmēm and ᵓĒl*," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 466 (cf. 457-473 for a comprehensive treatment of the title Baal-šamem); Hartman and Di Lella, 236; Archer, 7:98, 100; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 212; Tyler F. Williams, "שמם (# 9037)," *NIDOTTE*, 4:169; Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan*, 83-85; Niehr, *Ba'alšamem*, 201-202. Others even more precisely identify the הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם with a cultic stone that was built upon the altar of burnt offering for the purpose of sacrifices to Zeus Olympius. So Bickermann, *The God of the Maccabees*, 69-71, who believes that this was done by hellenizing Jewish religious leaders (followed by Porteous, 126; Russell, 148; Niehr, *Der höchste Gott*, 55-57 [cf. idem, "JHWH in der Rolle des Baalšamem," in *Ein Gott allein? JHWH-Verehrung und biblischer Monotheismus im Kontext der israelitischen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. W. Dietrich and M. A. Klopfenstein, OBO, no. 139 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1994), 320-321]; Di Lella, *Daniel*, 161; for the hellenizing Jewish party see the discussion in Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, vol. 1, *Text* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974], 267-303, esp. 294-298 [cf. Martin Hengel, "Judaism and Hellenism Revisited," in *Hellenism in the Land of*

function and meaning of these phrases with שׁמם. Functionally, the phrases are similar—the first word is a noun referring to a negative abstract entity, which relates to sin, and the second word is a participle form of שׁמם—but this does not necessarily imply that their meaning is the same. The similarity or distinctiveness of meaning of these phrases depends upon the relation between פֶּשַׁע "crime" or "transgression" and שִׁקּוּץ "abomination" or "abhorrence," as well as upon the particular context.[1] Although there is a relationship between 8:13c and 9:27; 11:31; and 12:11, it has to be pointed out that "the

---

Israel, ed. J. J. Collins and G. E. Sterling, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series, no. 13 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 16-22], and the counter-argumentation by J. C. H. Lebram, "Apokalyptik and Hellenismus im Buche Daniel: Bemerkungen und Gedanken zu Martin HENGELS Buch über 'Judentum und Hellenismus,'" *VT* 20 [1970]: 507-515, who regards the conflict in Daniel as originating in a priestly-cultic conflict). A second interpretation of the Danielic phrases with שׁמם is that they refer to astral cult items (so Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 145-147; and tentatively Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, 139-140). A third interpretation is to identify שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם with some kind of decoration on the construction that was built on the altar (so Erhard Blum, "Der 'Schiqquz Schomem' und die Jehud-Drachme BMC Palestine S. 181, Nr. 29," *BN* 90 [1997]: 13-27, who takes שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם as polemical designation for the god Baal-šamem who is said to be iconographically illustrated on the new altar superstructure). Cf. the selective overview of research on the interpretation of הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם (8:13) and שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם (12:11; cf. 11:31; 9:27) by Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, 136-140; and especially the overviews by Lust, "Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel," 283-299 (who provides a critique of each interpretation and suggests himself that the abomination "is a sacrifice replacing the Tamid, or the altar upon which this sacrifice is offered" [298]); Othmar Keel, "Die kultischen Massnahmen Antiochus' IV: Religionsverfolgung und/oder Reformversuch? Eine Skizze," in *Hellenismus und Judentum: Vier Studien zu Daniel 7 und zur Religionsnot unter Antiochus IV*, by O. Keel and U. Staub, OBO, no. 178 (Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 103-112; and Niehr, *Ba'alšamem*, 199-204. Nestle's basic suggestion has been disputed by Keel who maintains that Zeus Olympios is the Greek interpretation of YHWH and, more importantly, the abomination of desolation simply refers to the altar construction on which swine had been repeatedly offered. Beyerle is correct when he points out that the Danielic tradition, in contrast to the Maccabean tradition, does not itself refer to the setting up of a statue for Zeus Olympios (30 n. 27). The state of the discussion on possible anagrams or allusions to Baal-šamem in the book of Daniel, including 8:13, is perhaps adequately depicted by Wolfgang Röllig when he summarizes that "all these allusions are debated and far from being evident" ("Baal-Shamem בעל־שמם, בעל־שמין," *DDD*, 151).

[1]Bauer is also cautious about equating הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם (8:13c) with הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשׁוֹמֵם (11:31) and שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם (12:11), though for interpretative reasons. For him, the latter two are the heathen headpiece on the altar of burnt offering (like an erected *Massebe*), whereas the former could refer to the stationing of troops against the temple cult (*Das Buch Daniel*, 172).

more immediate reference is to the בפשע of 8:12, which seems to refer more broadly to all the actions of the little horn."[1]

וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס

וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא. In a text-oriented analysis, two possibilities present themselves regarding how to interpret וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא and its conjunctions *waw*: either as a word chain or as independent elements of an enumeration.[2] First, וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא could be a word chain in which the conjunction *waw* precedes both entities and then has the sense "both . . . and."[3] The first *waw* then indicates another element of the vision's specification in the question in vs. 13c and the second *waw* links the host to the holy and indicates that both are related to the noun מִרְמָס.[4] In this case, וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס is one phrase, and thus one element of

---

[1]Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 336.

[2]Textual emendations have been suggested as follows. Some scholars read צְבִי "beauty" instead of צָבָא (Rudolf Smend, "Anmerkungen zu Jes. 24-27," *ZAW* 4 [1884]: 201 n. 1; followed by H. Schneider, *Daniel*, 54 [with question mark]; and Porteous, 119). Others excise וְצָבָא which is said to be in its original form וּצְבִי a gloss to קֹדֶשׁ (Moore, 195; Marti, *Daniel*, 60; Jahn, 80; Montgomery, 340, 341, 342; Bentzen, 56). Charles follows the Old Greek, which reads instead of וְצָבָא the verb יֵצָדֶא (ἐρημωθήσεται), and reads as original text וְקֹדֶשׁ יֵצָדֶא מִרְמָס "and the sanctuary laid waste to be trodden under foot" (210-211).

[3]The use of וְ . . . וְ in the sense of "both . . . and" is noted for Dan 8:13c by König, 3:543 (§376a); Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, 184 (§136); GKC, 484 (§154a n. 1b); Lambert, *Grammaire hébraïque*, 421 (§1235 n. 2). Though such a construction is rare, other examples cited (see in addition Joüon and Muraoka, 653 [§177p]; Gibson, *Syntax*, 37 [§38a]; *BHRG*, 238 [§31.1/1(ii); 31.1/3], 298 [§40.8/1(i)]) are Dan 1:3; 11:20 (וְלֹא . . . וְלֹא "neither . . . nor") and Gen 36:24; Exod 9:30; Num 9:14; Jer 13:14; 21:6; 32:20; 40:8; Ps 76:7; Job 34:29; Neh 12:28, 45; 1 Chr 5:24; 16:4; 2 Chr 20:25; 26:10; 27:5; similarly, the construction וְ . . . וְ may be used in the sense of "whether . . . or," respectively "either . . . or," in Lev 5:3; Num 9:14.

[4]Hävernick, 289; Rosenmüller, 266; von Lengerke, 386; Maurer, 145; Ewald, *Daniel*, 263; Keil, 301; Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Terry, 63; Behrmann, 55; Driver, *Daniel*, 119; Marti, *Daniel*, 59; Young, *Daniel*, 173; Barnes 2:113; Lebram, *Daniel*, 94; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 444, 447 n. 89; Haag, *Daniel*, 64; Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 172.

the vision's specification in the question in vs. 13c, and can be translated with "and both holy (place) and host to be a trampling/to be trampled." Second, each of the two *waw* could introduce a new element of the vision's specification. The noun מִרְמָס is then only related to the host. In this case, וְקֹדֶשׁ is one phrase and וְצָבָא מִרְמָס is another phrase, and the sequence could be translated with "and (the) holy, and a host to be a trampling/to be trampled."

The two possibilities are not too far apart since in both options we have the enumeration of two entities, the holy and the host. The only difference is that in the first option the noun מִרְמָס is also related to the holy, and thus the holy is connected to the idea that it is trampled, whereas in the second option the holy stands alone and could be connected to whatever activity is suggested by the context. In the end, it is the analysis of the structure of the question in vs. 13c that will decide which option should be preferred.[1]

Indefiniteness of קֹדֶשׁ. The omission of the article from before קֹדֶשׁ has been explained in different ways.[2] The indefiniteness of קֹדֶשׁ appears to indicate that it refers

---

[1]See the discussion on the structure of vs. 13c under the literary analysis (below).

[2]Five suggestions can be distinguished:

(1) The indefiniteness is due to the artificially terse style of these verses (Ewald, *Syntax*, 30 [§277b]). This could also explain why the article is omitted with וְצָבָא, but it does not explain why the article is used with הַתָּמִיד ,וְהַפֶּשַׁע, and הֶחָזוֹן.

(2) The word is intentionally indefinite (König, 3:286 [§294c]; Marti, *Daniel*, 59; both do not explain the underlying intention).

(3) קֹדֶשׁ is indefinite because of the influence of Aramaic (König, 3:286 [§294c], compares with זַעַם "*the* indignation" in Dan 11:36).

(4) The indefinite קֹדֶשׁ indicates that BH starts to use it as a proper noun (König, 3:286 [§294c], refers to a similar indefinite use of קֵץ "*the* end" [Dan 8:17, 19; 9:26; 11:27, 35, 40; 12:4, 9] as *terminus technicus* for the apocalyptic end).

(5) Since קֹדֶשׁ is the name of the only sanctuary it does not need to have the definite article (so Behrmann, 55; Charles, 211). But then the question has to be asked, Why is this sanctuary defined

to something other than the sanctuary mentioned in vs. 11c by מִקְדָּשׁ. The omission of the article is indeed intentional so that קֹדֶשׁ should be understood as an abstract term denoting "holiness" or "holy (things)" which could include different institutions[1] or different entities designated as holy. This brings us to the meaning of קֹדֶשׁ which will be discussed in the analysis of vs. 14c.

וְצָבָא מִרְמָס. What is the relationship between צָבָא and מִרְמָס?[2] Is it a host which is trampled upon or becomes a trampling place ("and a host, a trampling place"), or is it a host which is trampling ("and a host, a trampling")? In other words, is "a host" in an object or in a subject relation to מִרְמָס?[3] The use of מִרְמָס in the Hebrew Bible supports the first view. The noun מִרְמָס refers to a place where trampling occurs or occurred and is thus figuratively used for an entity which is trampled.[4] The entity which is trampled or becomes a trampling place can be either the ground (Isa 5:5; 7:25; Ezek 34:19) or people (Isa 10:6; 28:18; Mic 7:10).

To express the agent of trampling, מִרְמָס is used in a construct phrase in which the

---

as "*his* sanctuary" in vs. 11c (so Hasslberger, 106)?

[1]So Hasslberger, 106.

[2]Although a relation between צָבָא and מִרְמָס is well established in the text (see vs. 10), Delcor, 175, 178, reads וּמִרְמָס instead of מִרְמָס and thus takes this word as an item of its own in the list of vision elements.

[3]All commentators take צָבָא in an object relation to the trampling, except Nötscher who regards the host as the subject of the trampling: "trampling by the host" (*Daniel*, 43).

[4]An entity becomes a trampling place or an overtrodden land (היה לְמִרְמָס: Isa 5:5; 7:25; 28:18; Mic 7:10), or is put as a trampling place (שׂים מִרְמָס: Isa 10:6). מִרְמָס refers to something trampled in Ezek 34:19.

agent of the trampling is the *postconstructus* or *nomen rectum* (Isa 7:25; Ezek 34:19).[1] However, this is not the case in Dan 8:13d.[2] Therefore, in Dan 8:13d מִרְמָס refers to something that is being trampled. It is therefore clear that the noun צָבָא "host" refers back to the host of heaven in vs. 10 where it is mentioned that some of the host are being trampled. Of course, there are different interpretations for the meaning of צָבָא in Dan 8:13c, which reflect the diversity of interpretations of the same term in vs. 10a.[3] The omission of the article from before צָבָא could match either the indefiniteness of קֹדֶשׁ,[4] or it could be an indication that this host in its referential meaning is different from the last mention of צָבָא in vs. 12a and therefore should be identified with the host of heaven.[5] Quite contrary would be the suggestion that the indefiniteness of צָבָא in vs. 13c links this term to the indefinite צָבָא in vs. 12a, both having the same referential meaning. However, since צָבָא in vs. 12a can be identified as the subject of the other clauses in vs. 12, it is apparent that the description of a trampled host (וְצָבָא מִרְמָס in vs. 13c) cannot

---

[1]The function of the construct group מִרְמַס רַגְלֵיכֶם "the trampling place of your feet" (i.e., "what your feet have trampled") in Ezek 34:19 is clearly paralleled in the accusatory question in vs. 18: וְיֶתֶר מִרְעֵיכֶם תִּרְמְסוּ בְּרַגְלֵיכֶם "but you must trample with your feet the rest of your pastures?"

[2]To indicate that צָבָא is the agent of trampling, Dan 8:13d could have read מִרְמָס צָבָא or מִרְמָס הַצָּבָא, or a participle of רמס could have been used in appositional relation: וְצָבָא רֹמֵס.

[3]It has however been suggested that the term צָבָא in vs. 13c should not have the same meaning as in vs. 10a but rather should be interpreted differently: "levitical priests" (Bertholdt, 525), army which is figurative of the Israelites (Driver, *Daniel*, 119), "temple service" (Thomson, 243-244; Jeffery, 476), "tribulation" (Plöger, *Daniel*, 120, 122; Delcor 177), "war" (Maier, 308), "pious worshipers" (Péter-Contesse and Ellington, 216). Behrmann, 55, believes that the use of צָבָא is an intentional double entendre: next to קֹדֶשׁ it is reminiscent of the צָבָא in vs. 12a, and next to מִרְמָס it is reminiscent of the צָבָא in vs. 10.

[4]So Hasslberger, 106.

[5]Suggested also by Gane, "The Syntax of *Tēt Ve* . . . in Daniel 8:13," 381.

possibly refer to the successful host mentioned in vs. 12.

Clause 14a

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

14a [וַיֹּאמֶר] [אֵלַי]

waw+Qal-ipf/3sgm/ prep+ePP/1sgc/

wayyiqtol(waw+Qal-ipf/3sgm/) PWG(prep+ePP/1sgc/)

P.Sy [+1.Sy] +3.Sy +2.Sy (= vs.14b-14c)
predicate [+subject] +indirect object +direct object (= vs. 14b-14c)

Clause type: *wayyiqtol.*

The subject of the verb is the "holy one who was speaking" who was addressed by another holy one in vs. 13. The first holy one who was speaking now gives the answer to the question posed (vs. 14b-14c), but directs the answer to Daniel as expressed by the first person pronominal suffix in אֵלַי "to me."[1] It is not surprising that Daniel is the addressee. Since the holy one already addressed Daniel in vs. 12 he now continues to speak to Daniel and addresses him again in vs. 14. Even if vs. 12 is considered to be part of the vision, it is quite conceivable that the holy one speaking turns to Daniel, who listened intensely to both holy ones, and addresses him directly; all the more so since the apocalyptic cry in vs. 13c certainly was on the mind of Daniel, as it probably is on any

[1]The similarity to other vision reports is obvious. Gerhard von Rad observes that "in the fairly large number of visions which occur in the Old Testament there is no instance where a vision is not immediately followed by an audition and where it does not culminate in God's addressing the prophet" (*Old Testament Theology*, vol. 2, *The Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions*, trans. D. M. G. Stalker [New York: Harper & Row, 1965], 59).

reader's mind. Whatever the psychological situation may be, there is no need to emend with OG, Theodotion, and Peshitta to אֵלָיו "to him."[1]

Clause 14b

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

14b [עַד עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר אַלְפַּיִם וּשְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת]

prep noun/sgm/ noun/sgm/ num/dum/ waw+num/cssgf/ num/plf/

PWG(prep NumWG(NP(noun/sgm/ noun/sgm/) num(num/dum/ waw+CsWG(num/cssgf/ num/plf/)))

C.Sy[temporal]
adverbial expression of time

Clause type: nominal clause.

The preposition עַד in vs. 14b repeats the preposition עַד from the question "until when?" in vs. 13c and thus signals that vs. 14b-14c constitutes the answer to that question. As in vs. 13c, the preposition "indicates temporal positioning: a point in time up to which events occur."[2] The adverbial expression of time marks the end point of a time period of "2300 evening-morning," prior to which the events of this vision occur. The phrase can be rendered with additions such as "until (there have passed) 2300

---

[1]*Pace* Bertholdt, 526; Hitzig, 134; Ewald, *Daniel*, 321; Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Bevan, 136; Behrmann, 55; Kamphausen, 34; Moore, 197; Prince, *Daniel*, 148; Driver, *Daniel*, 119 (emendation "is probably right"); Marti, *Daniel*, 60; Riessler, *Daniel* (1902), 73; Jahn, 80; Montgomery, 342; Charles, 211; Obbink, 65; Linder, 339; Thomson, 244; Nötscher, *Daniel*, 43; Bentzen, 56; Nelis, 97; Jeffery, 476; Plöger, *Daniel*, 122; Delcor, 178; Hasslberger, 10 n. 31; Hartman and Di Lella, 222; Niditch, 220; Mayers, 93; Lucas, *Daniel*, 206; Gzella, 40-41.

[2]*BHRG*, 291 (§39.18). König, 3:347 (§319s), remarks that the preposition עַד involves the verbal idea of "it will last/take."

evenings (and) mornings."[1]

The adverbial expression of time here should not be considered as a *pendens* or a dislocation construction.[2] The reason for this decision is not that vs. 14c does not have an element that refers to the *pendens* construction. Groß has shown that dislocated temporal expressions are usually not taken up in the main clause.[3] The reason lies rather in the fact that 14c is an independent clause from vs. 14b.[4] A comparison with other constructions in which a temporal expression or clause with עַד[5] is followed by a *weqatal* clause shows that the temporal element always designates a time period before the activity described by the *weqatal* form takes place: The *weqatal* clause designates a sequential action.[6]

Syntactic-Semantic Analysis of "2300 Evening-Morning"[7]

Three features of the expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר אַלְפַּיִם וּשְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת "2300 evening-

---

[1]*DCH*, 2:254.

[2]*Pace* Walter Groß, *Die Pendenskonstruktion im Biblischen Hebräisch: Studien zum althebräischen Satz I*, ATSAT, no. 27 (St. Ottilien: EOS, 1987), 50; Richter, *BH*^{t} *Daniel*, 106-107.

[3]Groß, *Pendenskonstruktion*, 44-60.

[4]So also Hasslberger, 10 n. 32, 107.

[5]The syntactic relation is different when the *w*^{e}*qatal* clause is preceded by a temporal expression governed by ב or כ. In such cases the temporal phrase is indeed a *pendens* construction (see the examples listed by Groß, *Pendenskonstruktion*, 50).

[6]For an adverbial expression of time with עַד before a *w*^{e}*qatal* clause see Judg 16:2; for temporal clauses with עַד see Gen 29:8; Josh 1:15; 6:10; 1 Sam 1:22; 2 Sam 10:5; 1 Chr 19:15. For a somewhat fuller treatment of the relation between vs. 14b and vs. 14c see my analysis of the syntactic function of וְנִצְדַּק in vs. 14c.

[7]The English coinage "evening-morning" is here and in the following an attempt to reproduce the peculiar Hebrew phrase עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר with its singular, asyndetic nouns in such a way as to retain its conspicuous character.

morning" require explanation: the word order "noun + numeral," the singular and asyndetic use of the nouns עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר, and the sequence "evening-morning."[1] The first two concern the syntax of the time phrase and the last has implications for its meaning.

Sequence: noun + numeral

In BH, the numerals higher than "one" usually precede the item counted. The word sequence "numeral + noun" is hence the classical order. The reverse order "noun + numeral" is found frequently in enumerations, lists, and administrative documents (synchronic explanation by genre). It occurs increasingly in later BH texts—mainly in Daniel (see table 14),[2] Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1 and 2 Chronicles—and in BA.

Table 14. Phrases with Cardinals (Higher than One) in the Book of Daniel

Word Order	Time Phrases	Other Phrases
Numeral + Noun (22 times)	BH: 9:2 (שָׁנָה sg.); 10:2, 3, 13 (יוֹם sg.). BA: 4:13, 20, 22, 29.	BH: 1:20; 8:7, 8β, 22; 11:2, 4; 12:5. BA: 7:2, 3, 5, 6β, 17, 24β, 24γ.
Noun + Numeral (28 times)	BH: 1:5, 12, 14, 15; 8:14 (עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר sg.); 9:24, 25α, 25β, 26; 12:11, 12. BA: 4:26; 6:1, 8, 11, 13, 14.	BH: — BA: 3:1α, 1β, 24, 25; 5:1; 6:2, 3; 7:6α, 7, 20, 24α.

[1]The decreasing order of elements in counting expressions is common (GKC, 434 [§134i]).

[2]Cf. Herner, 63-66 (for BH) and 70-71 (for BA). The phrases in Dan 1:17 ("the four of them") and in Dan 3:23 ("the three of them") are not listed here since the numerals are augmented with a pronominal suffix. The phrase חָזוּת אַרְבַּע "conspicuous four" (8:8α)—which is taken as "noun + numeral" by König ("Zur Syntax der Zahlwörter," 130)—cannot be assigned to a specific word order, because the noun to which אַרְבַּע "four" stands in apposition, either "horns" or the nominal adjective "others," is clearly elliptical. The use of the dual in קַרְנַיִן עֲשַׂר "ten horns" in Dan 7:7 has been explained by the fact that the dual occurs more often (Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, 346 [§6.4.2.8.1]).

Diachronically, it could be explained by the increasing adjectival behavior of the numerals.[1] Hence, the word sequence "noun + numeral" in the time phrase "2300 evening-morning" in Dan 8:14b is not exceptional.

Yet, the uniqueness of the time unit "evening-morning" in BH could suggest that the order "noun + numeral" is intentional in order to focus attention on the time unit "evening-morning" before the actual number is given. The emphasis of the whole time phrase is on the semantic notion being conveyed by "evening-morning," which, suggested by its intertextual relation (see below), is creation. This creates a powerful rhetorical effect: After the question until which point in time the destructive situation will continue, the first thought triggered by the answer is regarding creation. Thus, the idea is that

[1]For the diachronic explanation see Sven Herner, *Syntax der Zahlwörter im Alten Testament* (Lund: Berling, 1893), 54, 68, 140; Davidson, *Hebrew Syntax*, 52 (§37); Eduard König, "Zur Syntax der Zahlwörter im Alten Testament," *AJSL* 18 (1901–1902): 135-136; GKC, 434 (§134h); Robert Polzin, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose*, HSM, no. 12 (Missoula: Scholars, 1976), 58-60; Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 85-86; Joüon and Muraoka, 526-527 (§142d). Extensive lists for the word sequence "noun + numeral" are found in Herner (53-71) and König ("Zur Syntax der Zahlwörter," 129-136). Even with the numerals 100 and 1000 the item counted can precede the number (e.g., Num 31:32-34, 38-40, 44-46; 1 Kgs 8:63; 1 Chr 5:21). Hence, *BHRG* claims incorrectly that "*these numerals* [100 and 1000] *always precede the noun*" 268 (§37.2/2[vi]) (emphasis theirs). One should however be careful not to take the order "noun + numeral" as a clear unmistakable characteristic of late Hebrew. At best, there is an increasing tendency for the postnominal position of the numeral. See Arno Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik verglichen mit der seiner Quellen: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Syntax des Hebräischen*, BZAW, 16 (Gießen: Töpelmann, 1909), 50-53, esp. 51; Gary Rendsburg, "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of 'P,'" *JANESCU* 12 (1980), 71; Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 86; Gibson, *Syntax*, 48 (§46 rem. 3); Steven Weitzman, "The Shifting Syntax of Numerals in Biblical Hebrew: A Reassessment," *JNES* 55 (1996): 179-181. Though Qimron believes that we do not know whether the order "noun + numeral" came from Aramaic or from a Hebrew dialect and thus assuming a late development of that order (*The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 86), Weitzman summarizes the state of research correctly when he points to the fact that "the numeral's vacillating position in Biblical Hebrew . . . reflects a more generalized development which occurred repeatedly in the Canaanite and Aramaic branches of Northwest Semitic" (181) and therefore "does not reflect a single historical change" (182). Instead Wietzman suggests that the shifting position of the numeral is dependent on the increasing adjectival behavior of numerals (182-185).

creation counters destruction.

Singular and asyndetic use of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר

Somewhat striking is the singular use of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר. In BH and BA, the item counted should be in the plural when it stands before the number. The item counted is singular only in cases in which a collective noun is used or a noun which, when combined with numerals, usually occurs in the singular.[1]

The book of Daniel reflects this usage (see table 14). In the order "numeral + noun" (11 times in BH; 11 times in BA) the noun is always plural, except for שָׁנָה "year" in 9:2 and יוֹם "day" 10:13, both common words which typically can be used in the singular when combined with numerals. Whenever the order is "noun + numeral" the noun is plural (10 times in BH; 17 times in BA), except for עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14b.

The singular of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר can be explained by the fact that both עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר are used in the singular elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, and only when found in a specific meaning are they used in the dual or in the plural. עֶרֶב (135x in the OT) is used 124 times in the singular ("evening") and 11 times in the dual in the phrase בֵּין הָעַרְבָּיִם "at twilight" (Exod 12:6; 16:12; 29:39, 41; 30:8; Lev 23:5; Num 9:3, 5, 11; 28:4, 8). בֹּקֶר (214x in the OT) is used 209 times in the singular ("morning) and 5 times in the plural in

---

[1]Herner provides a list of occurrences where singular nouns stand before numbers, including numbers consisting of the numerals אֶלֶף or מֵאָה (85-88). For the phenomenon of collective singular nouns with numerals—without regard to the word order—see the extensive list by König, "Zur Syntax der Zahlwörter," 138-148. See also GKC, 433 (§134g); Brockelmann, 76 (§84c); Rudolf Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik*, De-Gruyter Studienbuch (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 380-381 [§99.6]; Waltke and O'Connor, 281-283 (15.2.5); Joüon and Muraoka, 527 (§142eg); Gibson, *Syntax*, 50 (§47 rem. 1) and *BHRG*, 268 (§37.2/2). Gibson provides a selective list of nouns which are not considered to be collective singulars but do occur once or twice in the singular when combined with a number (*Syntax*, 50 [§47 rem. 1]).

the phrase לַבְּקָרִים or לִבְקָרִים "every morning" (Isa 33:2; Pss 73:14; 101:8; Job 7:18; Lam 3:23). Further, עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר are nowhere else found in combination with a numeral, except in 1 Sam 20:5 where עֶרֶב is used with the cardinal הַשְּׁלִשִׁית in the temporal expression עַד הָעֶרֶב הַשְּׁלִשִׁית "until the third evening."[1] For the typical singular use of עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר and the lack of any syntactic parallel it is doubtful whether the singular use of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14b should be regarded as exceptional; rather it could be demanded by the typical singular use of these two words in BH.[2] The nouns may even be considered as collective singulars.[3]

At the same time the singular and asyndetic use of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר indicates that the measuring unit of the time phrase is "evening-morning" and not separately counted evenings and mornings.[4] The singular עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר strengthens the impression that each time unit is one "evening-morning," two time units are two "evening-morning," and so

---

[1]If "2300" in Dan 8:14b were an ordinal, which can be neither proved nor disproved conclusively, the temporal construction in 1 Sam 20:5 would constitute a parallel to it.

[2]*Pace* Schwantes who concludes that "the expression *ʿereb bōqer* stands exceptionally in the singular in contrast to all the other enumerations in the book [of Daniel]" (473). Nonetheless, he argues, in my view correctly, that the singular of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר "is evidence that the expression represents a unit of time" (ibid.).

[3]For a collective understanding of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14c see *HALOT*, 2:878. While not commenting on Dan 8:14c in particular, Herner groups עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר together with other nouns—e.g., נֶפֶשׁ, בָּקָר, and צֹאן—and observes that these nouns "stand in the singular because of their collective meaning" (86).

[4]Ewald takes the two nouns עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר as a compound expression that is equivalent to the Greek νυχθήμερον "a night and a day," a span of 24 hours (no LXX occurrence; in the NT only in 1 Cor 11:25) (*Lehrbuch*, 666 [§270d]). For König עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר is a word pair that expresses a unit (2:416 [§122.5b]). Consequently, the phrase "evening-morning" serves as a single unit, and the time period has a length of 2300 times this unit. The fact that the two words form a combination that stands for the period of a day is also pointed out by Trix Gretler, *Zeit und Stunde: Theologische Zeitkonzepte zwischen Erfahrung und Ideologie in den Büchern Kohelet und Daniel*, TVZ Dissertationen (Zürich: TVZ, 2004), 231.

forth. In other words, one item counted is one "evening-morning" rather than one evening or one morning. Two items counted are two "evening-morning" rather than one evening and one morning, and so forth.[1]

At this point, the asyndetic use of the two nouns עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר deserves comment. Why is the expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in 8:14b asyndetic, whereas in 8:26 the two nouns are coordinated in the construct phrase מַרְאֵה הָעֶרֶב וְהַבֹּקֶר "the vision of the evening and the morning"?[2] It has been argued that the conjunction ו in vs. 26 shows that עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר should not be understood as a single unit, but rather evenings and mornings should be understood in their individual meanings and be counted separately, not as day, but as one evening and one morning.[3] This is hardly convincing for several reasons. First, in vs. 26 there is no temporal phrase in which evening and morning need to be used as a unit. Second, both the conjunction and the article before each term are likely due to the construct relation מַרְאֵה הָעֶרֶב וְהַבֹּקֶר. Third, the anaphoric use of the definite article for both בֹּקֶר and עֶרֶב in vs. 26 referring back to עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר seems to demand the use of the conjunction. Fourth, one could on the contrary argue that the conjunction in vs. 26 clarifies the unit "evening-morning" in vs. 14b to be understood exactly as the unit "evening *and* morning" and not separated as individual evening or morning. Finally, one

---

[1]If the daily *tāmî d* is regarded as "two-phased" (so Levine, *Numbers 21-36*, 370, 395-403; see also below p. 384 n. 2), it would be indeed difficult to see how the combination of "evening-morning" could represent the unit "part of the daily *tāmî d*" so that a single morning sacrifice and a single evening sacrifice would count as two "evening-morning."

[2]Apparently to harmonize the two phrases, Montgomery suggests that in vs. 14b "an orig. ו may easily have fallen out before the following labial" (344).

[3]Hitzig, 136; Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Bevan, 136; Prince, *Daniel*, 148; Marti, *Daniel*, 60; Charles, 212; Hasslberger, 393.

could also argue that the lacking ו in the asyndetic עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in vs. 14b is sign enough that the phrase functions as a single measuring unit.

There is no other temporal unit which consists of two asyndetic elements like "evening-morning." The time phrases consisting of יוֹם "day" and לַיְלָה "night"[1] cannot function as comparison to determine the nature of the time phrase with the measuring unit עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר because of two major differences. First, the phrases with day and night always have the order "daylight period + dark period" whereas "evening-morning" has the order reversed. Second, the phrases with day and night always have a numeral in front of each item and thus both day and night function as individual units. In Dan 8:14b, however, evening and morning serve as one unit and the number 2300 refers to the unit as a whole. Thus, regarding the relationship between time phrases using day and night and the phrase "evening-morning" one should argue neither for similar nor for contrasting expressions.[2]

The argument that 2300 days should have been expressed by "2300 evenings and 2300 mornings" overlooks the fact that the expression "evening-morning" alludes to creation in a more pithy way and emphasizes the creation idea more strongly than if evening and morning were separated by repetition of the long number אַלְפַּיִם וּשְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת.

---

[1]In BH the following time phrases with יוֹם "day" and לַיְלָה "night" are found: "three days and three nights" (1 Sam 30:12; Jonah 2:1), "seven days and seven nights" (Job 2:13), "forty days and forty nights" (Gen 7:4, 12; Exod 24:18; 34:28; Deut 9:9, 11, 18, 25; 10:10; 1 Kgs 19:8).

[2]For example, Tiefenthal argues for similarity and believes that the "2300 evening-morning" designate 2300 days (271), whereas Hasslberger argues for contrast and believes that the "2300 evening-morning" designate 1150 days (392-393).

Word order and meaning of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר

Though עַד עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר אַלְפַּיִם וּשְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת are sometimes considered to be "obscure words,"[1] the phrase as found makes sense and emendations are not advisable.[2] The considerations above show that the grammatical-syntactic features of the phrase "2300 evening-morning" have direct implications for its meaning. The close connection between syntax and semantics is even more obvious with regard to the word order of the phrase עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר. Before the order of the expressions עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר is examined and its significance assessed, an overview of the different understandings of the time phrase might be helpful.[3]

The time phrase "2300 evening-morning" has received various interpretations based on how one understands the expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר. There are basically two main suggestions how to interpret the meaning of this time phrase.

The first is to understand the "2300 evening-morning" as 2300 days.[4] The main

---

[1]Von Lengerke, 387 ("dunkle Worte").

[2]For example, Knabenbauer assumes that the text read originally עד ימים בקר "until days 2300" with the letters of בקר as numeric value for 2300. Later, scribes wrote out the numeral, took בקר as noun, added עֶרֶב, and finally dropped יָמִים (214-215). Montgomery hypothesizes that "an orig. ו may easily have fallen out before the following labial" (344).

[3]For a detailed overview of interpretations of the "2300 evening-morning" given between 1700 and 1900 see Núñez, *The Vision of Daniel 8*, 83-100, 207-229, 358-372, 413-423.

[4]Old Greek, Theodotion (both read καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἕως ἑσπέρας καὶ πρωὶ ἡμέραι δισχίλιαι [Theodotion adds: καὶ] τριακόσιαι "until evening and morning, days 2300"); Jerome, 856; medieval Jewish commentators (cited in Montgomery, 343); Calvin, 108; Bertholdt, 501-502; Hävernick, 294; von Lengerke, 388-390; Maurer, 146; Keil, 302-304; Fausset, 1:638; E. B. Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet: Nine Lectures Delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Parker, 1876), 221-222 n. 12; Rohling, *Daniel*, 241-242; Knabenbauer, 213-215; Tiefenthal, 271; Riessler, *Daniel* (1902), 73, 76; Stokmann, 129; Beek, 85; Linder, 339-343; Leupold, 354-358; Young, *Daniel*, 174-175; Barnes, 2:114; Walvoord, 190; Schwantes, 375-385; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 213; Miller, *Daniel*, 228-230; Lucas, *Daniel*, 218 (tentatively); Robert I. Vasholz, "'Evening and Morning' in Genesis 1,"

argument for this view is that the phrase עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר reflects creation language and thus refers to an entire day. Most adherents of this view interpret the time period as literal 2300 days referring to a specific time period in the time of the Maccabees, some suggest that the 2300 days signify 2300 years according to a supposed prophetic year-day principle,[1] one believes that they are 2300 days times 49 according to a prophetic ratio of 1:49,[2] still others regard the 2300 days as a fixed period without necessarily giving it a chronological significance in history.[3]

The second major view is to regard עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר as cultic language referring to (part

---

Presbyterion 28 (2002): 110; Seow, *Daniel*, 125. Hippolyt, reading χίλιαι "one thousand" instead of δισχίλιαι "two thousand," understands the phrase as designating 1300 days (*Kommentar zu Daniel*, 2d ed., ed. M. Richard, Hippolyt Werke, vol. 1, pt. 1., Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, n. s., vol. 7 [Berlin: Akademie, 2000], 254-257).

[1]Ford, *Daniel*, 189, 196-197 (later, however, Ford argues for a period of 1150 days [*Daniel and the Coming King* (Newcastle: by the author, 1996), 105]); Shea, *Selected Studies*, 80-83 (= rev. ed., 95-99); Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 435; Doukhan, *Daniel*, 31-36. Anderson admits that "there could be some warrant" for this interpretation "in light of the Danielic reinterpretation of Jeremiah's seventy years of exile." He finally decides that "if, however, the interpretation is limited to certain events within the reign of Antiochus IV, a satisfactory and eminently sensible solution is possible" (*Signs and Wonders*, 98).

[2]W. S. Auchincloss, *The Only Key to Daniel's Prophecies* (New York: Van Nostrand, 1903), 138, 140-141. Auchincloss sees a 1:49 ratio in the 49 days between Passover and the Feast of Weeks and in the 49 years between Jubilee years. He calculates the "2300 evening-morning" (for him 112,700 days) on the basis of the sidereal year from October 14, 450 BC (supposedly the date of God's commandment to restore and rebuilt Jerusalem) to May 4, 141 BC (National Independence Day).

[3]Leupold does not compute the 2300 days but regards this time period with "ideal prophetic value" (a term borrowed from Zöckler) to signify that the 2300 days are "not even a full period of divine judgment," which, for Leupold, would be seven years (356-357). "The fact that it is expressed in days reminds the troubled Israelites that the Lord will not let this period extend a day beyond what they can bear" (ibid., 357). See already, Keil, 307 (followed by Young, 174-175); Wordsworth, 40. Goldingay attributes on the basis of 1 Enoch 90:5—twenty-three shepherds pastured the Jews during the Hellenistic period—symbolic significance to the "2300 evening-morning" and concludes that "the 2300 days may, then, suggest a fixed 'significant' period, which might or might not denote a chronological period in the region of six or seven years" (*Daniel*, 213; cf. Lucas, *Daniel*, 218, 224).

of) the daily sacrifice defined as being a morning *or* an evening sacrifice. In this case the "2300 evening-morning" would refer to 2300 times of offering either a morning or an evening sacrifice which would equal a time period of 1150 days.[1] Arguments brought forward for this view are as follows. First, the use of sacrificial language in vss. 11-12, in particular the expression הַתָּמִיד taken as reference to the daily sacrifice, suggests that עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר refers to the evening and the morning offering. Second, the phrase in vs. 26 (הָעֶרֶב וְהַבֹּקֶר "the evening and the morning") suggests that evening and morning in vs. 14b should be counted separately. Third, a comparison with the other time periods which the "2300 evening-morning" are said to correspond to shows that they all designate a time period between 1260 and 1335 days, with which 1150 days would fit much better than 2300 days. Finally, there are historical considerations. The interpretation that "2300 evening-morning" are 2300 days is usually rejected by reference to the alleged historical context of the time of Antiochus IV in which there is no period of approximately six and

---

[1]Ephraim of Syria cited in Montgomery, 343; Ibn Ezra cited in Anderson, *Signs and Wonders*, 98; Kirmss, 38 (cited in Hitzig, 135); Hitzig, 135; Kliefoth, 260; Caspari, 138; Zöckler, 178; Ewald, *Daniel*, 263; Meinhold, "Daniel," 309; Bevan, 136; Terry, 64; Behrmann, 55 (who opts for 1150 days, though he admits it to be more natural that עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר designates a day and the whole phrase would then designate 2300 days); von Gall, 52; Prince, *Daniel*, 148; Driver, *Daniel*, 119; Marti, *Daniel*, 60; Jahn, 80; Montgomery, 343; Aalders, *Het boek Daniël*, 167; Goettsberger, 62; Charles, 212; Obbink, 111; Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 82 n. 42 (on p. 77 he assumes that "2300" originally read "2330"; *pace* Ginsberg see S. Zeitlin, "The Cryptic Numbers in Daniel," *JQR* 39 [1948-1949]: 321-324); Nötscher, *Daniel*, 43; Steinmann, 124; Bentzen, 71; Saydon, 636; Nelis, 97; H. Schneider, *Daniel*, 56; Jeffery, 475-477; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 181; G. R. Driver, "Sacred Numbers and Round Figures," in *Promise and Fulfilment: Essays Presented to Professor S. H. Hooke in Celebration of His Ninetieth Birthday, 21st January 1964*, ed. F. F. Bruce (Edinburgh: Clark, 1963), 77-81; Claus Schedl, "Mystische Arithmetik," 101-105; Plöger, *Daniel*, 127; Porteous, 126-127; Delcor, 177; Hammer, 86; Baldwin, 158; Hartman and Di Lella, 227, 237; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 164, 250; Russell, 151; Maier, 309; Anderson, *Signs and Wonders*, 98; Lebram, *Daniel*, 95; Towner, 122; Archer, 7:103; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 336; Haag, *Daniel*, 65; Ford, *Daniel and the Coming King*, 105; Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*; Di Lella, *Daniel*, 161; Buchanan, 248; Gowan, *Daniel*, 120-121.

a half years during which the temple was desecrated. Rather the period of Antiochus IV's profanation of the temple in Jerusalem was three years, that is, 1080 days (see 1 Macc 1:54, 59; 4:52), which is roughly equivalent to 1150 days.[1] Caution, however, is indicated when the meaning of the text is being shaped by a presupposed fulfillment in history or by a historic event which is presumed to be equivalent to the text.

In this view, the time period of 1150 days is understood to refer to a specific period during the time of the Maccabees. Two kinds of approaches are most often taken in explaining the 1150 days. One is to regard the 1150 days as a true, but mistaken prediction or calculation of the length of the temple desecration under Antiochus IV. The other is to understand the 1150 days as a prediction after the event, referring to a specific period in the time of the Maccabees. The placement of the exact beginning and end date of the 1150 days for the latter approach varies among scholars.[2] Still others regard

---

[1]See, e.g., the reasoning by Porteous, 126-127. A historical analogy, which would support that the time phrase in Dan 8:14b designates the time period of Antiochus's desecration of the Jerusalem temple, is considered by Plöger, *Daniel*, 127-128. The "exciting parallel" (ibid., 128) is found in the time period of Belshazzar's desecration of the temple instruments (539 B.C.E.) ending with the return of the first Jews from exile under Cyrus (536 B.C.E.), which is approximately three years or 1150 days.

[2]See Hasslberger (385-396) and Gese (400-402) for overviews of some of the different suggestions on how to understand the time elements in Daniel. The main suggestions regarding the "2300 evening-morning" are the following:

(1) Successive postponements: The awaited end of the oppression had been deferred so that new calculations had become necessary. In this view, the first time calculation was the "2300 evening-morning" period which is understood to designate 1150 days (Hermann Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895], 267-269, esp. 269 n. 1; Gustav Hölscher, "Die Entstehung des Buches Daniel," *TSK* 92 [1919]: 132-133; Hasslberger, 396; Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 336, 400-401; Rainer Stahl, "'Eine Zeit, Zeiten und die Hälfte einer Zeit,'" 491-493). Similarly, but with exact historical dates, Martin Thilo explains that each of the different time periods (1150, 1290, and 1335 days) is being part of a different calculation of the last week of years, a 7-year period of trouble (2555 days). In each of the three calculations the predicted time period would represent the final part of these seven years and end at a different date—the 1150 days would end October 1, 165;

the 1290 days end February 15, 164; and the 133 days end April 1, 164—so that the 7-year period would end, as well as start, at different dates (*Die Chronologie des Danielbuches* [Bonn: Schmidt, 1926], 21-27).

(2) Guesswork: The time periods in 7:25; 8:14; 9:27; 12:7, 11, 12 all designate a period of more or less 3½ years and refer to the same time. The writer was himself not clear about the time period or wanted to leave the readers guessing at the time period of oppression (J. Meinhold, "Das Buch Daniel," 309-310, 338).

(3) From temple desecration to city fortification: Claus Schedl suggests the time from the desecration of the temple (Kislev 15, 167 = December 6, 167) until the fortification of Mount Zion which he hypothetically dates to Šebat 15, 163 (= January 31, 163) ("Mystische Arithmetik," 101-105). For the hypothetical character of Schedl's suggestions see Sydney Allen, "On Schedl's Attempt to Count the Days of Daniel," *AUSS* 4 (1966): 105-106.

(4) From the release of the Jews and the permission to build temple and city (2/10/538) to the temple's cornerstone ceremony (3/15/535): P. Szczygiel, "Von den Perioden der Wochenprophetie (9, 24-27) und den anderen Zahlen bei Daniel," *TGl* 15 (1923): 278, 282.

(5) Intentionally ambiguous: Burgmann basically holds the position that the time period in Dan 8:14b evolved from the intention to combine three tendencies: the half-year tradition in the book of Daniel, the three years of the temple desecration in 167-164 B.C.E., and the possibility that God's intervention could happen at a still later time. Thus, the 2300 evening and morning period was intentionally ambiguous so that it could be interpreted as 2300 half days—which, if reckoned according to the moon calendar, would be exactly between the 3 years of the temple desecration and the 3½ years mentioned elsewhere in Daniel (7:25; 9:27; 12:7)—or as 2300 full days if the final restoration should take longer (544-545). However, Burgmann has to go a long way to explain the other time periods in Daniel for which he supposes different Maccabean and Hasidic influences and then reckons with both moon and sun calendars and the respective intercalary periods. "Calculations of such kind verge on arbitrariness" (Gese, 401).

(6) From temple desecration to Antiochus's death: Jonathan A. Goldstein reckons all time periods in Daniel from 25 Kislev (December 16), 167 (*II Maccabees*, AB, vol. 41A [Garden City: Doubleday, 1983], 113-123), so that the 2300 half days end for him on February 8, 163, with the possible event that "Jews at Jerusalem . . . receive a copy of a letter from Antiochus V announcing the death of Antiochus IV and restoring the temple to the Jews and thus 'vindicating the Holy'" (ibid., 118; cf. idem, *Peoples of an Almighty God*, 462).

(7) From temple desecration to the reestablishment of the temple sacrifices: Gabriele Boccaccini argues that Daniel used a 360+4-day Zadokite sabbatical calendar and thus calculated the 1150 days (including 13 intercalary days) from the fall equinox of 167 B.C.E., which marks the beginning of Antiochus's persecution (i.e., the interruption of the daily sacrifices) to the 27th of the eighth month of 164, on which according to the *Megillat Taᶜanit* "they began again to bring the offerings of fine flour upon the altar," which Boccaccini takes as indicator for the restoration of the daily sacrifices and the cleansing of the temple. The expression "evening-morning" is regarded as intentional to avoid "days," which in the Zadokite calendar would not have included the intercalary days between the seasons ("The Solar Calendars of Daniel and Enoch," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, VTSup, no. 83, FIOTL, no. 2 [Leiden: Brill, 2001], 2:311-328; *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, from Ezekiel to Daniel* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002], 191-193).

(8) Principal measurement: Gese proposes that the "2300 evening-morning" is a time period given with a principal measurement of 2 and 3 (2 thousands and 3 hundreds). In that way the time period could indicate anything between 2201 and 2300 evenings and mornings. Gese then calculates

the 1150 days as a fixed period without necessarily giving it chronological significance in history.[1] Another, recent suggestion is to find the symbolic meaning of 1150 by means of Pythagorean plane numbers.[2]

Of course, there are also other suggestions besides the two major views (2300 days or 1150 days), but they have not received much support.[3]

In order to enhance the understanding of the time phrase "2300 evening-morning," one should recognize that the differences of the two major views rest on one issue in particular.[4] That is, the various interpretations of the meaning of the "2300 evening-

---

by the solar calendar 2217 evenings and mornings (= 1109 days) from the desecration of the altar (15 Kislev 167) to the end of the reconsecration ceremony (seven days after 25 Kislev 164) and thus assumes that the prediction of some 2300 evenings and mornings found its adequate fulfillment in history (Gese, 410-411).

For the purpose of dating the 1150 days, it is a secondary question, and thus does not really matter here, whether one accepts the view that the temple desecration by Antiochus IV dates 167-164 B.C.E. (presently the majority position) or rather dates 168-165 B.C.E. (recently argued again by Lester L. Grabbe, "Maccabean Chronology: 167-164 or 168-165 BCE," *JBL* 110 [1991]: 59-74).

[1]Kliefoth (264-265) and Kranichfeld (298, 300) believe that the number of "2300 evening-morning" (which for them means 1150 days) is given exactly for the reason to suggest that the horn's (Antiochus's) aggression does not even reach the duration of a divine judgment (cf. Behrmann, xiii).

[2]Susan Fournier Mathews, "The Numbers in Daniel 12:11-12: Rounded Pythagorean Plane Numbers?" *CBQ* 63 (2001): 630-646. She proposes that the number 1150 is a specific kind of symbolic number. It approximates the 1156 of the 34th square number, that is, the sum of all successive odd whole numbers up to and including the 34th number in the series (1 + 3 + 5 + . . . + 65 + 67). The 1150 days in Dan 8:14 would then designate the first half-week of years as the "bad" half-week of desecration on the basis that 1150 plus 1335 (from Dan 12:12) equal 2485, the triangle number of the 70th place which stands for the final week of the 70 weeks of years.

[3]Some of the ideas are that the phrase "2300 evening-morning" needs to be interpreted with the help of gematria (Rashi and Alshich, 384), that עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר refers to an unspecified period of time (Maayenei Hayeshuah 9:7 cited in Slotki [1992]), 68), or that "the number was sufficiently vague that it could designate anywhere from just over three to about seven years" (Redditt, 141; cf. H. Schneider, *Daniel*, 56, who regards it as likely that "the answer is formulated intentionally ambiguous").

[4]It is deemed legitimate to exclude two lines of argumentation from the discussion. First, the relation of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14b to הָעֶרֶב וְהַבֹּקֶר in vs. 26 has been shown above to be indecisive. Second, historical considerations that try to find a specific historical fulfillment of the "2300 evening-

morning" are based on how one understands the terminological background of the expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר. Three different possibilities, in part mentioned already, can be thought of (see table 15).

Table 15. Interpretations of "2300 Evening-Morning"

	Language Background	Reference of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר to	Time Indicated
1.	Creation	Day: night and daylight hours	2300 days
2.	Cult	Daily *tāmî d*: evening *and* morning sacrifice	2300 days
3.	Cult	Daily *tāmî d*: evening *or* morning sacrifice	1150 days

First, עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר is considered to be creation language referring to an entire day. "2300 evening-morning" would then be 2300 days. Second, עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר is taken as cultic language which refers to one daily sacrifice defined as consisting of the morning *and* the evening sacrifice. In this case, "2300 evening-morning" would be 2300 daily sacrifices equaling a time period of 2300 days. And third, עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר is regarded to be cultic language referring to (part of) the daily sacrifice defined as being a morning *or* an evening sacrifice. In this instance, "2300 evening-morning" would refer to 2300 times of offering either a morning or an evening sacrifice equaling a time period of 1150 days.

morning" should not be used initially to understand the time period. Textual considerations have priority.

There is no doubt that the expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר has special significance, otherwise the time unit יוֹם "day" or יָמִים "days" could have been used (as in Dan 12:11, 12). The word order "evening" and then "morning" and the absolute use of the two nouns which are not combined with any other words are conspicuous. An investigation of all the instances in the Hebrew Bible in which עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר occur together leads to the following observations.[1]

Besides Dan 8:14b, 26, the absolute use of עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר (i.e., without being in construct relation and without preceding preposition) in close proximity to each other is found only in Gen 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31; Exod 16:6-8; Deut 28:67; and Ps 55:18. The order is always first עֶרֶב and then בֹּקֶר.[2] The contexts of these occurrences show two basic themes which could also be present in Dan 8: the one is God's creative power and the revelation of his presence, the other is the being or feeling of being distant from God as experienced by the people of God and their complaints about the situation.[3] On the

---

[1]The use of the dual עַרְבַּיִם "twilight" together with בֹּקֶר in the same context (Exod 16:12; 29:39, 41; Num 28:4, 8) is not considered here.

[2]In Deut 28:67 both sequences—"morning - evening" and "evening - morning"—are present in chiastic-like arrangement. The introduction in vs. 66 clearly has the sequence "night and day."

[3]In Gen 1, evening and morning are part of the day formula which concludes the account of God's creative activity on each day. In Exod 16, after the Israelites grumbled again (vss. 2-3), Moses and Aaron assured them that God will reveal himself to them (vss. 6-7): "evening (עֶרֶב), and you will know that YHWH has brought you out of the land of Egypt; and morning (וּבֹקֶר), and you will see the glory of YHWH, for he hears your murmurings against YHWH" (Exod 16:6-7: cf. vs. 8). "Evening" and "morning" are connected to each other in a similar way as in Dan 8:26, and both terms are combined with the revelation of the glory of YHWH which proves God as the lord over creation (cf. Num 16:5, where syntactically the same construction occurs with בֹּקֶר only). Here, the use of עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר could be idiomatically for "soon" (see H. Niehr, "עֶרֶב *ʿereb*," *TDOT*, 11:337). At the end of the covenant curses in Deut 28:66-67 one consequence for the disobedient partner is given as the fear and dread "night and day," evening and morning. And the Psalmist, complaining "evening and morning and noon" and calling upon God to rescue from the wicked and from the enemy, assures the reader that YHWH will hear and save (Ps 55:18).

basis of the absolute use alone, it is difficult to know with certainty whether עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14b draws from such a background, but it could definitely be possible since both themes fit the train of thought in Dan 8:12-14. The experience of the absence of God and the indirect call for his intervention is expressed in the question in vs. 13. And the revelation of God's presence and his creative power is alluded to by the time limitation of the destructive activities and the mention of the holy being restored in vs. 14. Interestingly, in none of these texts do עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר occur in relationship to the daily offering or the sacrificial system.[1]

A more important factor for the meaning of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14b is the word sequence "evening - morning."[2] In the Hebrew Bible, both the sequence "evening - morning" and the sequence "morning - evening" can be found in either a loose or closer type of connection.[3]

---

[1]The absolute of בֹּקֶר and the absolute of עֶרֶב also occur alone, that is, not in the same context. In these instances they function as the subject of a verb and always denote the beginning of the day or daylight, respectively the beginning or extension of the night hours. בֹּקֶר is used with אור "be light" (Gen 44:3; cf. 2 Sam 23:4; Mic 2:1), אתה "come" (Isa 21:12); היה "be" (Exod 10:13; 19:16); and פנה "turn" (Judg 19:26). עֶרֶב is used with פנה "turn" (Gen 24:63; Deut 32:12); מדד "continue" (Job 7:4). Again, in these texts there is no reference to sacrifices.

[2]On the word sequence of "evening - morning," respectively "morning - evening," see Schwantes, 381-384. Vasholz concludes that "in almost every instance where the Old Testament uses these two words [evening and morning] consecutively, they refer to a twenty-four hour day" (110).

[3]The sequence "evening - morning" is found in Gen 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31; Exod 16:6-7, 8, 13 (cf. vs. 12 with בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם "at twilight" and בֹּקֶר); 27:21; Lev 24:3; Num 9:15, 21; Deut 16:4; 28:67; Isa 17:14; Ezek 33:22; Zeph 3:3; Pss 30:6; 55:18; Esth 2:14; Dan 8:14, 26. The sequence "morning - evening" is found in Gen 49:27; Exod 18:13, 14; Lev 6:13; Deut 28:67; 1 Kgs 17:6; 2 Kgs 16:15; Pss 65:9; 90:6; Job 4:20; Eccl 11:6; Ezra 3:3; 1 Chr 16:40; 23:30; 2 Chr 2:3; 13:11; 31:3. And there is the sequence "morning - evening - morning" in Ezek 24:18. The only sequence occurring in the Dead Sea Scrolls is "evening - morning" in 4Q320 1.1:3 (= 4QCalendrical Doc A 1.1:3 or 4QMish A 1.1:3) and in 4Q502 27:2 (= 4QpapRitMar 27:2 or 4QRitual of Marriage 27:2). See, e.g., Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 2:678-679, 996-997.

The only texts which have עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר in the absolute state, without prepositions, and in the sequence "evening - morning" are Gen 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31; Exod 16:6-7; Ps 55:18; and Dan 8:14, 26. In Ps 55:18 the time phrase עֶרֶב וָבֹקֶר is extended by וְצָהֳרַיִם "and (at) noon," making it the only time in BH that these three words occur together. Thematically, Ps 55:18 may have affinities to Dan 8:13-14—the continual supplication to YHWH three times a day (cf. Dan 6:11) in complaining and moaning (Ps 55:18a) and the imprecation or plea for the destruction of the enemy (vss. 10, 16, 24) could be expressed in the question in Dan 8:13c, whereas the affirmation of confidence that YHWH rescues (Ps 55:17b, 18b, 19a) finds its parallel in the answer in Dan 8:14b-c. However, Dan 8:14 does not take up the unique triad of terms found in Ps 55:18. Exodus 16:6-7 describes that the Israelites will recognize that salvation is from YHWH when he supplies his people miraculously with quail in the evening and manna in the morning. There might be a relation to Dan 8:14, especially since the verb forms following עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר in Exod 16:6-7 are *w*[e]*qatal* forms, like the verb form in Dan 8:14c. In that case, עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14b would prepare for God's salvific activity, maybe even to another Exodus experience. However, עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר in Exod 16:6-7 each designate a time for a different activity and are separated by a sentence. With such a construction it is, however, difficult to prove that Dan 8:14bc alludes to Exod 16:6-7. Rather, it seems best to infer that both Exod 16:6-7 and Dan 8:14bc refer intertextually to the occurrence of עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר in Gen 1. Therefore the conclusion is inescapable that terminologically the expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14b, respectively הָעֶרֶב וְהַבֹּקֶר in Dan 8:26, is based on language present in Gen 1 (i.e., absolute state, without preposition, and

particularly the sequence “evening - morning”).[1] Furthermore, there is even similarity in the sequence “evening - morning - numeral” between Dan 8:14b and the day formulas in Gen 1. Of course, the numerals in Gen 1 refer to יוֹם and not to עֶרֶב or בֹּקֶר. Also, in Dan 8:14b the number is a cardinal whereas in Gen 1 the numbers are ordinals except for אֶחָד יוֹם “one day” in Gen 1:5. Since the word order of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14b contains a strong emphasis on creation, the word עֶרֶב should be understood to refer to the night hours, beginning in the evening and extending through the night, whereas בֹּקֶר refers to the daylight hours, beginning in the morning and extending through the day.[2] The expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר designates one day, its dark and light period; a day that begins with

---

[1]So far, the most extensive argumentation for interpreting עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר as day on the basis that the expression relates to the evenings and mornings in Gen 1 is found in Schwantes, 375-385, esp. 384-385. See also Riessler, *Daniel* (1902), 76: “Der Ausdruck ‘Abendmorgen’ zur Bezeichnung des Tages ist nahegelegt durch den in der Schöpfungsgeschichte . . . wiederkehrenden Refrain, dass aus Abend und Morgen ein Tag geworden ist”; Werner H. Schmidt, *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift: Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von Genesis 1 1–2 4a und 2 4b–3 24*, 2d ed., WMANT, no. 17 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1967), 68: “Abend und Morgen sind in der gewohnten Reihenfolge des Tagesablaufs angeführt (vgl. Dan 8 14), wohl so, daß die Anfänge den ganzen folgenden Abschnitt mitumfassen, also der Abend die Nacht, der Morgen den Tag einschließt”; and ibid., 68 n. 3: “Statt ‘Tag’ sagt man auch ‘Abend-Morgen” (Dan 8 14)”; Gerhard F. Hasel, “Day,” *ISBE*, 1:877; idem, “The ‘Little Horn’” (1986), 431-432; B. E. Thiering, “The Three and a Half Years of Elijah,” *NovT* 23 (1981): 49: “An evening and a morning were one day (Gen. i 5)”; Niehr, “עֶרֶב,” 11:337, 340; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 213: “The natural way to understand the phrase is as denoting 2,300 days”; Jacques B. Doukhan, “Allusions à la création dans le livre de Daniel: Dépistage et significations,” in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL, no. 106 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 288; A. H. Konkel, “בֹּקֶר (# 1332),” *NIDOTTE*, 1:712: “The duration of a day is frequently expressed by evening morning” quoting Dan 8:14, 26; Gen 1:5, etc.; P. A. Verhoef, “יוֹם (# 3427),” *NIDOTTE*, 2:420; Vogel, “Cultic Motif,” 174-179; Seow, *Daniel*, 125.

[2]For בֹּקֶר with reference to the entire period of daylight see *DCH*, 2:252 (citing as examples Gen 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31; 49:27; Isa 21:12; Dan 8:14); L. Delekat, “Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch,” *VT* 14 (1964): 8; Barth in J. Bergman, Helmer Ringgren, and Ch. Barth, “בֹּקֶר *bōqer*,” *TDOT*, 2:225. For עֶרֶב with reference to the night hours see, besides Genesis 1, e.g., Ps 30:6.

the evening.[1] In a cultic context, a day beginning explicitly with the evening is only found in combination with the festival of Unleavened Bread (Exod 12:18), which could be explained in association with Passover with its nocturnal ritual, and with the Day of Atonement (Lev 23:32).[2] So, if the cultic terminology in the vision of Dan 8 leads to the belief that the phrase "evening-morning" should denote a day from evening to evening and have cultic significance, one would have to opt for a reference to the Day of Atonement which explicitly runs from evening to evening, since the activity described by

---

[1]Basically all those scholars who argue for a link between Dan 8:14b and Gen 1 take the expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14b as designating one day. Gershon Brin, who does not explicitly link Dan 8:14b to Gen 1, observes that "generally speaking this [ערב בקר] is understood in the sense of ערב ובקר, i.e., a (full) 'day.' . . . But it is also possible that . . . it may refer to something entirely different, and not to the totalities of days, evening and morning" (Gershon Brin, *The Concept of Time in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ, no. 39 [Leiden: Brill, 2001], 165 n. 13). However, he does not indicate what such an entirely different meaning could be. It is not necessary here to discuss the question of the beginning of the day (evening/nightfall or morning/daybreak). For this see P. J. Heawood, "The Beginning of the Jewish Day," *JQR* 36 (1945-1946): 393-401 (morning); Solomon Zeitlin, "The Beginning of the Jewish Day during the Second Commonwealth," *JQR* 36 (1945-1946): 403-414 (morning); H. R. Stroes, "Does the Day Begin in the Evening or Morning? Some Biblical Observations," *VT* 16 (1966): 460-475 (evening, though morning is sometimes possible); Schmidt, *Schöpfungsgeschichte*, 68 (evening); Roger T. Beckwith, "The Day, Its Divisions and Its Limits, in Biblical Thought," *EvQ* 43 (1971): 218-227 = idem, *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian: Biblical, Intertestamental and Patristic Studies*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums, no. 33 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 1-9 (co-existence of the two reckonings); Milgrom, *Leviticus 23-27*, 1967-1970 (morning; although Esth 4:16; Dan 8:14, and Jdt 11:17 "possibly indicate a shift to the evening" in a later period); Brin, 153-166 (generally morning reckoning; the Holiness school introduced the reckoning from evening); Jan A. Wagenaar, "Passover and the Firs Day of the Festival of Unleavened Bread in the Priestly Festival Calendar," *VT* 54 (2004): 262-266 (original reckoning of the day from sunrise to sunrise; adoption of the Babylonian custom to reckon the days from sunset to sunset in the 5th cent. BC). Brin hypothesizes that "perhaps a different system [i.e., from evening to evening] was used in the realm of the holy and of appointed times than that observed in ordinary life" (163). If such a speculation could be sustained, which is of course difficult, the phrase עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14b could also signify that what is happening here pertains to the realm of the holy.

[2]See H. R. Stroes, 471-473 (to him Exod 12:6, 8, 10, 18; Lev 23:32 and Gen 1:5 are the only "obvious evening texts"); Beckwith, "The Day," 221-224 = idem, *Calendar*, 4-6. Beckwith mentions also passages where the uncleanness of a person ends at evening, that is, at sunset (Lev 11 passim; 14:46; 15 passim; 17:15; 22:6; Num 19 passim; Deut 23:12)" ("The Day," 223 = *Calendar*, 6).

וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ in 8:14b seems to be very closely related to what happened on that day when הַקֹּדֶשׁ is the place and object of purgation (Lev 16:16, 17, 20, 33; all with the verb כפר piel).

One should also point out that the order "evening - morning" is never used to designate the daily sacrifice. In a cultic context the order of these two words is only used with reference to the kindling of the lamp in the holy place,[1] the pillar of cloud/fire over the tabernacle,[2] and the sacrifice on the evening of the first day of Passover.[3] To use these texts to argue that an "evening-morning" comprises a "sanctuary day," and therefore the "2300 evening-morning" in Dan 8:14b express 2300 "sanctuary days,"[4] is tenuous at best. At best these texts may indicate that the sequence "evening-morning" in Dan 8:14b could also have some cultic associations. Interestingly, in one text found at Qumran "evening and morning" is used in apposition to תמיד to designate the continuity of service by eternal spirits.[5] Conversely, the reverse order "morning - evening" is never used in the

---

[1]מֵעֶרֶב עַד־בֹּקֶר "from evening to morning" in Exod 27:21 and Lev 24:3.

[2]וּבָעֶרֶב . . . עַד־בֹּקֶר "and in the evening . . . , until morning" in Num 9:15; מֵעֶרֶב עַד־בֹּקֶר "from evening until morning" in Num 9:21.

[3]בָעֶרֶב . . . לַבֹּקֶר "on the evening . . . until morning" in Deut 16:4.

[4]So Shea, "Unity of Daniel," 196-197; idem, *Daniel 7-12*, 112.

[5]In 4QRitual of Marriage (4Q502 27:2 = 4QpapRitMar 27:2) ערב ובקר is used in apposition to תמיד in the line ‎[. . .] משרתי[ם לכה תמיד [ע]רב ובקר "[. . . / who serve] you continuously, evening and morning" (Martínez and Tigchelaar, 2:996-997). Here, תמיד does not refer to the daily sacrifice but is used adverbially to express that the service of possibly the "eternal spirits" (line 1) is continuous or regular, without ceasing. The following appositional phrase ערב ובקר "evening and morning" then means all periods of the day, or daily. In comparison to Dan 8:11-14 it is interesting to note that in 4QRitual of Marriage (1) even with the term תמיד in immediate context the expression "evening and morning" designates the day, and (2) the term תמיד does refer to continual service (or worship?) but not to the daily sacrifice.

context of creation,[1] but often in relationship to the continual offering and other sacrifices.[2] The sacrificial day began in the morning, following the routine of daily life.[3] By now it is clear that עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14b does not refer to the daily sacrifice, but rather designates one day.[4] And the "2300 evening-morning" are a time of 2300 days. One should add that even if the "2300 evening-morning" were to refer to daily sacrifices, the time span indicated by this expression would most likely be 2300 days, too, since the

---

[1]The phrase מוֹצָאֵי־בֹקֶר וָעֶרֶב תַּרְנִין in Ps 65:9b should not be understood as creation language (as, e.g., *NASB*: "You make the dawn and the sunset shout for joy") but is a spatial reference to the ends of the earth ("the outgoings of the morning and of the evening") and thus designates in parallelism to יֹשְׁבֵי קְצָוֹת "dwellers in the ends [of the earth]" (vs. 9a) the whole world. One can only speculate what the reason behind the order "evening - morning" in the context of creation could be. Maybe such a specific order reflects the general progression of creation from darkness to light (see the completion of the first daily cycle by the creation of light/daylight in Gen 1:2-3), perhaps not only physically but also qualitatively from chaos to order, or it could just indicate that the author reckoned the day from the evening if one holds that the author's view influenced the creation account.

[2]So in Exod 29:39 (בֵּין הָעַרְבָּיִם); Lev 6:13; Num 28:4 (בֵּין הָעַרְבָּיִם); 2 Kgs 16:15; Ezra 3:3; 1 Chr 16:40; 23:30-31; 2 Chr 2:3; 13:11; 31:3; and also in 1 Esdr 5:50 (see Schwantes, 381; cf. Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 431; and Vogel, "Cultic Motif," 175-176). The term בֹּקֶר is used with עֹלָה in the phrase "burnt offering of the morning" in Lev 9:17; Num 28:23; 2 Kgs 16:15; 2 Chr 31:3; עֶרֶב is used with מִנְחָה in the phrase "evening offering" in 2 Kgs 16:15; Ps 141:2; Dan 9:21; Ezra 9:4, 5. A note is necessary for the text in Num 28:23: מִלְּבַד עֹלַת הַבֹּקֶר אֲשֶׁר לְעֹלַת הַתָּמִיד "besides the burnt offering of the morning which is *for* (לְ) the continual burnt offering." This does not mean that the morning offering exclusively constitutes the continual offering. Rather the burnt offering of the morning is part of the continual burnt offering.

[3]J. B. Segal, "Intercalation and the Hebrew Calendar," *VT* 7 (1957): 254 n. 5. Milgrom observes that ". . . the sacrificial service at the Temple never changed; until the destruction of the Temple in C.E. 70, the day began in the morning (*m. Yoma* 3:1; *b. Ḥul.* 83a)" (*Leviticus 23-27*, 1968).

[4]The "surprising" order of "evening-morning" in Dan 8:14b has been recognized by Beckwith who holds that the expression refers to the daily sacrifice. After pointing out that the daily sacrifice is described in the order of the morning sacrifice before the evening sacrifice, Beckwith continues: "What is surprising is that Dan. 8:14, 26 tells us that the period for which the continual burnt offering is to be interrupted will extend to 2,300 'evening-mornings' . . . . The order here is not natural, and seems to imply something about the hour at which the day begins, i.e., at the hour of the evening sacrifice and evening prayer" ("The Day," 222-223 = idem, *Calendar and Chronology*, 5).

daily תָּמִיד was two-phased and consisted of both the morning and the evening sacrifice.[1]

Function of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר

The function of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14b can now be defined. While taking up language from the creation account and signifying a day, עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר implies that God will

[1]The terminology of "two-phased *tāmî d*" is borrowed from Levine, *Numbers 21-36*, 370, 395-403. However, most of the scholars, including Levine, have noted a diachronic development of the daily *tāmî d* concept. They assert on the basis of 2 Kgs 16:15 and Ezek 46:13-15 that a two-phased *tāmî d* did not exist in the First Temple period—there was only a morning עֹלָה; the evening offering was a meal offering—but came into force only in postexilic times (referring to Num 28-29 and Exod 29:38-42 which are regarded as postexilic). So, e.g., Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, trans. by J. McHugh (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1961), 468-469; Rolf Rendtorff, *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel*, WMANT, no. 24 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1967), 74-76, 196-197; D. Kellermann, "עוֹלָה/עֹלָה *ʿōlâ/ʿô lâ*," *TDOT*, 11:102; Levine, *Numbers 21-36*, 397-399. Interestingly, Milgrom holds that the *tāmî d̲* was offered twice daily during the First Temple period; though not in the form of a two-phased burnt offering but rather of the morning burnt offering and the evening meal offering (for the association of the meal offering with the evening sacrifice see Ezra 9:4, 5; Dan 9:21). For Milgrom, the mention of "the morning burnt offering" (Lev 9:17; Num 28:23) "clearly implies that there was a regular evening offering as well" (*Numbers*, The JPS Torah Commentary [Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1990], 487; *Leviticus 1-16*, 456-457). Contrary to the opinion of most scholars, Schwantes argues at length against the assumption that the תָּמִיד refers to each of the daily sacrifices taken separately (376-380). By referring to Exod 29:42; Num 28:3, 6 (and the 14 occurrences of עֹלַת הַתָּמִיד in Num 28 and 29); and Ezra 3:5, Schwantes observes that "*tāmî d̲* is a technical term in the language of the ritual to designate the double burnt offering of the morning and the evening" or, in other words, "the double offering of the morning and the evening formed one unit contained in the expression *ʿōlat̲ tāmî d̲*" (376). For the term הַתָּמִיד in Dan 8 he concludes that it "signifies the double sacrificial ceremony of the morning and the evening" (380). He also discusses three texts which apparently contradict his conclusion and seem to indicate that the morning offering alone could be designated as the daily sacrifice (377-380) and which scholars use to attest that there is no two-phased *tāmî d* in the First Temple period. For Schwantes, (1) the phrase אֲשֶׁר לְעֹלַת הַתָּמִיד "which is for a continual burnt offering" in Num 28:23 is probably inserted later; (2) Ezek 46:14-15 is part of Ezekiel's ritual prescription and as such is "no more than an outline"; and (3) מִנְחָה in the expression מִנְחַת הָעֶרֶב "evening offering" in 2 Kgs 16:15 does not necessarily mean only a meal offering, but can also include the burnt offering (cf. 1 Kgs 18:29, 36; 2 Kgs 3:20). His explanation of the last two texts is satisfactory, whereas the one of Num 28:23 lacks support. Nevertheless, that Num 28:23 regards the burnt offering of the morning as being "for a continual burnt offering" is according to Schwantes a "lone exception" which "does not invalidate the rule that in this long text [Num 28–29], *ʿōlat̲ tāmî d̲* means technically the double burnt offering of the morning and evening" (377). Schwantes's argumentation can be strengthened, however. The preposition ל in the clause אֲשֶׁר לְעֹלַת הַתָּמִיד (Num 28:23) can certainly mean "for" in the sense of "being part of" so that Num 28:23 can be translated "Apart from the burnt offering of the morning, that is part of the regular burnt offering" (Levine, *Numbers 21–36*, 369). The assumption of a textual insertion is then unnecessary.

counter the destructive activities of the horn and its host using his own creative force. The creator causes a change of situation, which is actually called for by the question in Dan 8:13c.[1]

This function of עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר—to emphatically introduce the expectation of an intervention by the creator—is significant and differs from most explanations submitted previously.[2] It explains why the expression "evening-morning" is used, and not "day" as in Dan 12:11, 12. The question in Dan 8:13c asks for the end to the destructive activity. The answer given points to the end of a time period measured in terminology reminiscent of creation. The notion of creation fits as counterpart to the destruction carried out by the horn and its host. Thus, the singular "evening-morning" raises the expectation of a creative act. However, this creative act will come only after a period of "2300 evening-morning."

---

[1]Some texts with the sequence "evening - morning" refer to a specific event/situation in the evening and another event/situation in the morning to express that there is a change of situation or status over night or at the end of the night (Num 9:15, 21; Deut 16:4; Isa 17:14; Ezek 33:22; Zeph 3:3; Ps 30:6; Esth 2:14; cf. also 4Q320 1.1:3). In these texts עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר are used with prepositions (בְּ "in," בְּטֶרֶם "before," לְ "until" or "at," מִן "from," עַד "until") or in construct relation (Isa 17:14; Zeph 3:3) to designate a specific point in time or a specific time period. This is also true for the texts in which בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם "at twilight" and בֹּקֶר occur together. The expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14b may then imply a similar idea, namely that there will be a change of situation, though not over night, but rather after a specific point in time.

[2]Doukhan, *Secrets of Daniel*, 130, is the exception. After having established that the cleansing of the sanctuary is related to the Day of Atonement which strongly carries the idea of creation, respectively of re-creation, Doukhan believes that the expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר is used intentionally to prepare for the following reference to Kippur. Besides Doukhan, the textual relation to Gen 1 has been used only to define the expression "evening-morning" as one day, which is correct but not the main function of "evening-morning." It has been also argued that the expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר indicates that the time phrase should be interpreted symbolically according to the year-day principle because it is an unusual time unit (so Shea, *Selected Studies* [1992], 74-75). However, the expression "evening-morning" itself does not seem to have this function, although it is certainly possible that the entire time phrase employed ("2300 evening-morning") has such a symbolic meaning.

Furthermore, because of the cultic terminology used in the context of Dan 8:14, there is a possibility that עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר refers to the Day of Atonement, the only cultic day that starts in the evening and on which the קֹדֶשׁ plays a major role. If that should be the case, the divine act of creation, which certainly is the primary association of the phrase עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר, also involves Day of Atonement activity.[1]

Beyond the issue of how the "2300 evening-morning" should be understood, it has been recognized that the purpose of such a specific time period is not only to foretell the future but to "denote a fixed time, the limits of which the persecutor is unable to exceed." The time periods in Daniel "are meant to comfort God's people in persecution and encourage them to persevere: the oppression and the suffering of God's people do not occur for one moment without his knowledge or his saving will."[2] The use of a time period to limit the duration of the vision certainly implies divine control of the time of oppression and points toward divine intervention and salvation at the end of that specific period.[3]

---

[1]On the association between creation and Day of Atonement see chapter 3 (below).

[2]J. L. Helberg, "The Determination of History According to the Book of Daniel: Against the Background of Deterministic Apocalyptic," *ZAW* 107 (1995): 281. For the idea that the "2300 evening-morning" denote a "fixed, significant period" see also Goldingay, *Daniel*, 213, and Smith-Christopher, 114.

[3]According to Kranichfeld the special mentioning of parts of the day (i.e., evening and morning) suggests divine supervision of the times of trouble which pays attention to each day in its entirety (301). A similar idea of divine control and final intervention is conveyed by the rabbinic explanation for the terminology of "evening-morning" in which evening marks the time of suppression, whereas morning marks the time of salvation (see Beate Ego, "Daniel und die Rabbinen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Kanons," *Judaica* 51 [1995]: 22).

Clause 14c

Grammatical-Syntactic Analysis

14c [וְנִצְדַּק] [קֹדֶשׁ]

waw+Niphal-pf/3sgm/ noun/sgm/

ConjWG(waw+Niphal-pf/3sgm/) noun/sgm/

P.Sy +1.Sy
predicate +subject

Clause type: *w^eqatal*.

Syntactic function of וְנִצְדַּק

The *w^eqatal* וְנִצְדַּק corresponds in temporal aspect to the *yiqtol* form and should be translated as future: "up to 2300 evening-morning, and the holy *will be restored*." But why is a *w^eqatal* used and not a *yiqtol* or *w^eyiqtol* form? First, after an adverbial expression of time the *w^eqatal* form has a (con)sequential notion (e.g., Judg 16:2).[1] Thus,

---

[1]See Bergsträsser, 2:42 (§9g); Waltke and O'Connor, 538 (§32.2.6b), who suggest that the *w^eqatal* in Dan 8:14c marks sequentiality in a case where the future character of the statement is self-evident (cf. Driver, *Treatise*, 135 [§115]; König, 3:517 [§367p]). These grammarians cite the following examples: temporal expressions followed by *w^eqatal* in Exod 16:6-7; Deut 4:30; Judg 16:2; Isa 16:14; 21:16; temporal expressions, which can be transformed into temporal sentences, followed by *w^eqatal* in Gen 3:5 (the *w^eqatal* sentence can also be interpreted as apodosis; R. J. Williams, 72 (§440)); Exod 32:34; Lev 26:26; Josh 6:10; 1 Sam 1:22; 10:2; 1 Kgs 14:12; Ezek 18:23; 24:24; Amos 3:14 should be added to this list. Note especially Judg 16:2 where the adverbial expression of time is introduced by the same preposition עַד as in Dan 8:14b:

(1) עַד־אוֹר הַבֹּקֶר וַהֲרַגְנֻהוּ
"until the morning light, then we will kill him" (Judg 16:2);

and several cases where a temporal clause governed by עַד or עַד אֲשֶׁר is followed by a *w^eqatal* form (a comparison between the otherwise identical clauses in 2 Sam 10:5 and 1 Chr 19:5 shows that there seems to be no difference between עַד and עַד אֲשֶׁר):

(2) עַד יוֹם אָמְרִי אֲלֵיכֶם הָרִיעוּ וַהֲרֵיעֹתֶם
"until the day I tell you, 'Shout!' Then you shall shout!" (Josh 6:10);

(3) עַד יִגָּמֵל הַנַּעַר וַהֲבִאֹתִיו
"until the child is weaned, then I will bring him" (1 Sam 1:22);

(4) עַד־יְצַמַּח זְקַנְכֶם וְשַׁבְתֶּם

the *w^e^qatal* וְנִצְדַּק which comes after an adverbial expression of time refers to a time after the period of "2300 evening-morning" has been concluded. It is sequential, maybe even consequential, to the events during that period.

Second, an additional explanation of the *w^e^qatal* form can be given on the basis that vs. 12 is direct discourse. The holy one speaking in vs. 12 is the same one who gives the answer in vs. 14b-14c. The *w^e^qatal* form of vs. 14c resumes the *w^e^qatal* forms in vs. 12c and 12d, which makes perfect sense if the same holy one were speaking. After an interim question by another holy one (vs. 13b-c), the one speaking continues his speech and at the same time answers the question.

With regard to narrative technique, the only positive statement in the audition (וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ vs. 14c) is delayed first by the intervening question (vs. 13) and then by the adverbial expression of time (vs. 14b). By such a technique the tension is built up until the marked climactic statement וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ closes the audition effectively.

Passive mood of וְנִצְדַּק

After the question "how long?" which is a plea for divine involvement, the passive mood of נִצְדַּק certainly indicates that the agent is God. נִצְדַּק is a divine passive.[1]

"until your beards grow, then you shall return" (2 Sam 10:5; in 1 Chr 19:15 with עַד אֲשֶׁר instead of עַד);

(5) עַד אֲשֶׁר יֵאָסְפוּ כָל־הָעֲדָרִים וְגָלֲלוּ אֶת־הָאֶבֶן . . .
"until all the flocks are gathered, then they roll the stone away . . ." (Gen 29:8);

(6) עַד אֲשֶׁר־יָנִיחַ יְהוָה לַאֲחֵיכֶם . . . וְשַׁבְתֶּם
"until YHWH gives your brothers rest . . . then you shall return" (Josh 1:15).

[1]So Porter, *Metaphors*, 59-60. Cf. Joachim Jeremias, who coined the term *passivum divinum*: "There is a limited section of the literature of Palestinian Judaism of the time of Jesus in which the 'divine passive' is firmly established: apocalyptic literature. It occurs frequently for the first time in the book of the prophet Daniel" (*New Testament Theology: The Proclamation of Jesus* [New York:

The general function of divine passives, as described by Jeremias, is certainly applicable to Dan 8:14c: The divine passive "was not only used out of reverence . . . but served above all as a way of describing in veiled terms God's mysterious activity in the end-time."[1] Furthermore, the "how long" question is directed to God so that one could expect that the work of "reintegration"[2] can only be carried out by God.[3]

Semantic Analysis of Words and Phrases

Meaning of וְנִצְדַּק

Though the general sense of the Niphal form וְנִצְדַּק is clear, the different translations show that its exact meaning is far from certain. The major suggestions for translating נִצְדַּק are "be made right,"[4] "be restored to its right,"[5] "be justified," "be

---

Scribner, 1971], 13). Recently, Christian Macholz argued that the *passivum divinum* is evidenced in the entire Hebrew Bible, especially in the later parts, and in intertestamental literature, and that it originated not in apocalyptic language but from the *passivum regium* used in court language (*Hofstil*) in reference to the king or in the speech to the king ("Das 'Passivum divinum', seine Anfänge im Alten Testament und der 'Hofstil,'" *ZNW* 81 [1990]: 247-253).

[1]Jeremias, 13.

[2]Jože Krašovec, *La justice (SDQ) de Dieu dans la Bible hébraïque et l'interprétation juive et chrétienne*, OBO, no. 76 (Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 203.

[3]*Pace* Bucher-Gillmayr, 63 n. 23, who believes that it is not possible from the context to infer who the logical subject in vs. 14b is.

[4]"Put right" (BDB, 842); "set right" (Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 336); "made right, righteous, or just" (Buchanan, 248).

[5]"Placed in the right state" (Keil, 305); "in rechten Stand gesetzt, seiner Bestimmung zurückgegeben werden" (Meinhold, "Daniel," 310); "wird sich als im Rechte erweisen" (Marti, *Daniel*, 60); "shall be restored to its rightful state" (Porteous, 119); "re-established within its rights" (Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 158); "restored," "restored (to its rightful state)," or "have its rights restored" (Niels-Erik Andreasen, "Translation of *Nisdaq/Katharisthēsetai* in Daniel 8:14," 495-496); "will emerge in the right" (Goldingay, *Daniel*, 198); "wieder sein Recht erhalten" (Haag, *Daniel*, 65).

vindicated,"[1] or "be legitimate (again)"[2] (these three translations are intimately related so that it is somewhat artificial to draw clear-cut semantic distinctions between them), and "be cleansed."[3] Before I focus on the use and meaning of וְנִצְדַּק in the specific context of Dan 8:14c, the notion of the verb צדק in the Hebrew Bible will be examined first, together with an overview of parallel terms to צדק and their meaning.

The verb צדק in the Hebrew Bible. The verbal root צדק occurs forty-one times, but in the Niphal it occurs only in Dan 8:14c.[4] The meaning of this verb, which is of course closely linked to the meaning of its nouns צֶדֶק and צְדָקָה, is significantly rich. Its basic rendition is given as "to be in the right, be right."[5] But what is the meaning of the

---

[1]"Justified" in the sense of restoring its right (Calvin, 110-111; Thomson, 244; Jeffery, 477); "to be manifested as just" (Bevan, 136); "vindicated" (Montgomery, 343); "vindicated and restored" (Charles, 212); "brought to its justice, justified" (*HALOT*, 3:1003).

[2]Seow, *Daniel*, 125.

[3]"Cleansed" (Old Greek, Theodotion: both καθαρισθήσεται; Vulgate: *mundabitur*; KJV, Geneva Bible, etc.). The reading of the versions led to various speculations about the original reading of Dan 8:14c: וְנִטְהַק "and it shall be cleansed" (Jahn, 80), an original Aramaic וְיִזְכֵּא "and it shall be cleansed" (Frank Zimmermann, "The Aramaic Origin of Daniel 8–12," 262); an underlying Aramaic יִדְכֵּא "will be purified" of the root דְּכֵי "cleanse" that was then confused with זְכֵי "triumph" (Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 42, 54; Hartman and Di Lella, 227, who point out that the Hebrew "should mean 'will be justified'" but that "this can hardly be said of the sanctuary"); and an original Aramaic יִזְדַּכֵּא (?) "shall be cleansed" (Nelis, 97, who apparently confuses the previous suggestions). For a refutation of the theory of an Aramaic original behind וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ see Bruce Chilton, "Aramaic and Targumic Antecedents of Pauline 'Justification,'" in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara, JSOTSup, no. 166 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 392-395, who suspects "that וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ in Dan. 8.14 is to be preferred as the *lectio difficilior*" (394).

[4]The distribution of the verbal root צדק shows a higher concentration in the poetic books of Job, Psalm, Proverbs (22 times, thereof 17 times in Job), as well as in the major prophets (10 times). It occurs only six times in the section Genesis to 2 Kings, twice in Daniel, and once in 2 Chronicles.

[5]*HALOT*, 3:1003.

Niphal form? An analysis of the forty-one clauses with the verb צדק in its different verbal stems helps to better understand the meaning of the Niphal form in Dan 8:14c. The analysis is displayed in table 16 (the passive clause in Dan 8:14c has been transformed in an active clause in order to facilitate comparison).

Glancing over the table, one will quickly recognize the difference between, on the one hand, verbal stems of צדק that take no direct object—the intransitive Qal (22 times), in which the verb is stative and expresses the right status of a person, and the reflexive Hitpael (once)—and, on the other hand, verbal stems that take a direct object—Niphal[1] (once), Piel (5 times), and Hiphil (12 times). This feature indicates that the Niphal form of צדק should be compared with its Piel and Hiphil forms. In the Piel and in the Hiphil, the object of צדק is without exception personal. In both stems, the verb designates an activity by which someone is declared in the right, justified or vindicated. It may be difficult to discern nuances that would explain why in some instances the verb is used in the Piel while in others it is used in the Hiphil. A viable solution is put forward by Jenni. He regards the Piel of צדק to be declarative-estimative, that is, "a subjective assessment in regard to an abstract, generally not discernable quality."[2] The Hiphil of צדק is in most instances declarative, rarely causative (Isa 53:11; Dan 12:3). However, the declaration in the Hiphil is of a different character from the declaration in the Piel. In the Hiphil the object of being declared righteous is a person who by means of the context is already

[1]The subject of the passive Niphal clause is equivalent to the direct object of the transformed active clause.

[2]Jenni, *Piʿel*, 41-42.

Table 16. Analysis of צדק-Clauses in the Hebrew Bible

Reference	Subject	Verb	Direct Object	Prepositional Object
Gen 38:26	she	צדק **qal**	—	than (מִן) I
Isa 43:9	they	צדק qal	—	—
Isa 43:26	you	צדק qal	—	—
Isa 45:25	all seed of Israel	צדק qal	—	in (בְּ) YHWH
Ezek 16:52a	they	צדק qal	—	than (מִן) you
Ps 19:10	judgments of Y.	צדק qal	—	—
Ps 51:6	you [God]	צדק qal	—	—
Ps 143:2	all living	צדק qal	—	before (לְפָנֶי) you
Job 4:17	man	צדק qal	—	before (מִן) God
Job 9:2	man	צדק qal	—	with (עִם) God
Job 9:15	I	צדק qal	—	—
Job 9:20	I	צדק qal	—	—
Job 10:15	I	צדק qal	—	—
Job 11:2	man of lips	צדק qal	—	—
Job 13:18	I	צדק qal	—	—
Job 15:14	man	צדק qal	—	—
Job 22:3	you	צדק qal	—	—
Job 25:4	man	צדק qal	—	with (עִם) God
Job 33:12	you	צדק qal	—	—
Job 34:5	I	צדק qal	—	—
Job 35:7	you	צדק qal	—	—
Job 40:8	you	צדק qal	—	—
Dan 8:14c	—	צדק **nif.**	קֹדֶשׁ	—
Jer 3:11	Faithless Israel	צדק **pi.**	her soul	more than (מִן) . . . Judah
Ezek 16:51	You	צדק pi.	your sisters	by (בְּ) all your abominations
Ezek 16:52b	your	צדק pi. inf	your sisters	—
Job 32:2	his	צדק pi. inf	his soul	before (מִן) God
Job 33:32	I	צדק pi. inf	you	—
Exod 23:7	I [God]	לא + צדק **hif.**	criminal	—
Deut 25:1	they	צדק hif.	righteous	—
2 Sam 15:4	I	צדק hif.	him	—
1 Kgs 8:32	[God]	צדק hif. inf	righteous	—
Isa 5:23	he	צדק hif. ptc	wicked	[for] a bribe
Isa 50:8	he	צדק hif. ptc	me [God]	—
Isa 53:11	the righteous . . .	צדק hif.	the many	by (בְּ) his knowledge
Ps 82:3	[God]	צדק hif. imp	afflicted, poor	—

Table 16—*Continued.*

Reference	Subject	Verb	Direct Object	Prepositional Object
Job 27:5	I	צדק hif.	you	—
Prov 17:15	he	צדק hif. ptc	wicked	—
Dan 12:3	they	צדק hif. ptc	the many	—
2 Chr 6:22	[God]	צדק hif. inf	righteous	—
Gen 44:16	we	צדק **hitp.**	—	—

characterized as righteous. The object does not need to be categorized as righteous—as is the case when the Piel of צדק is used—but is dealt with according to its already right status.[1]

If Jenni's analysis is taken into account, it becomes apparent that the Niphal form of צדק in Dan 8:14c should be regarded as more closely related to the Hiphil,[2] since from the context it is clear that קֹדֶשׁ belongs to the category of righteousness. In fact, the question in vs. 13c is asking for the time when the unrighteous treatment of righteous objects comes to an end and when these righteous objects will be treated properly. The Niphal וְנִצְדַּק should therefore be regarded as designating an activity by which קֹדֶשׁ is justified and dealt with properly as it should be. In other words, קֹדֶשׁ is brought (back) to

[1]Ibid., 44-45. Delbert R. Hillers prefers to use the term "delocutive" instead of "declarative" for the Piel and Hiphil of צדק, which then still means "to *say* someone is in the right" ("Delocutive Verbs in Biblical Hebrew," *JBL* 86 [1967]: 320-324).

[2]Already Mayer Lambert, who in 1900 attempted to list all the usages of the Niphal in Biblical Hebrew, enters צדק nif. under the category of Niphal as passive to the Hiphil ("L'emploi du Nifal en Hébreu," *REJ* 41 [1900]: 209). However, he provides no reasons at all for his choice.

the status of rightness which it deserves.[1]

It is also noticeable that the Hiphil forms of צדק are used in the context of judgment. In fact, צדק in the Hiphil is used for God's intervention in judgment when the righteous are vindicated/justified or declared to be righteous (Exod 23:7; 1 Kgs 8:32; Isa 50:8; 2 Chr 6:23) and in God's ultimate admonition to vindicate the afflicted and poor (Ps 82:3). It is in the same way also used to describe human judgment (Deut 25:1; 2 Sam 15:4; Isa 5:23; Prov 17:15).[2] Thus, the use of וְנִצְדַּק in Dan 8:14c, with God as implied agent, indicates that God acts as judge. The verb points to a divine judgment which will justify the קֹדֶשׁ.[3]

Of course, these conclusions for וְנִצְדַּק, which are based on the analysis of verbal clauses with צדק, have to remain somewhat tentative for two reasons. First, because there is only one Niphal form of צדק, we do not have enough data for comparison and for

---

[1]As suggested by Bevan (136) and Marti (*Daniel*, 60), it seems legitimate to compare נִצְדַּק with the Niphal of קדשׁ which is translated with "show oneself as holy" or "be treated as holy" (Exod 29:43; Lev 10:3; 22:32; Num 20:13; Isa 5:16; Ezek 20:41; 28:22, 25; 36:23; 38:16; 39:27). In analogy, the Niphal נִצְדַּק could then mean "be treated as right/righteous." The suggestion that it should properly mean "prove oneself just" or "be manifested as just" (so Bevan, 136; Marti, *Daniel*, 60) is undermined by the fact that the agent of the activity to which צדק refers is personal in 39 cases and abstract in only one case (Ps 19:10: מִשְׁפְּטֵי־יְהוָה "judgments of YHWH"). The agent of the passive וְנִצְדַּק in Dan 8:14c should therefore also be understood as personal, particularly since the question "how long?" in vs. 13c pleads for divine intervention.

[2]Johnson observes on the Hiphil of צדק: "The subject is generally a judge or persons who by virtue of their office are able to confirm that someone is in the right or can help such a person establish that right" (Helmer Ringgren and Bo Johnson, "צָדַק *ṣādaq*," *TDOT*, 12:250). Pietro Bovati points out the pairing of צדק hif. and רשׁע hif. in "legislative texts concerning the activity of judges" and provides a table of these instances (*Re-establishing Justice: Legal Terms, Concepts and Procedures in the Hebrew Bible*, trans. M. J. Smith, JSOTSup, no. 105 [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994], 348-349). Cf. Nigel M. Watson, "Some Observations on the Use of ΔΙΚΑΙΟΩ in the Septuagint," *JBL* 79 (1960): 255-256.

[3]For contextual reasons, Krašovec suggests that the Niphal draws attention to the Hiphil forms (Exod 23:7; 1 Kgs 8:32; Isa 50:8) where God in a legal context vindicates the righteous (254).

drawing more definite conclusions. The uniqueness of this single passive form of צדק is surprising in light of the fact that the Hebrew rarely uses technical terminology expressing judicial activity in the passive.[1] Second, and this is striking, Dan 8:14c presents the only case where the affected object of the verb צדק, the noun קֹדֶשׁ, appears to be impersonal. In all other clauses in which צדק takes a direct object (i.e., in all Piel and Hiphil clauses), the direct object is personal. This specific feature of Dan 8:14c needs to be addressed in the analysis of the meaning of קֹדֶשׁ.

Meaning of the root צדק. After the syntactic analysis of clauses with צדק, the meaning of צדק itself needs to be discussed. Many scholars have undertaken a semantic study of צדק and its derivatives,[2] even with specific reference to its Niphal use in Dan

---

[1]Bovati notices that the "Hebrew does not make frequent use of the passive meaning of verbs meaning 'to judge' (*špṭ*, *dyn*, etc.); and the technical terminology that we translate as 'acquit' and 'condemn', represented in Hebrew by the *Hiphil* form of *ṣdq* and *rš'*, has no precise parallel in the passive sense" (363).

[2]For an overview of the semantic range of the root צדק and its derivatives, including a brief history of research and bibliographic references, see Klaus Koch, "צדק *ṣdq* to be communally faithful, beneficial," *TLOT*, 2:1046-1062; Ringgren and Johnson, 12:239-264. Cf. also K. Hj. Fahlgren, *ṣ*ᵉ*dāqā, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im Alten Testament: Inaugural-Dissertation* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1932)—excerpts of this dissertation are found in K. Hj. Fahlgren, "Die Gegensätze von ṣᵉdaqā im Alten Testament," in *Um das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des Alten Testaments*, ed. K. Koch, Wege der Forschung, no. 125 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972), 87-129; Klaus Koch, "*Sdq* im Alten Testament: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung" (Diss., University of Heidelberg, 1953); Elizabeth Rice Achtemeier, "The Gospel of Righteousness: A Study of the Meaning of *Sdq* and Its Derivates in the Old Testament" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1959); Alfred Dünner, *Die Gerechtigkeit nach dem Alten Testament*, Schriften zur Rechtslehre und Politik, no. 42 (Bonn: Bouvier, 1963); Alfred Jepsen, "צדק and צדקה im Alten Testament," in *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land: Hans-Wilhelm Hertzberg zum 70. Geburtstag am 16. Januar 1965*, ed. H. G. Reventlow (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 78-89; Diethelm Michel, "Begriffsuntersuchung über *sädäq-sedaqa* und *'ämät-'ämuna*" (Habilitation, University of Heidelberg, 1965); Hans Heinrich Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung: Hintergrund und Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Gerechtigkeitsbegriffes*, BHT, no. 40 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1968); Eliezer Berkovits, *Man and God: Studies in Biblical Theology* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1969), 292-348; Henning Graf Reventlow, *Rechtfertigung im Horizont des Alten Testaments*, Beiträge

8:14c,[1] testifying to the multivalence of the term. Others contributed to the understanding of צדק while they studied the concept of justice and/or righteousness without pursuing an in-depth semantic study of צדק.[2] It is hardly necessary to repeat their analyses. Generally speaking, there are two different conceptions of what צדק, including צֶדֶק and צְדָקָה, means.[3] One is that צדק has a judicial-legal notion and is understood as conformity with a (divine) norm. In this forensic concept, צדק designates legal righteousness, judgment, justification, and vindication. The other is that צדק has a relational notion and often expresses a relationship to God. Here, צדק designates salvation, *shalom*, "communal

---

zur evangelischen Theologie, no. 58 (Munich: Kaiser, 1971); Frank Crüsemann, "Jahwes Gerechtigkeit (*ṣedāqā/ṣädäq*) im Alten Testament," *EvT* 36 (1976): 427-450; Friedrich Vinzenz Reiterer, *Gerechtigkeit als Heil:* צדק *bei Deuterojesaja, Aussage und Vergleich mit der alttestamentlichen Tradition* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1976); Josef Scharbert, "Gerechtigkeit I. Altes Testament," *TRE* (1984), 12:404-411, with bibliographic list on pp. 410-411; Krašovec; Adalbert, Rebić, "Der Gerechtigkeitsbegriff im Alten Testament," *IKaZ* 19 (1990): 390-396; Ahuva Ho, *Ṣedeq and Ṣedeqah in the Hebrew Bible*, American University Studies: Series 7, Theology and Religion, no. 78 (New York: Lang, 1991); J. J. Scullion, "Righteousness (OT)," *ABD* 5:724-736; Hemchand Gossai, *Justice, Righteousness and the Social Critique of the Eighth-Century Prophets*, American University Studies: Series 7, Theology and Religion, no. 141 (New York: Lang, 1993), esp. 25-89; David J. Reimer, "צדק (# 7405)," *NIDOTTE,* 3:744-769; Jean Marcel Vincent, "Un regard sur la 'justice' dans l'Ancien Testament," *ETR* 74 (1999): 321-333.

[1]The meaning of צדק with special emphasis on Dan 8:14c is discussed in Jerome P. Justesen, "On the Meaning of *ṢĀḎAQ*," *AUSS* 2 (1964): 53-61; W. E. Read, "Further Observations on *ṢĀḎAQ*," *AUSS* 4 (1966): 29-36; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 448-454; Andreasen, "Translation," 475-496; Rodríguez, "Cultic Language," 537-545; and R. M. Davidson, "The Meaning of *Niṣdaq*," 107-119.

[2]See, e.g., Bovati; Rolf P. Knierim, *The Task of Old Testament Theology: Substance, Method, and Cases* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 86-122; Leclerc, *Yahweh Is Exalted in Justice*; as well as the general survey by Enrique Nardoni, *Los que buscan la justicia: Un estudio de la justicia en el mundo bíblico* (Estella: Verbo Divino, 1997), esp. 167-172 on the book of Daniel.

[3]See Johnson in Ringgren and Johnson, 12:243-246. Johnson also presents a survey of the research on the meaning of צדק.

faithfulness,"[1] and fulfillment of the demands of a relationship.[2] Further along this line, צדק is said to express the "synthetic concept of life"[3] or a comprehensive world order that encompasses every aspect of life.[4] Of course, all these semantic notions do not need to exclude each other but overlap significantly.[5]

Hence, the verbal idea of צדק can describe both "a judicial and soteriological process of judging, acquitting and saving."[6] The recipient of a צדק action "becomes equated with perfection, innocence, and moral purity. The vindicated party has been cleared from guilt and has been cleansed,"[7] and/or it has been restored to its right state or its right relationship with God.

A collection and analysis of synonymous and antithetic terms to צדק illustrates the broad semantic range of צדק and indicates its "extended meanings."[8] Such a

---

[1]Koch, "צדק," 2:1046-1062.

[2]Achtemeier, 222.

[3]Fahlgren, *ṣ^edāqā*, 50-54; idem, "Die Gegensätze von ṣ^edaqā im Alten Testament," 126-129.

[4]Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung*; Henning Graf Reventlow, "Righteousness as Order of the World: Some Remarks towards a Programme," in *Justice and Righteousness: Biblical Themes and Their Influence*, ed. H. G. Reventlow and Y. Hoffman, JSOTSup, no. 137 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 163-172.

[5]For example, Achtemeier suggests that in a forensic context צדק is still "a concept of relationship," since for her the function of the Hebrew legal system was to preserve communal relationships (96). And Dünner concludes that "צֶדֶק and צְדָקָה are terms of relationship and relation, which in the forensic, ethical, and religious sphere point to the right position in the relation to God and in the relation between humans" (130).

[6]Justesen, 61.

[7]Ibid.

[8]As Andreasen correctly points out, parallel terms "cannot be considered identical in meaning." Rather, they are related in meaning so that terms in parallel to צדק, such as זכה or טהר, represent "extended meanings" of צדק. Andreasen gives examples for the difference between צדק

compilation and analysis has been undertaken several times.[1] According to Koch's statistics,[2] the most often used related terms to צדק are מִשְׁפָּט "justice" (62/20),[3] אמן "faithful, true"/אֱמוּנָה "steadfastness"/אֱמֶת "truth" (31/11), ישר "right, pure" (25/8), ישע "save"/יְשׁוּעָה "salvation" (18/15), חֶסֶד "faithfulness" (13/6), טוב "good" (8/6); תמם "be complete" (7/6), שלם "complete"/שָׁלוֹם "peace" (6/4). The most often used antithetic terms are רשע "(be) guilty, wicked" (107/14), חטא "sin" (19/4), עָוֶל "injustice" (11/3), רַע "evil" (7/7), פֶּשַׁע "transgression, rebellion" (5/2), עָוֹן "guilt" (4/3). The relational and the forensic notions of these terms are easily recognizable.

In regard to the verbal form in Dan 8:14c, it is interesting to collect only those terms that occur in parallelism to or in sequence or enumeration with a verbal form of צדק. An investigation shows the following results. Synonymous and related terms are נָקִי "blameless" (Exod 23:7), הלל "glory" (Isa 45:25), אֱמֶת "truth" (Ps 19:10), זכה "be clean, pure" (Ps 51:6; Job 15:14; 25:4), שפט "judge, vindicate" (Ps 82:3), טהר "be clean, pure" (Job 4:17), תָּם "complete, perfect" (Job 9:20), תמם "be complete, perfect" (Job

---

and its parallel terms by analyzing Job 4:17 and 25:4 more closely ("Translation," 482-485).

[1]Synonymous, related, and opposite terms to צְדָקָה have been studied by Fahlgren, *ṣ*ᵉ*dāqā*, 1-77, 120-157; cf. idem, "Die Gegensätze von ṣᵉdaqā im Alten Testament," 87-129. For analyses of the semantic field of צדק and its derivatives (i.e., verb צדק, nouns צֶדֶק and צְדָקָה, adjective צַדִּיק) see Koch, "*Ṣdq* im Alten Testament"; Achtemeier, 59-81; Justesen, 58-61; and Ringgren and Johnson, 12:246-250.

[2]Koch's comprehensive, tabulated compilation of data regarding the related and opposite terms of צדק, though not complete (see additional terms listed by Achtemeier [63] and by Johnson [Ringgren and Johnson, 12:246-250 passim]), illustrates in a lucid way the fluidity of connotation of צדק (Koch, "*Ṣdq* im Alten Testament," 2; Koch's table is also found in Achtemeier, 60-61). He lists 43 related and 16 antithetic word stems to צדק and groups the occurrences of each term in close relations (in parallelisms or in enumeration), and in distant relations (which, of course, is a matter of discretion).

[3]מִשְׁפָּט "justice" occurs 62 times in close relation and 20 times in distant relation to צדק.

22:3), שׂכל hif. "have insight" (Dan 12:3), and the phrases בְּלִי־פָשַׁע "without transgression" (Job 34:6) and סבל עָוֹן "bear iniquity" (Isa 53:11). Antithetic terms are רָשָׁע "guilty, wicked" (Exod 23:7; cf. Isa 5:23; Job 9:20-22; Prov 17:15), רשׁע qal "be guilty, be wicked" (Job 10:15), רשׁע hif. "condemn" (Deut 25:1; 1 Kgs 8:32; Job 9:20; Prov 17:15; 2 Chr 6:23), רֶשַׁע "wickedness" (Job 35:7-8), עקשׁ hif. "to declare guilty" (Job 9:20), חטא "sin" (Job 35:6-7), פֶּשַׁע "transgression" (Job 35:6-7), and the phrases סור צְדָקָה hif. "take away righteousness" (Isa 5:23) and סור מִשְׁפָּט hif. "take away justice" (Job 34:5). Once again, these terms show relational and forensic notions. The forensic aspect is particularly obvious with the antithetic pair צדק and רשׁע.[1] In addition, one can detect a cultic notion in such terms as זכה "be clean, pure," which denotes ethical and religious purity and is used most often in parallel to the verb צדק,[2] and especially to טהר "be clean, pure," which is often used for religious purity or ceremonial cleanness.[3] The cultic/religious and ethical connotation is also apparent in some parallel terms to non-verbal forms of צדק, such as בֹּר "cleanliness" (2 Sam 22:21, 25; Ps 18:21, 25) and

---

[1]See Hans Jochen Boecker, *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im Alten Testament*, 2d ed., WMANT, no. 14 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1970), 122-132, 135-137, who shows that צַדִּיק and רָשָׁע designate the two parties in a lawsuit. It was the task of the judge to determine which party is the righteous and which is the guilty (cf. Ringgren and Johnson, 12:260).

[2]With only eight occurrences in the Hebrew Bible the root זכה is used three times in parallel to צדק (Ps 51:6; Job 15:14; 25:4). In Prov 20:9, זכה stands in parallel to טהר, which is another parallel term to צדק.

[3]The term טהר is a typical term used for cleansing rites at the sanctuary. For example, it is used for the cleansing of the people and of the "altar which is before YHWH" on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:9, 30).

טָהֵר (Job 17:9).[1]

This analysis lends support to the conclusion drawn by Davidson.[2] He surveys the semantic range of צדק by parallel terms and identifies three major extended meanings of צדק which are generally, but not exclusively, connected to specific contexts: in a relational context צדק denotes restoration; in a cultic context it denotes cleansing or purification (parallel terms: זכה "be clean, pure," טהר "be clean, pure," and בֹּר "cleanliness"); and in a legal context it denotes vindication (parallel term: מִשְׁפָּט "justice"[3]).

---

[1]It has also been suggested that צדק is related to כפר "make atonement" in Dan 9:24 (Doukhan, *The Vision of the End*, 29).

[2]Davidson, "Meaning of *Niṣdaq*," 109-114.

[3]According to Johnson, מִשְׁפָּט is "the most frequent parallel" (circa 80 times) to צדק (Ringgren and Johnson, 12:247; cf. Koch, "*Ṣdq* im Alten Testament," 2; Achtemeier, 75-77). מִשְׁפָּט stands with the verb צדק in Ps 19:10; Job 34:5; 40:8. It is found together with the noun צֶדֶק (e.g., Isa 1:21; 16:5; 26:9; 32:1; Jer 22:13; Job 8:3; 29:14; Pss 37:6; 72:2; Job 29:14; Eccl 3:16), in the phrases צֶדֶק וּמִשְׁפָּט (Pss 89:15; 97:2) and מִשְׁפָּט וָצֶדֶק (Ps 119:121; Eccl 5:7); and even more often it is found together with צְדָקָה (e.g., Isa 32:16; 59:14; Ezek 18:5; Amos 5:7, 24) and in the phrases וּמִשְׁפָּט צְדָקָה (Gen 18:19; Ps 33:5; Prov 21:3) and מִשְׁפָּט וּצְדָקָה (2 Sam 8:15; 1 Kgs 10:19; Isa 33:5; Jer 9:23; 22:3, 15; 33:15; Ezek 18:5, 19, 21, 27; 33:14, 16, 19; Ps 99:4; 1 Chr 18:14; 2 Chr 9:8). מִשְׁפָּט stands also together with the adjective צַדִּיק (Deut 32:4; Zeph 3:5; Ps 119:137; Job 34:17; etc.). See Ringgren and Johnson, 12:247-248. On the phrase מִשְׁפָּט וּצְדָקָה and the like see esp. Moshe Weinfeld, "'Justice and Righteousness' in Ancient Israel against the Background of 'Social Reforms' in the Ancient Near East," in *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn: Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, ed. H.-J. Nissen and J. Renger, Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient, no. 1, pt. 2 (Berlin: Reimer, 1982), 491-519; idem, *Justice and Righteousness in Israel and the Nations: Equality and Freedom in Ancient Israel in Light of Social Justice in Ancient Near East* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985); idem, "'Justice and Righteousness'—מִשְׁפָּט וּצְדָקָה—The Expression and Its Meaning," in *Justice and Righteousness: Biblical Themes and Their Influence*, ed. H. G. Reventlow and Y. Hoffman, JSOTSup, no. 137 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 228-246; idem, *Social Justice in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995); Leclerc, 11-13, 160-162. Andreasen holds the relation between צדק and שפט to be particularly important and defines it as follows: "righteousness (*ṣdq*) is the consequence of justice (*špṭ*)" and "individual acts of justice (*špṭ*) lead to a general condition of righteousness (*ṣdq*)" ("Translation," 485-486). This means that if Dan 8:14c is used in a forensic context, an act of justice (judgement) needs to be done first in order to restore the holy to its right.

It should suffice to point out that one should be careful in uncritically applying all different semantic notions that צדק could carry to its occurrence in Dan 8:14c. Neither should the multivalence of the term be neglected by arbitrarily picking just one of the possible nuances. Instead, the meaning of נִצְדַּק in Dan 8:14c must be established by a careful study of the term in its context. Thus the use of צדק in the book of Daniel in general and its use in Dan 8:14c in particular needs to receive close attention in determining the meaning of נִצְדַּק.

The root צדק in the book of Daniel.[1] The root צדק occurs seven times in the BH part of Daniel: the verb צדק (8:14; 12:3), the nouns צֶדֶק (9:24) and צְדָקָה (9:7, 16, 18), the adjective צַדִּיק (9:14).[2] The meaning of צדק seems to differ slightly according to the context in which it is used.

In a historical context, the root צדק is used to describe God and his judgments upon Israel in the past. In the prayer in Dan 9, which reflects on the covenantal history, צְדָקָה is ascribed to God, in contrast to the Israelites who lack it (9:7, 18).[3] God is described as righteous in all his deeds with Israel (9:14) and these divine deeds are called צִדְקֹתֶךָ "your righteous acts" (9:16).

In a prophetic context, the root צדק is used to describe the eschatological salvation. Righteousness is established by God for eternity. In Dan 9:24, it is promised

---

[1]The different occurrences of the root צדק in the book of Daniel are briefly discussed in Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung*, 143-144; Krašovec, 203-205; Ho, 100-101, 134-136.

[2]The root צדק occurs in BA once as noun צִדְקָה (Dan 4:24).

[3]Vincent develops the contrastive use of the root צדק in Dan 9:15-18 in more detail ("Un regard sur la 'justice,'" 325-326).

that God brings צֶדֶק עֹלָמִים "eternal righteousness."[1] The bringing of everlasting righteousness follows the finishing of the transgression (הַפֶּשַׁע), the sealing of sin, and the atonement for iniquity. The meaning of צֶדֶק is clearly in opposition to the terms for sin: פֶּשַׁע, חַטָּאת, and עָוֹן. Thus, both in Dan 9:24 and in Dan 8:13-14 the opposite words פֶּשַׁע and צדק occur in the same context. In both texts, and of course elsewhere in Scripture, צדק and פֶּשַׁע are mutually exclusive. Where צֶדֶק exists, פֶּשַׁע cannot be. This is important since it shows that the answer in 8:14c directly or indirectly takes care of the transgression (פֶּשַׁע) which is set up in place of the *tāmî d* (vs. 8:12a, 13c).[2] In Dan 9:24 the transgression is ended and righteousness is established. Similarly in Dan 8:13-14, to bring rightness to the קֹדֶשׁ implies that the transgression will be finished. In Dan 12:3, צדק is again used in an eschatological context: the many (רַבִּים) are led to righteousness which means that they are "brought to salvation."[3] The occurrences of the root צדק in an eschatological context in Dan 9:24 and 12:3 confirm Koch's assessment: "For apocalypticism, *ṣedeq* becomes a fundamental term for eschatological salvation."[4]

The use of וְנִצְדַּק in Dan 8:14c is another example of this eschatological

---

[1]Besides Dan 9:24, the concept of God's eternal righteousness is found in Ps 119:142, 144, 160. Righteousness and eternity are also linked in Hos 2:21 and Dan 12:3.

[2]Interestingly, in both Dan 8:13 and Dan 9:24 the transgression is definite: הַפֶּשַׁע, though the other terms in the six infinitive clauses in 9:24, including the other terms for sin, are all indefinite.

[3]Schmid, *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung*, 144.

[4]Koch, "צדק," 2:1061. For Klaus Koch "the bringing of צֶדֶק/צְדָקָה and of שָׁלוֹם becomes the main task of the king to come. This theme resounds in each of the 'Messianic' prophecies" ("Die Entstehung der Heilandserwartung in Israel und ihre kanonische Rezeption," in *Nachdenken über Israel, Bibel und Theologie: Festschrift für Klaus-Dietrich Schunck zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. H. M. Niemann, M. Augustin, and W. H. Schmidt, BEATAJ, no. 37 [Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1994], 240).

dimension of the root צדק since it marks that divine act which occurs at the end of the "2300 evening-morning" period, that is at "the end of time" (8:17) or at "the time fixed for the end" (8:19).[1] Chilton underscores such a connotation by observing that צדק in 8:14c is "associated with the eschatological vindication which involved the sanctuary. . . . Dan 8.14 suggests that the verbal usage of צדק could also be associated with the ultimate 'justification' of the Temple."[2] The idea that צדק functions as an eschatological and apocalyptic term is also found in Jewish literature of the intertestamental period.[3]

Furthermore, the close relationship between God and צֶדֶק in Dan 9, in which God is the source of righteousness and of righteous acts,[4] confirms that וְנִצְדַּק in Dan 8:14c should be understood as God's deed. It is God who brings righteousness for the קֹדֶשׁ.

Immediate context of וְנִצְדַּק in Dan 8:14c. Andreasen is right when he regards the context of the occurrence of Dan 8:14c as decisive in determining the particular meaning of נִצְדַּק.[5] He draws attention to the question in vs. 13c to which vs. 14c is the

[1]For the phrases לְעֶת־קֵץ (8:17) and מוֹעֵד קֵץ (8:19) see Gerhard Pfandl, *The Time of the End in the Book of Daniel*, ATSDS, no. 1 (Berrien Springs: Adventist Theological Society Publications, 1992), 244-246, 257-268.

[2]Chilton, 395.

[3]For example, in 1 Enoch righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) is used in general with a constant view toward the eschatological events. "The 'apocalyptic' (in the vision already realized) end time will bring 'righteousness.' And this eschatological righteousness is very clearly understood as 'salvation'" (Martin Johannes Fiedler, "Δικαιοσύνη in der diaspora-jüdischen und intertestamentarischen Literatur," *JSJ* 1 [1970]: 136).

[4]According to Chilton "God within this section of Daniel is literally both righteous and making righteous" (392).

[5]Andreasen, "Translation," 492-494.

answer.[1] There, he sees three activities: (1) the taking away of the *tāmî d*, which for him refers to the abrogation of the sanctuary ministry; (2) a horrible sin perpetrating in the sanctuary; and (3) the ruin of sanctuary and saints alike. "*Niṣdaq* assures in a general and comprehensive way that in God's time the wrongs of verse 13 will be 'put right.'"[2] Thus, for Andreasen, נִצְדַּק contains several associated ideas that lie within the extended meaning of צדק: "make right" (the "restoration" of the ministry in the sanctuary), "cleanse" (the "purification" of the sanctuary from horrible sin),[3] and "vindicate" (the "vindication" of sanctuary and the saints). Independently, Davidson comes to the same conclusion. He shows how the question in vs. 13c summarizes the activities described in vss. 10-12 (the *tāmî d* refers to vs. 11, "the transgression of desolation" refers to vs. 12, and the trampling of the sanctuary and the host refers to vss. 10 and 11c) and then suggests that נִצְדַּק "is uniquely suited in its breadth of semantic range to encapsulate the solution to all three of the sanctuary-related situations summarized in vs. 13."[4]

Furthermore, the attack on אֱמֶת "truth" forms another backdrop to the meaning of נִצְדַּק for there is a close relationship between judicial activity and truth in that the re-establishment of justice can only be realized by the upholding of truth. In such a

---

[1]Already Hitzig notes that the meaning of vs. 14c is dependent mainly upon the question in vs. 13c (135).

[2]Andreasen, "Translation," 494. Cf. Norman H. Snaith who, after concluding that the "original meaning" of the root צדק is "to be straight" in the sense of a norm to which human beings and things should conform, renders the passive in Dan 8:14c with "shall be put right," that is, "into proper order" (*The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament* [London: Epworth, 1944], 74).

[3]It is interesting to note that Fahlgren regards פֶּשַׁע as one of the opposite terms to צְדָקָה (*ṣᵉdāqā*, 19-24; "Die Gegensätze von ṣᵉdaqā im Alten Testament," 106-111).

[4]Davidson, "The Meaning of *Niṣdaq*," 117.

context, the root צדק means "to declare innocence in a juridical confrontation."[1]

Both Andreasen and Davidson have to be commended for focusing their attention on the immediate context. At the same time, it is surprising that, in determining the meaning of נִצְדַּק in Dan 8:14c, it has for the most part been ignored that the object affected by the activity described by נִצְדַּק is קֹדֶשׁ, which relates to just one of the terms of the question in vs. 13c. The answer to this question indicates that the immediate response takes care only of the problem with קֹדֶשׁ. However, this is not to conclude that the problems with the *tāmî d*, the transgression, and the trampled host are not being addressed also. The dynamics between the question and the answer suggest a different solution. Of the three or four specific problems listed in the question, the answer gives the assurance that one will be made right. Since the revelatory audition ends with this assurance, one is strongly impressed to regard the making right of the קֹדֶשׁ "holy" as encompassing the solution to the other problems as well. In other words, in vs. 14c the assurance of the making right of the "holy" includes without specific mention the restoration of the *tāmî d*, the ending or cleansing of the transgression, and the vindication of the trampled host. וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ, though directly referring to the making right of the "holy," is therefore an answer to the whole question posed in vs. 13c, with all the different elements.[2]

This conclusion is naturally dependent on the analysis of the meaning of קֹדֶשׁ, which is the next step in my investigation. Before such an analysis is taken up, a note on

---

[1]Bovati, 104, cf. 105, 345 n. 4.

[2]Cf. Hävernick, 290-291; Kliefoth, 261; and Zöckler, 178, who see the answer including the solutions to some or even to all of the problems that are mentioned in the question.

the versions' rendering of נִצְדַּק is in order. The legitimacy of an excursus on the versions in a text-oriented study is given by the fact that the Niphal of צדק is singular in the Hebrew Bible and the versions could provide additional help in grasping the meaning of this form.

The versions on וְנִצְדַּק. Both Old Greek and Theodotion render נִצְדַּק with καθαρισθήσεται "will be cleansed," a term which occurs much more often in Leviticus than in any other book and is also used in Lev 16:19, 20, 30 (2x). The verb καθαριζω is used as rendition for צדק only in Dan 8:14c. Usually צדק is rendered with δικαιοω. The fact that Theodotion agrees with OG in reading καθαρισθήσεται over against the typical rendition with δικαιοω could indicate that καθαρισθήσεται indeed expresses best the conceptual idea of נִצְדַּק.[1] The only other similar rendition of the verb צדק in the LXX occurs in Job 4:17 where the Qal יִצְדָּק is translated with καθαρὸς ἔσται "be pure." In Job 4:17 the verb צדק stands in parallelism to the verb טהר "be clean," which is rendered with ἄμεμπτος "blameless" in the LXX:

הַאֱנוֹשׁ מֵאֱלוֹהַ יִצְדָּק Can mankind before God be righteous?

אִם מֵעֹשֵׂהוּ יִטְהַר־גָּבֶר Can before his maker be clean/pure a man?[2]

Interestingly, in the majority of its uses καθαριζω renders the verbal root טהר, that is

---

[1]Cf. Mayers, 94.

[2]As important for discerning the meaning of נִצְדַּק in Dan 8:14c, the parallelism in Job 4:17 has been pointed out by Justesen, 60, and Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 451. Cf. the critical comments by Andreasen, "Translation," 483, 489.

seventy-one out of ninety-four times when it renders a BH word.[1] Thus, the rendition of צדק with καθαρος and the auxiliary verb εἰμι in Job 4:17 and the parallelism between צדק and טהר in this text indicates that the rendition of צדק with καθαριζω in Dan 8:14c is based on the notion that in this context the meaning of צדק overlaps with the meaning of טהר.[2] Furthermore, the two words used to render וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ, καθαριζω and ἅγιος, are two key terms used in the LXX's prescription of the Day of Atonement procedures in Lev 16 in the context of cleansing/purifying the sanctuary and the people (e.g., Lev 16:20).

The Syriac renders וְנִצְדַּק with the Peal imperfect ܢܙܟܐ from the root ܙܟܐ "conquer," "justify" or "be free from guilt, be clear, be pure."[3] Though there seems to be no obvious reason why the verb ܙܟܐ "justify" is used, rather than the cognate verb ܙܕܩ "justify, declare righteous" (in the Pael), a noticeable difference in the distribution of these two roots in the Pentateuch can be demonstrated (ܙܟܐ occurs ten times, whereas ܙܕܩ is only used once).[4] This may be a hint that there is a relationship between the

---

[1]See Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897-1906), 2:698.

[2]The possibility that the translator(s) of the OG and Theodotion chose to render וְנִצְדַּק in Dan 8:14c with καθαρισθήσεται in light of the cleansing of the temple by the Maccabees (1 Macc 4:36, 41) cannot be excluded. See S. Horn's editorial comment in Justesen, 60-61 n. 28; and Andreasen, "Translation," 487-490.

[3]For R. A. Taylor, it is difficult to find a reason why the Syriac would have preferred the verb ܙܟܐ "justify" over the cognate verb ܙܕܩ "justify, declare righteous" (in the Pael). He thinks "it is possible that ܢܙܟܐ here is an inner-Syriac corruption of an original ܢܬܕܟܐ" which is from the root ܕܟܐ "be made pure/clean" (*The Peshitta of Daniel*, 224).

[4]In the Pentateuch the verb ܙܕܩ is only used once (Deut 21:17 for מִשְׁפָּט), while ܙܟܐ, which is used in Dan 8:14c, occurs ten times (Gen 44:16; Exod 20:7; 21:19; 23:7; 34:7 [2x]; Num 14:18 [2x]; Deut 5:11; 25:1), thereof three times for the root צדק (for the verb צדק in Gen 44:16 and Deut 25:1; for the adjective צַדִּיק in Exod 23:7) and seven times for נקה "be clean, be pure."

Syriac rendering of Dan 8:14c and the Pentateuch. More interesting yet is the fact that the two words of Dan 8:14c (ܙܕܩܐ ܘܬܙܟܐ "and the right will be justified"[1]) occur close together in the Syriac only in one other text: in the judicial procedure text of Deut 25:1-2 (ܙܟܐ for the verb צדק in vs. 1 and ܙܕܩܐ for כְּדֵי רִשְׁעָתוֹ "according to his wickedness" in vs. 2) in which a legal dispute is ended by the judgment declaring one party in the right and the other in the wrong. The judicial procedure described in this text could function as legal background to the vison and audition in Dan 8:9-14 in which a righteous judgment is called for by a holy being (the "how long" question) so that the righteous will be declared in the right and the guilty in the wrong and both are treated accordingly. Though hypothetical, this observation could explain the strange rendering of the Syriac in Dan 8:14c.

Although there is no Targum available, Read argues that the Aramaic זכה with the meaning of "cleansing" is a synonym of צדק, and that a form of זכה would have been used for וְנִצְדַּק if a Targum to Daniel had been produced.[2] However, the meaning of the Aramaic זכה is similarly broad and cannot be confined to "cleanse."[3] Zimmermann believes that נִצְדַּק comes from the original Aramaic דכי or זכי: (1) justify, hold guiltless; (2) cleanse, purify. For him, the translator into Hebrew followed the first meaning

---

[1]The Syriac renders קֹדֶשׁ by ܙܕܩܐ *zedqā'* "right." Thus the Syriac of Dan 8:14c reads ܙܕܩܐ ܘܬܙܟܐ "and the right will be justified." R. A. Taylor regards the preference of ܙܕܩܐ over ܡܩܕܫܐ "sanctuary" as intentional: "the translator has preferred here ܙܕܩܐ ('right'), perhaps understanding the reference to the cleansing of the קדשׁ to refer to a purification of religious 'rite' or 'service,' as opposed to merely a cleansing of the temple locale" (*The Peshiṭta of Daniel*, 225-226).

[2]Read, 31-36.

[3]See the plethora of renditions for זכה in non-biblical Aramaic in *HALOT*, 5:1864-1865; cf. also the cautious observation by Andreasen, "Translation," 490-491.

instead of the second which was intended.[1]

In sum, the Greek versions suggest that וְנִצְדַּק in Dan 8:14c carries the idea of cleansing and purification and should be rendered "shall be cleansed" or "shall be purified." These versions single out one of the extended meanings of צדק which has been established by parallel terms (זכה "be clean, pure," טהר "be clean, pure," and בֹּר "cleanliness") and so uphold that וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ expresses an act of purification in a cultic context. There is the possibility that such a rendering of נִצְדַּק was historically influenced by the cleansing of the temple by the Maccabees. The Syriac version seems to view the phrase in a more legal context, indicating that judgment was held that declared the right as just and pure. Again, the evidence of the versions testifies to the semantic versatility of the phrase in Dan 8:14c.

Meaning of קֹדֶשׁ

The noun קֹדֶשׁ in the Hebrew Bible. Similar to צדק, the noun קֹדֶשׁ (c. 477 times in the Hebrew Bible[2]) has an equally broad semantic range.[3] Its basic rendition

---

[1]Zimmermann, "The Aramaic Origin of Daniel 8–12," 262. He refers to the cleansing of the temple (1 Macc 4:36) after its previous defilement (1 Macc 1:46-47).

[2]So the count by Even-Shoshan, 1003-1005. H.-P. Müller ("קדשׁ *qdš* holy," *TLOT*, 3:1106-1107) and *HALOT* (3:1076) each count 469 occurrences.

[3]See, for example, Wolf Wilhelm Graf von Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Reimer, 1911), esp. 1-142; Ulrich Bunzel, *Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im Alten Testament: Eine ideologische Untersuchung* (Lauban: Baumeister, 1914), which is only the first section of the first part of his 1914 dissertation at the University of Breslau; Franz J. Leenhardt, *La notion de sainteté dans l'Ancien Testament: Étude de la racine QDS* (Montpellier: Causse, Graille and Castelnau for Faculté Libre de Théologie Protestante de Montpellier, 1929); Helmer Ringgren, *The Prophetical Conception of Holiness*, UUA, 1948, no. 12 (Uppsala: Lundequistska; Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1948); J. Muilenburg, "Holiness," *IDB*, 2:616-625; Berkovits, 141-223; H.-P. Müller, "קדשׁ," 3:1103-1118; W. Kornfeld and Helmer Ringgren, "קדשׁ *qdš*," *TDOT*,

"holiness" can refer to persons, objects, places, and time in their relationship or association with God.[1] Holiness can also be associated with God himself.[2] קֹדֶשׁ is

---

12:521-545; David P. Wright, "Holiness (OT)," *ABD*, 3:237-249; Jackie A. Naudé, "קדשׁ (# 7727)," *NIDOTTE*, 3:877-887; idem, "Holiness in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:171-199, with a section on קדשׁ in the Hebrew Bible (pp. 175-184); Robert V. McCabe, "The Old Testament Foundation for Separation," *DBSJ* 7 (2002): 3-22.

[1]Extensive studies on holiness have been recently presented, e.g., by John G. Gammie, *Holiness in Israel*, OBT (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989); Philip Peter Jenson, *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of the World*, JSOTSup, no. 106 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992); and Jo Bailey Wells, *God's Holy People: A Theme in Biblical Theology*, JSOTSup, no. 305 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000). It is not necessary here to engage in the discussion whether the original, basic semantic meaning of the root קדשׁ is "set apart, separate" (so Baudissin, 19-40; Walther Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 2 vols., trans. J. A. Baker [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961], 1:270-272; Muilenberg, *IDB*, 2:617), "be pure, be bright" (so Bunzen; Th. C. Vriezen, *An Outline of Old Testament Theology*, 2d ed. [Oxford: Blackwell, 1970], 297-299), or something else, or if it "can no longer be determined" (Kornfeld and Ringgren, 12:526). For brief summaries see H.-P. Müller, "קדשׁ," 3:1104; Kornfeld and Ringgren, 12:522-527.

[2]Wright presents a good overview of the major loci or bearers of holiness, and identifies the following carrier of holiness: (1) Divine beings: God, lesser divine beings [better: celestial beings]; (2) humans: priests, Israelites, Nazirites, Levites and firstborn humans, prophets; (3) objects: offerings, sanctuary furniture, priestly clothing, real estate, money and precious metals and stones, mixtures, oil, incense, water; (4) places: sanctuaries, places of theophany, land of Israel and Jerusalem, Ezekiel's תְּרוּמָה, heaven; (5) time: Sabbath, holidays, Jubilee and Sabbatical Year; (6) miscellaneous: war, covenant ("Holiness [OT]," *ABD*, 3:237-244). The entry of קֹדֶשׁ in *HALOT* (3:1076-1078) also illustrates the rich application of קֹדֶשׁ (though the classification in specific divisions and subdivisions is questionable from a semantic point of view):

1. something with which holiness is associated, which is to be treated carefully, something holy (8 texts cited)
2. people and things that are holy (50 texts)
3. pl. קֳדָשִׁים votive offerings (40 texts)
4. holiness associated with God (5 texts)
5. holiness associated with a thing; and so קָדְשִׁי, קָדְשְׁךָ etc. holy as an attribute of one of God's possessions (193 texts)
6. a. קֹדֶשׁ holy area (5 texts)
   b. הַקֹּדֶשׁ sacred object . . . meaning the sanctuary (37 texts)
   c. i. הַקֹּדֶשׁ the holy shrine of the temple (also meaning sanctuary) (19 texts)
      ii. קֹדֶשׁ sanctuary (4 texts)
      iii. קָדְשׁוֹ his (אֵל/יהוה) sanctuary etc. (7 texts)
7. קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים something extremely holy (46 texts).

primarily a divine term that "indicates a relationship more than a quality,"[1] a relationship to the source of all holiness. The distribution of קֹדֶשׁ in the Hebrew Bible—with most of its occurrences in Leviticus, Exodus, Numbers, and Ezekiel—shows clearly that it is a term closely related to the cult in Israel, in which God is at the center.[2] Interestingly, the book of Daniel belongs to those books that show the highest density of קֹדֶשׁ occurrences. Its thirteen occurrences in five chapters (Dan 8-12) are surpassed only by the book of Leviticus.[3]

The term קֹדֶשׁ in Dan 8:14c. The majority of commentators agree that קֹדֶשׁ in Dan 8:14c refers to the sanctuary or the temple.[4] It designates that space which represents the deity's abode and a place of his worship. This opinion is supported by two contextual considerations. First, Dan 8:9-14 is saturated with cultic terminology. It is easy to see that the noun קֹדֶשׁ, if it were to indeed refer to the sanctuary or if it were closely related to it, is another term that fits this cultic context. Second, inasmuch as the question in vs.

---

[1]von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:205, who refers to Ringgren, *The Prophetical Conception of Holiness*, 13: "'holy' does not denote a quality but a relation." This relational notion of קדש has been elaborated particularly by Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 1:272-276.

[2]See the table of distribution in H.-P. Müller, "קדשׁ," 3:1106-1107. Those books in which קֹדֶשׁ occurs more than ten times are the following: Leviticus (92x), Exodus (70x), Numbers (57x), Ezekiel (57x), Psalms (45x), Isaiah (23x), 2 Chronicles (30x), 1 Chronicles (17x), Daniel (13x), and 1 Kings (12x).

[3]The average number of occurrences of קֹדֶשׁ per chapter (starting with the highest): Leviticus (3.41), Daniel 8-12 (2.6), Obadiah (2.0), Exodus (1.75), Numbers (1.58), Ezekiel (1.19), 2 Chronicles (0.83), Joel (0.75), Zephaniah (0.67), Ezra (0.6), 1 Chronicles (0.59), 1 Kings (0.55), Nehemiah (0.54), Jonah (0.5), Haggai (0.5), etc.

[4]If the previous verses are interpreted as having happened at the time of Antiochus IV, קֹדֶשׁ is almost always regarded as the sanctuary. The suggestion by von Gall, 53, that קֹדֶשׁ only could designate the altar, with reference to Exod 29:37; 30:20, 29; 40:10, is unconvincing since in these texts the word for altar is מִזְבֵּחַ, and the texts declare only that the altar shall be קֹדֶשׁ "holy."

13c takes up previous language, it is conceivable that the noun קֹדֶשׁ echoes the noun מִקְדָּשׁ in vs. 11c that stems from the same root. And as מִקְדָּשׁ clearly refers to the sanctuary, קֹדֶשׁ could also refer to the same—an opinion usually held by scholars. It is however possible to challenge such a viewpoint. Since the unambiguous term מִקְדָּשׁ, which clearly refers to the "sanctuary," has been used in vs. 11c, the multifaceted term קֹדֶשׁ appears to be used intentionally to refer to something more or to something other than the sanctuary.[1] A more detailed investigation of the relationship between the two terms is undertaken in the literary analysis in chapter 3.

An additional reason for understanding קֹדֶשׁ as the sanctuary is supplied by the terminological relationship of Dan 8:12-14 to Dan 9:24, which comprises the words קֹדֶשׁ, פֶּשַׁע, and the root צדק. An analysis of the phrase קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים, which occurs in 9:24, shows that it designates the sanctuary itself or offerings or cultic objects used in the sanctuary service. Based on the terminological links between 9:24 and 8:12-14, it is possible to understand קֹדֶשׁ in 8:14c as the sanctuary/temple, and beyond that its reference could extend to the holy things that are essential for the sanctuary service.[2]

In Dan 8:14c, as well as in vs. 13c, the nominal use of an indeterminate קֹדֶשׁ in

---

[1]See the suggestions by Keil, 305 ("קֹדֶשׁ means all that is holy"); Knabenbauer, 215 ("holiness," i.e., the worship of God, the observation of the law, the ritual ceremonies belonging to the holy); Thomson, 244 ("holiness" or "holy thing, offering"); Hasslberger, 106 ("'holy things' . . . intending possibly different facilities and institutions that fall under this category").

[2]For a more detailed analysis of the intertextual relation of 8:12-14 and 9:24 see chapter 4.

the absolute is rather unique.[1] Such a usage is found elsewhere only in Ps 134:2,[2] where it clearly designates the sanctuary.[3]

There are however several hints that קֹדֶשׁ could be linked to a personal dimension. First, the analysis of clauses with the verb צדק has shown that if an object to צדק occurs in such clauses, that object is always personal. This observation leads to the strong suspicion that קֹדֶשׁ in Dan 8:14c could also carry the semantic notion of being personal.[4] Second, the other occurrences of the root קדשׁ in Dan 8, except for מִקְדָּשׁ in vs. 11c, are in reference to personal beings: קָדוֹשׁ "holy being" (vs. 13a, 13b) and עַם־קְדֹשִׁים "holy people" or "people of holy ones" (vs. 24; cf. 12:7 where the same group is referred to by עַם־קֹדֶשׁ with the noun that is used in 8:14c). And third, the structural analysis of the question in vs. 13c suggests that קֹדֶשׁ could semantically be more closely linked to צָבָא (see the literary analysis): inasmuch as the first two items are linked—in relationship to

---

[1]That means קֹדֶשׁ is neither used in a construct group or with pronominal suffix, nor collectively (e.g., in כָּל־קֹדֶשׁ), nor predicatively or as verbal complement (e.g., in combination with the verbal root היה, expressing "be holy," or in the phrase קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה "[be] holy to YHWH").

[2]The use of קֹדֶשׁ in Prov 20:25 ("a man speaks rashly, 'holy (קֹדֶשׁ)!'") cannot be regarded as similar to Dan 8:13c and 14c. In Prov 20:25 the call "קֹדֶשׁ" is a vow, meaning that something is declared to be consecrated to YHWH. The noun קֹדֶשׁ therefore functions as predicate of the clause "(it is) holy!"

[3]שְׂאוּ־יְדֵכֶם קֹדֶשׁ (Ps 134:2a). Both vs. 3 ("May YHWH bless you from Zion") as response to vs. 2 ("Lift up your hands to the sanctuary [קֹדֶשׁ] and bless YHWH") and a possible chiastic structure of vss. 1-2 ("bless the Lord all servants of YHWH" // "who serve by night in the house of YHWH" // "lift up your hands to the sanctuary [קֹדֶשׁ]" // "and bless YHWH") imply that קֹדֶשׁ refers to the sanctuary.

[4]Fahlgren hypothesizes that the unique Niphal form of צדק in Dan 8:14c could suggest that the object is not personal but inanimate (*s^{e}dāqā*, 116 n. 1). However, such a function of verbal stems, viz. to indicate a semantic aspect of the object, is to my knowledge unattested, if at all possible. Rather, the Niphal functions semantically in an oppositional relationship to other active verbal stems (cf. Siebesma, *The Function of the Niph'al in Biblical Hebrew*). As argued above, the Niphal of צדק should be understood in a passive-active relationship to its Hiphil forms.

the *tāmî d*, the devastating crime is set up—so the next two items could be linked—in relation to קֹדֶשׁ, a host is figuratively turned into a trampling-place.

An overview of the use of the root קדשׁ in the book of Daniel confirms that it can be used in relationship to the sanctuary as well as in relationship to persons. The noun קֹדֶשׁ occurs besides Dan 8:13c and 8:14c eleven more times in the book of Daniel. It is used referring to the sanctuary in the expressions קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים "holy of holies (9:24a) and הַקֹּדֶשׁ (9:26; the only Danielic absolute use of קֹדֶשׁ with the article). It also occurs in the expressions "holy mountain" (9:16, 20; 11:45) and "holy city" (9:24a) which may be said to refer in extension to the sanctuary since God's dwelling-place is the obvious reason for the holiness of the mountain and the city Jerusalem. The noun קֹדֶשׁ is also used in reference to persons in the expression עַם־קֹדֶשׁ "holy people" (12:7); and the phrase "holy covenant" (11:28; 11:30d; 11:30g) also has by extension associations with the holy people since a covenant involves two sides, in this case God and his people. The adjective קָדוֹשׁ "holy" (3 times) is always associated with persons (8:13a, 13b, 24). The noun מִקְדָּשׁ "sanctuary" (3 times) refers always to the sanctuary (8:11c; 9:17; 11:31). In BA, the root קדשׁ occurs only in the adjective קַדִּישׁ "holy" (13 times) and is always associated with persons.[1]

To sum up the discussion on קֹדֶשׁ, it is clear that in the book of Daniel קדשׁ is

---

[1]The Aramaic קַדִּישׁ occurs four times in the phrase רוּחַ־אֱלָהִין קַדִּישִׁין "spirit of holy gods" (4:5, 6, 15; 5:11), three times referring to celestial beings in parallel to עִיר "watcher" (4:10, 14, 20), and six times in referring to the holy ones of the Most High (קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין "holy ones of the Most High" [7:18, 22b, 25]; קַדִּישִׁין "holy ones" [7:21, 22d]; and עַם קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין "holy people of the Most High" or "people of the holy ones of the Most High" [7:27]).

used both in association with the sanctuary and with holy persons.[1] There are enough reasons to find קֹדֶשׁ in 8:14c a clear reference to the sanctuary and to what the sanctuary stands for, in essence God's character. However, the indicators of a personal aspect of קֹדֶשׁ should not be disregarded and need to be taken into account when the meaning of this clause is to be determined.

In conclusion, there are basically two ways to understand the relationship between the answer in vs. 14c and the question in vs. 13c. First, the answer encompasses in a direct way the solution to all problems mentioned in the question. In this case, קֹדֶשׁ in vs. 14c comprises more than the sanctuary or the temple and would also refer to the trampled host. Second, the answer declares the solution for one of the problems in the question, and by solving this one, everything else is taken care of, too, since the different problems are all interrelated. Then, קֹדֶשׁ in vs. 14c refers primarily to one specific item, most likely to the sanctuary.[2] The analysis above has shown that these two options are fairly close to one another. The occurrence of קֹדֶשׁ as one of the items mentioned in the question in vs. 13c and its relationship to the term מִקְדָּשׁ, whatever it may be exactly, lead to the conclusion that קֹדֶשׁ is primarily associated with the sanctuary. At the same time, the

---

[1]Hasel concludes a brief study of the usage of קֹדֶשׁ in the book of Daniel by identifying the term's associations with sanctuary (9:24), saints or holy ones (7:18, 21, 22, 25, 27; 8:24; 12:7), and judgment (7:21-22): "In the book of Daniel these terminological and conceptual associations of *qōḏeš* with sanctuary, saints (holy ones), and judgment can hardly be accidental. Evidently the term *qōḏeš* in 8:13 is aimed to bring to mind terminological and conceptual links as keys to the high points of the vision of chapters 7, 8-9, and 11-12" ("The 'Little Horn'" [1986], 447). In spite of these associations, Hasel regards the term קֹדֶשׁ in 8:13c and in 8:14c as designating the sanctuary only (ibid., 447, 454-455). Thus קֹדֶשׁ is generally interpreted to refer to the temple or sanctuary.

[2]"Since everything centers about the sanctuary, it alone is mentioned" (Leupold, 357), or "the central feature in the act of deliverance would be not the destruction of an enemy but the fate of a sanctuary" (Goldingay, *Daniel*, 220).

results of the semantic study of קֹדֶשׁ—it refers to the sanctuary but also has associations to the holy ones—corroborate the conclusion that the answer וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ in Dan 8:14c encompasses the solution to all the different elements stated in the question in vs. 13c. Thus, the particular use of both וְנִצְדַּק and קֹדֶשׁ in 8:14c strongly suggests that the restoration of the holy to its right includes both the vindication of the sanctuary as well as of the host.

Interclausal Analysis

The interclausal analysis extends the linguistic description onto the text level, and thus is part of a text-grammatical or text-linguistic analysis that analyzes those linguistic features that function on the text level.[1] For this reason the connections of the clauses are delineated (interclausal syntax), mainly by the use of verbal forms (clause relationships are foremost dependent upon the clause types) and the interrelation of the agents. The procedure will be as follows: At first, the clause types of Dan 8:9-14 are identified and their function is determined. A comparison with the use of these clause types elsewhere in the book of Daniel assists in determining their function in 8:9-14.

Clause Types in Daniel 8:9-14 and Their Function

It is striking that all fourteen clauses in vss. 9a-13b are verbal clauses. In the rest, the question in vs. 13c and the first part of the answer in vs. 14b are nominal clauses, whereas the narrative remark in vs. 14a and the second part of the answer in vs. 14c are

[1]The term "text-linguistics" refers to the way in which sentences are organized and relate to each other linguistically so that they form texts.

verbal clauses. This means that in the vision/audition there is an interesting change from verbal clauses (vss. 9-11 and vs. 12) to non-verbal clauses (vs. 13c and vs. 14b), and finally back to a verbal clause again (vs. 14c). The verb in vs. 14c then follows the last verb in vs. 12 after a break in the auditive activity.

These verses are packed with activity on the part of the horn and its host. Indeed, all the specific clause types in vss. 9a, 9b, 10a, and 10b include a description of change of location, that is, a clause constituent with dislocative function.

Daniel 8:9-14 exhibits the following clause types as shown in table 17.

Table 17. Clause Types in Daniel 8:9-14

Metanarrative (First-person)		**Vision Report Proper**		**Predictive Discourse**	
		9a	*x-qatal*		
		9b	*wayyiqtol*		
		10a	*wayyiqtol*		
		10b	*wayyiqtol*		
		10c	*wayyiqtol*		
		11a	*x-qatal*		
		11b	*x-qatal*		
		11c	*qatal-x*		
				12a	*x-yiqtol*
				12b	w^{e}*yiqtol*
				12c	w^{e}*qatal*
				12d	w^{e}*qatal*
13a	*wayyiqtol*				
13b	*wayyiqtol*				
				13c	nominal clause
14a	*wayyiqtol*				
				14b	nominal clause
				14c	w^{e}*qatal*

There are four main verbal forms: *qatal* (in the forms *x-qatal* and *qatal-x*), *wayyiqtol*, *yiqtol* (in the forms *x-yiqtol* and *w^{e}yiqtol*), and *w^{e}qatal*. Their function needs to be determined.[1] I base my arguments on the foreground/background or main-line/off-line distinction of discourse according to certain verbal forms, as displayed in table 18.[2]

Table 18. Verbal/Clausal Forms and Discourse Constellation

	Narrative Discourse		**Predictive Discourse**	
	Verbal form	Function	Verbal form	Function
Primary Verbal / Clausal Form	*qatal* *wayyiqtol*	Basic past Continuative past	*yiqtol* *w^{e}qatal*	Basic future Continuative future
Secondary Verbal / Clausal Form	Verbless היה Verbal Participial *yiqtol*	Off-line status Off-line status Off-line action Off-line ongoing action	Verbless היה Verbal Incomplete Participial	Off-line status Off-line status Off-line status Off-line action

[1]Cf. Hasslberger's analysis of verb syntax (377-384); however, he does not deal with 8:11-12.

[2]The table is based on Roy L. Heller, *Narrative Structure and Discourse Constellation: An Analysis of Clause Function in Biblical Hebrew Prose*, HSS, no. 55 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 458-464. For the sets of discourse constellations, see also Schneider, *Grammatik des biblischen Hebräisch* (1974); Longacre, *Joseph*; Alviero Niccacci, *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose*, JSOTSup, no. 86 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1990); Randall Buth, "The Hebrew Verb in Current Discussion," *JTT* 5 (1992): 91-105; Longacre,"Discourse Perspective on the Hebrew Verb," 177-189; Talstra, "Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew," 269-297; David Allan Dawson, *Text-Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*, JSOTSup, no. 177 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994); Galia Hatav, *The Semantics of Aspect and Modality: Evidence from English and Biblical Hebrew*, Studies in Language Companion Series, no. 34 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1997); Peter J. Gentry, "The System of the Finite Verb in Classical Biblical Hebrew," *HS* 39 (1998): 7-39; Tal Goldfajn, *Word Order and Time in Biblical Hebrew Narrative*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998). However, see the methodological critique and considerations by John A. Cook, who concludes that *wayyiqtol* is marked for foreground as a discourse-pragmatic property, whereas *w^{e}qatal* is not, even though it is regularly utilized for foreground clauses in non-narrative discourse types ("The Semantics of Verbal Pragmatics: Clarifying the Roles of *Wayyiqtol* and *Weqatal* in Biblical Hebrew Prose," *JSS* 49 [2004]: 247-273; cf. idem, "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System: A Grammaticalization Approach" [Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 2002]).

These discourse constellations are expected to operate also within the book of Daniel, so that the kind of verbal/clausal forms used in the text indicates to which discourse type the text should be attributed. In fact, the primary verbal/clausal forms for continuative action (*wayyiqtol* and *w*^{e}*qatal*) in the Hebrew parts of the book of Daniel fit perfectly into the pattern of discourse constellation.

The *wayyiqtol* form occurs ninety-eight times in the Hebrew parts of Daniel.[1] It is used mostly in narrative, but seven times it is used in direct speech, however only when successive past events are narrated (2:3; 8:22; 9:11, 12, 14 [twice], 15). For example, the *wayyiqtol* וַתַּעֲמֹדְנָה in 8:22 refers back to what Daniel had seen in the vision.[2]

The *w*^{e}*qatal* form occurs seventy-seven times in the Hebrew parts of Daniel, almost always in direct speech.[3] If there is no compelling reason to argue otherwise, the *w*^{e}*qatal* can be considered as a sign for direct speech, that is, often for predictive discourse. The only exception to the rule is the two *w*^{e}*qatal* forms in Dan 8:4, which usually are considered to have a generalizing character, expressing a frequentative, or even durative, activity with past time reference.[4]

---

[1]*Wayyiqtol* forms occur in Dan 1:1, 2 (2x), 3, 5, 6, 7 (2x), 8 (2x), 9, 10, 11, 14 (2x), 16, 18, 19 (2x), 20, 21; 2:1, 2 (3x), 3 (2x), 4; 8:2 (3x), 3 (2x), 6 (2x), 7 (5x), 8, 9, 10 (3x), 13 (2x), 14, 15 (2x), 16 (3x), 17 (3x), 18 (2x), 19, 22, 27 (3x); 9:3, 4 (3x), 11, 12, 14 (2x), 15, 22 (3x); 10:5 (2x), 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16 (3x), 18 (3x), 19 (2x), 20; 12:6, 7 (3x), 8, 9.

[2]וַתַּעֲמֹדְנָה in Dan 8:22 is the only symbolic act of the vision that is mentioned by the angel, and is also the only *wayyiqtol* in the angelic interpretation in 8:19-26.

[3]*W*^{e}*qatal* forms occur in Dan 1:10; 8:4 (2x), 12c, 12d, 14c, 24 (4x), 25; 9:25, 27; 11:3 (3x), 5, 7 (3x), 9 (2x), 10 (4x), 11 (4x), 12 (2x), 13 (2x), 14, 15, 17, 18 (2x), 19 (2x), 20, 21 (3x), 23 (2x), 24, 26, 28 (2x), 29, 30 (6x), 31 (3x), 32, 33, 34, 36 (2x), 39 (2x), 40 (3x), 41, 43, 44, 45; 12:1, 10.

[4]Schindele, "Textkonstituierung," 8; cf. GKC, 335-336 (§112dd).

Turning our attention to Dan 8:9-14, it is readily seen that vss. 9-11 show typical features of narrative discourse (as does the first half of the vision report in 8:3-8). The text exhibits the primary verbal/clausal forms of narrative discourse: *qatal* (vss. 9a, 11a-c) and four *wayyiqtol* (vss. 9b-10c). Thus, all verbal/clausal forms in vss. 9-11 have clearly to be considered as narrative discourse. Similarly, in vss. 13b and 14a two *wayyiqtol* mark a progression of reference time in the past.

Verses 12 and 14b-c belong to the category of predictive discourse and show the typical verbal/clausal forms of discursive speech. The main verbal/clausal form in texts with future time reference are *yiqtol* for the basic future (vs. 12a-b) and w^e*qatal* depicting continuative future (vss. 12c-d, 14c). Again, all verbal/clausal forms in vs. 12 fit the predictive discourse constellation.

Gzella argues that the w^e*qatal* forms in vs 11c and vs. 12c-d have the same function as the two w^e*qatal* in vs. 4, that is, depicting the resulting situation or the summary of the logical consequences of the preceding action in the past.[1] Gzella believes that in the vision report in Dan 8 w^e*qatal* represents the narrator's comment on the factual outcome of the preceding verses, "a summary of the new *status quo*,"[2] and thus serves as a structural marker in the vision report. Gzella's hypothesis is supported by the use of כִּרְצֹנוֹ in 8:4 which in 11:3, 16, 36 also has a structuring function. Also, the use of the same verbal forms וְהִגְדִּיל and וְעָשָׂה in 8:4 and 8:11c-d seems to provide some reason for such an argument. In fact, the use of w^e*qatal* וְהֻשְׁלַךְ in 8:11c may indeed have a

[1]Gzella, 116, 119.

[2]Ibid., 101.

resultative function, for it follows two *qatal* clauses, and thus occurs in the same temporal reference context of the past as are the two *w^e^qatal* in vs. 4.[1]

However, the situation in vs. 12 is distinctly different from vs. 4, for the time frame expressed by the verbal forms is future, that is, the *yiqtol* form in vs. 12a has prospective function and indicates future perspective.[2] The *w^e^yiqtol* form in vs. 12b is another future time reference. The following two *w^e^qatal* in vs. 12c-d would then be the usual way to depict succession in the future. They express a future activity in a generalizing way, maybe even with a frequentative function—"and (customarily) it will do and will succeed"—and could quite likely describe the resulting future situation.

In sum, the use of the four verbal forms in Dan 8:12 in a predictive discourse constellation is another indicator that this verse constitutes indeed the direct speech of the holy being mentioned in vs. 13a.[3]

Besides the specific discursive nature of vs. 12, which by itself is a strong argument, other reasons support such a conclusion. First, the *wayyiqtol* וָאֶשְׁמְעָה in vs. 13a does not necessarily imply that vs. 13a follows vs. 12 in a logical or temporal sense, as there is no text-grammatical connection between the past continuative *wayyiqtol* of vs.

---

[1]The *w^e^qatal* forms in 8:4 occur after a participial clause, which is preceded by a verbal clause with a *yiqtol* functioning as volitive (or modal: Schindele, "Textkonstituierung," 8) or *potentialis* (Hasslberger, 47, who correctly observes that the *w^e^qatal* forms have successive function).

[2]See, e.g., Niccacci, *The Syntax of the Verb*, 74.

[3]Max Rogland demonstrates that one utilizes past tenses when narrating events which occurred in a dream or vision, while using future tenses when referring to the (future) realization of what is symbolically depicted in the dream or announced in a vision. Thus past tenses are used in description and recounting; future tenses are used in explanations and interpretations (*Alleged Non-past Uses of* Qatal *in Classical Hebrew*, SSN, no. 44 [Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003], 65-71). This is important for Dan 8:12a where the *yiqtol* תִּנָּתֵן has exactly such a function.

13a and the future continuative w^e*qatal* of vs. 12d. It rather continues the first-person narrative in which the visionary describes his experience, and hence follows *qatal-x* וּרְאִיתִיו (vs. 7) or *wayyiqtol* וָאֶשָּׂא (vs. 3). As suggested in the clause analysis, וָאֶשְׁמְעָה may be translated with pluperfect meaning ("*And I had heard* a holy one speaking"), particularly since the hearing of someone speaking (דבר) implies the transmission of content.[1] Second, the only discursive texts with future time reference found in Dan 8 are angelic speeches (vss. 13c, 14b-c, 19-26).[2] Verse 12 should therefore also be understood as angelic speech. Third, if a holy being uttered vs. 12, the same holy being would give the answer in vs. 14b-c. These verses are linked by the same verbal form: The w^e*qatal* of vs. 14c would resume nicely the w^e*qatal* forms in vs. 12c-d, hinting at the idea that the same holy one is speaking, who is now expressing the consequence of the activities described in vs. 12. Fourth, vs. 12 may not be visualized as easily as vss. 9-11 are. This concurs with the impression that vss. 9-11 are part of Daniel's description of the vision, whereas vs. 12 may belong to an audition.

Word Order

This section examines the positioning of nonverbal sentence constituents in the

---

[1]See the analysis of *wayyiqtol* וָאֶשְׁמְעָה under clause 13a (above).

[2]In Dan 9-12 the verbal forms *yiqtol* and continuative w^e*qatal* appear in 9:25-27 (direct speech of the angel Gabriel); 10:14 (direct speech of a heavenly being); 10:17 (direct speech of Daniel); 10:20-12:4 (direct speech of a heavenly being); 12:7e (oath of a heavenly being); and 12:10-13 (direct speech of a heavenly being). In all instances these verbal forms mark discursive texts. There are two more *yiqtol* forms in the corpus of Dan 8-12, but they occur in a narrative text following the negation לֹא (8:4; 12:8b). Therefore, they do not belong to the category of verbal forms marking discursive texts. Rather they indicate a durative activity ("I was not understanding") in a narrative discourse.

preverbal field, for which the term "fronting" is used, and delineates the pragmatic function of such constructions.[1] Fronting of nonverbal elements before the verb forms (marked by *x* in the clause type designations) occurs in vss. 9a, 11a, 11b, and 12a.

These instances of marked word order are structurally significant.[2] The fronting of וּמִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם in vs. 9a is disjunctive in character and marks vs. 9 as a new scene.[3] The reference to the origin of the horn shows it to be a new entity. The next clauses have unmarked word order (i.e., verb-subject-object). Verse 11a, where the "commander of the host" is located in sentence-initial position, highlights that the activities of the horn are directed *even* against the "commander of the host," in comparison to vs. 10 where the "host of heaven" was attacked by the horn. The fronting in vs. 11a is for the sake of

---

[1]In recent years the study of BH word order and related subjects, such as focus, has greatly flourished. Besides a number of articles (for references see Martin Pröbstle, "Deixis and the Linear Ordering of Sentence Constituents in Biblical Hebrew Verbal Clauses" [paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, Denver, Colorado, 18 November 2001], 10-15; and Christo H. J. van der Merwe and Eep Talstra, "Biblical Hebrew Word Order: The Interface of Information Structure and Formal Features," *ZAH* 15/16 [2002/2003]: 68-86, 101-104), several monographs have been published. Walter Groß's *Die Satzteilfolge im Verbalsatz alttestamentlicher Prosa* (1996) is groundbreaking inasmuch as it represents a careful systematic research on Biblical Hebrew word order with clearly formulated criteria based on a modern linguistic framework. Groß bases his research on the dependency grammar model and uses Richter's nomenclature for the different syntagmemes, though with modifications. After Groß, the more important monographs on BH word order include Michael Rosenbaum, *Word-Order Variation in Isaiah 40-55: A Functional Perspective*, SSN, no. 35 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1997); Diße (1998); Goldfajn (1998); Jean-Marc Heimerdinger, *Topic, Focus and Foreground in Ancient Hebrew Narratives*, JSOTSup, no. 295 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999); Walter Groß, *Doppelt besetztes Vorfeld: Syntaktische, pragmatische und übersetzungstechnische Studien zum althebräischen Verbalsatz*, BZAW, no. 305 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001); Katsuomi Shimasaki, *Focus Structure in Biblical Hebrew: A Study of Word Order and Information Structure* (Bethesda: CDL, 2002).

[2]*Pace* James H. Breasted, who claims in reference to Dan 8:1, 2, 5, 8, 12, 22, 27 that there is "but little difference to the writer whether the subject or predicate precedes," inferring that such a phenomenon indicates a late stage in the development of Hebrew syntax and thus a late date of Daniel ("The Order of the Sentence in the Hebrew Portions of Daniel," *Hebraica* 7 [1890-91]: 245-252).

[3]Hasslberger, 379 n. 10.

topicalization. The use of a pro-element in sentence-initial position in vs. 11b in reference to the "commander of the host" underscores the horn's hostility to this heavenly being. The fronting here is not for topicalization, for the commander has already been introduced, but rather the argument is the focus, that is, the enmity brought against the commander of the host is amplified by repeating that the activities of the horn are directed against the heavenly prince.

The final fronting occurs in vs. 12a (וְצָבָא). If the host is not identical with the host of heaven but rather is a different power, as argued above, the fronting functions as topicalization.[1] It introduces a new topic, which becomes the subject for the next clauses.

Interclausal Relations

After the clause types and the word order have been examined, the interclausal relations can now be described in table 19. Only formal features are listed here (e.g., verbal/clausal form, text phora, fronting). For a fuller description of the syntactic- and stylistic-structural features see the structural analysis in chapter 3.

---

[1]For the Aramaic of Daniel, Randall Buth concludes that subject-verb (SV) clauses with animate subjects constitute a foreground construction in which the narrative topic has been placed in preverbal position ("Word Order in Aramaic," 197). Buth lists the following foregrounded SV clauses (interestingly, all clauses with material after the verb—marked with a "+"—are foregrounded, except for 4:1): Dan 2:12, 14+, 16, 19+, 24+, 46+, 49+; 3:1+, 2+, 4+, 13, 19+, 21+, 24, 30+; 4:16+, 34; 5:1+, 2+, 13+; 6:1+, 4+, 4+, 5+, 6+, 7+, 10+, 12, 16+, 17, 26+, 29+; backgrounded SV clauses: 2:13; 4:1+; 5:9 (177-178). Apart from the two clauses where the foreground/background status is unclear (3:23+; 5:5+) thirty-two SV clauses with animated subject are foreground clauses, but only three are background clauses. In contrast, SV clauses with inanimate subjects in pre-verbal position are usually (in twelve out of fourteen cases) background clauses, i.e., the subject is not marked as topic (Buth, "Word Order in Aramaic," 197-199).

Table 19. Interclausal Relations in Daniel 8:9-14

Verse	Clausal Form	Interclausal Relation
9a	*x-qatal*	disjunctive: introduction of a new protagonist ("horn")
9b	*wayyiqtol*	sequential action to 9a
10a	*wayyiqtol*	sequential action to 9b
10b	*wayyiqtol*	sequential action to 10a
10c	*wayyiqtol*	sequential action to 10b
11a	*x-qatal*	topicalization ("commander of the host");
11b	*x-qatal*	focus of argument (activity against the commander of the host); non-sequential; ePP connects vs. 11b to vs. 11a
11c	*qatal-x*	non-sequential; ePP connects vs. 11c to vs. 11a;[1]
12a	*x-yiqtol*	topicalization ("a host")
12b	w^e*yiqtol*	non-sequential
12c	w^e*qatal*	sequential to vs. 12b
12d	w^e*qatal*	sequential to vs. 12c
13a	*wayyiqtol*	pluperfect (before vs. 12); connects sequentially to *qatal* in vs. 7 or *wayyiqtol* in vs. 3
13b	*wayyiqtol*	sequential action to vs. 13a[2]
13c	nominal clause	object clause to vs. 13b
14a	*wayyiqtol*	sequential action to vs. 13b
14b	nominal clause	object clause to vs. 14a; adverbial expression of time indicating the starting point of activity in vs. 14c
14c	w^e*qatal*	object clause to vs. 14a; connects sequentially to vs. 12c-d

[1]Verse 11b and 11c are not connected with each other, however, both by pronominal suffix refer back to 11a. This indicates that 11b and 11c "concretize" 11a that functions almost as a heading for the following two clauses (so Hasslberger, 98, 100; cf. Aalders, *Daniël*, 176; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" [1986], 409).

[2]Goldingay takes וַיֹּאמֶר in vs. 13b as a *waw* consecutive which continues the participle construction begun by מְדַבֵּר: "I heard one holy one speaking, and another holy one saying . . ." (*Daniel*, 198). However, it is difficult to regard vs. 13b as continuation of the object of hearing, especially since the sequential *wayyiqtol* וַיֹּאמֶר follows more naturally the *wayyiqtol* וָאֶשְׁמְעָה in vs. 13a than the participle מְדַבֵּר.



Andrews University

Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary

TRUTH AND TERROR: A TEXT-ORIENTED ANALYSIS OF DANIEL 8:9-14

A Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Martin Pröbstle

July 2006

Volume 2

CHAPTER 3

LITERARY ANALYSIS

Preliminary Remarks

Texts are works of art. As such they have to be approached with due care:

> There is only one way that gives hope of eliciting the innate conventions and literary formations of a piece of ancient literature, and that is by listening to it patiently and humbly. The critic must curb all temptations to impose antecedent judgments on the text; he must immerse himself in it again and again, with all his sensors alert to catch every possible stimulus—mental-ideational, aural, aesthetic, linguistic, visual—until its features begin to stand out and their native shape and patterning emerge.[1]

Literary analysis discloses the style and structure of the text, that is, the way and manner in which the means of expression are used in the text and influence the entire text and its understanding. It attempts to discern the many different devices by which the text is ordered in a unified, indivisible whole. Thus, it provides access to the text as a work of literary artistry. Whereas linguistic analysis deals with the "what" of a text, literary analysis addresses the "how" of a text. Similar to the common but mistaken assessment that its linguistic quality is poor, Dan 8 has also been attributed as having a "markedly inferior literary quality."[2] However, such an assessment is up for discussion, and the following analysis will show how the text, at least vss. 9-14, is skillfully wrought in

---

[1]Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20*, AB, vol. 22 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983), 21.

[2]Anderson, *Signs and Wonders*, 91.

various ways.

In this chapter, the literary quality of Dan 8:9-14 is studied from the perspective of form (surface structure), of subject matter or content (deep structure), and of the interplay of form, content, and linguistic features with regard to structure.[1] Hence, the literary analysis pursued here comprises three parts. First, the analysis of form focuses on the literary style and literary devices of the text, with a basic feature being the prosaic or poetic style of the language. Second, the analysis of the text's subject matter focuses on the thematic distribution and arrangement in the text by paying close attention to the specific usage of semantic fields, *Leitwörter* and keywords, and the characterization of the main actor(s). Finally, the analysis of the literary structure of Dan 8:9-14, building upon the previous two steps, focuses on how the individual elements of a text show a complex inner structure and composition that is accompanied by thematic variety and thematic progression within the text. At the same time, it reveals the dimensions of the text's cohesion and coherence.

Literary Style

In the analysis of literary style, it first needs to be decided whether parts of the language used in Dan 8:9-14 show poetic characteristics. The technique of narrative and poetic composition cannot be underestimated with regard to creating both the form and the expressiveness of the text. Recognizing poetic structures will help to appreciate both features. After this, the specific use of gender as a stylistic device is examined. The

[1]"Surface structure" and "deep structure" are used in a linguistic sense to refer to the form and the content of the text and should not be confused with the meaning they have in structuralism.

gender shifts in Dan 8:9-14, which not infrequently perplex the exegete, contribute to the text's literary style and should be explained as creating cohesion rather than incoherency. There are also other literary devices that, however, do not function primarily on the formal level, and therefore will be discussed in the thematic or structural analysis.

Prose or Poetry in Daniel 8:9-14?

Introduction

Are there any poetic parts in the last section of the vision report and the immediately following audition, that is, in Dan 8:9-14? While scholars have found that the book of Daniel exhibits several poetic passages in significant places,[1] they usually do not regard any clauses or verses in Dan 8:9-14 as poetic,[2] a fact mirrored in the printed

[1]The poetic parts that have been identified in the book of Daniel include passages interspersed throughout narrations (2:20-23; 3:31-33; 4:31b-32; 6:26/27-28), throughout vision reports (4:7b-9, 11-13/14; 7:9-10, 13-14), and throughout the angelic interpretations (7:23-27; 8:23-26; 9:24-27; 12:1-3). Some even find it probable that parts of 9:4b-19 could be poetic. See Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, 82.

[2]Beside the commentators there are several analyses of the various poetic sections in Daniel; however, none of them deals with Dan 8:9-14: W. Sibley Towner, "Poetic Passages of Daniel 1-6," CBQ 31 (1969): 317-326; Alexander A. Di Lella, "Daniel 4:7-14: Poetic Analysis and Biblical Background," in *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles*, ed. A. Caquot and M. Delcor, AOAT, no. 212 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukichen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1981), 247-258; Alexander A. Di Lella, "Strophic Structure and Poetic Analysis of Daniel 2:20-23, 3:31-33, and 6:26b-28," in *Studia Hierosolymitana III: Nell'ottavo centenario Francescano (1182-1982)*, ed. G. C. Bottini, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum: Collectio maior, no. 30 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1982), 91-96; Daud Soesilo, "Translating the Poetic Sections of Daniel 1-6," *The BT* 41 (1990): 432-435; James W. Watts, *Psalm and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative*, JSOTSup, no. 139 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 145-154 (on Dan 2:20-23); G.T.M. Prinsloo, "Two Poems in a Sea of Prose: The Content and Context of Daniel 2.20-23 and 6.27-28," *JSOT* 59 (1993): 93-108; P. M. Venter, "The Function of Poetic Speech in the Narrative in Daniel 2," *HvTSt* 49 (1993): 1009-1020; Stanislav Segert, "Poetic Structures in the Hebrew Sections of the Book of Daniel," in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, ed. Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, and M. Sokoloff (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 261-275; Géza G. Xeravits, "Poetic Passages in the Aramaic Part of the Book of Daniel," *BN* 124 (2005): 29-40. Bayer's attempt to present the whole book of Daniel in rhythmic structure of strophe and anti-strophe has failed (Edmund Bayer, *Danielstudien*, ATA, vol. 3, pt. 5 [Münster: Aschendorf,

editions of the Hebrew Bible in which no portion of these verse is typographically marked as poetic.[1] There are only a few exceptions. Ewald lists vs. 11 among passages that "exhibit a purely poetic style of speech,"[2] Zöckler attributes poetic character to vs. 13c because of the lack of article and the lack of conjunctions,[3] and Meinhold believes that עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in vs. 14b without an article indicates poetic briefness.[4] It is clear, however, that Dan 8:9-14 has never been systematically analyzed in regard to poetic features. This deficiency needs to be addressed. Another reason to investigate the style of Dan 8:9-14 in view of poetry is that other vision reports and angelic explanations in Daniel display a shift from prose to poetry, usually at their high point. One may therefore suspect that a similar shift from prose to poetry may occur in the vision report and audition in 8:3-14. Last but not least, poetic style indicates authorial intention and is an effective vehicle for highlighting the message. As K. Koch stated, "To recognize the poetic character is therefore of importance when it comes to the intention of the authors."[5]

To anticipate the conclusion, on close scrutiny Dan 8:11 exhibits a number of poetic features that in turn accentuate the specific function of this verse at the end of the

---

1912], 107-182), for his study lacks a theoretical framework and is based solely on the supposed content of the different lines, giving no reasons why texts should be strophic or anti-strophic. He considers 8:11-12 as anti-strophe to 8:9-10, and 8:14 as anti-strophe to 8:13.

[1]The Leningrad Codex does not help since there the poetic texts in Daniel have not been marked graphically.

[2]Ewald, *Syntax*, 129-130 (§295c).

[3]Zöckler, 177.

[4]Meinhold, "Daniel," 309.

[5]Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, 81.

vision report. Realizing the poetic-like style of vs. 11, one can appreciate the full rhetorical force of this text.

Concept of Biblical Hebrew Poetry

Before directing attention to Dan 8:9-14, basic methodological considerations about BH poetry, or BH verse, need to be kept in mind. It is not always easy to distinguish poetry from prose. In fact, there is no consensus on what exactly constitutes BH poetry, though the dominant features of parallelism, rhythm (meter), and other stylistic elements are well recognized. Hence, without entering the debate over the nature of BH poetry in depth, the relation between poetry and prose needs to be clarified and the possible poetic features determined.[1]

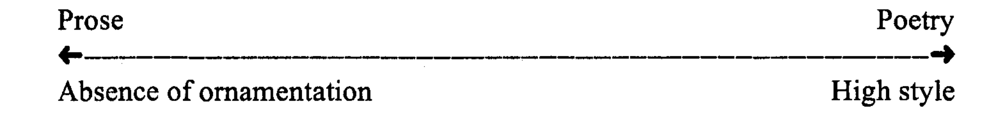
The reality is that "poetry is notoriously difficult to define."[2] Furthermore, in addition to the extremes of highly poetic language and language almost completely lacking in poetic features, there are often cases in which features of prose and features of

---

[1]Recent overviews of the current discussion, the different theories, and the diverse approaches to BH poetry include: David L. Petersen and Kent Harold Richards, *Interpreting Hebrew Poetry*, Guides to Biblical Scholarship (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), esp. 6-19; S. E. Gillingham, *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible*, OBS (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Lawrence Boadt, "Reflections on the Study of Hebrew Poetry Today," *Concordia Journal* 24 (1998): 156-163; David M. Howard, Jr., "Recent Trends in Psalms Study," in *The Face of Old Testament Studies: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches*, ed. D. W. Baker and B. T. Arnold (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999), 344-355; and especially J. Kenneth Kuntz, "Biblical Hebrew Poetry in Recent Research, Part I," *CuRBS* 6 (1998): 31-64; and idem, "Biblical Hebrew Poetry in Recent Research, Part II," *CuRBS* 7 (1999): 35-79. For literary-poetic techniques see Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*; idem, *Traditional Techniques in Classical Hebrew Verse*. On poetic style see Luis Alonso Schökel, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics*, SubBi, no. 11 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1988). Written for the more uninitiated reader, but nevertheless a proficient treatment of the issues involved in the study of BH poetry is J. P. Fokkelman, *Reading Biblical Poetry: An Introductory Guide*, trans. Ineke Smit (Louisville: Westminster, 2001).

[2]Adele Berlin, *Biblical Poetry through Medieval Jewish Eyes*, ISBL (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 7.

poetry overlap, so that a precise distinction between prose and poetry is difficult. This has led to skepticism regarding the validity of the poetry-prose dichotomy. In the old view of polarization, prose and poetry are two totally separate categories, and any text could be rigidly divided into poetry or prose. It has become increasingly clear that such a distinction cannot do justice to the wide variety of biblical styles. Rather there is a poetry-prose continuum with a gradual fade-over of the two categories in the middle ground where biblical poetry and prose are overlapping categories:[1]



A continuum of styles from highly structured, ornamental language (maximum) to an absence of ornamentation (minimum) does not abandon the distinction between poetry and prose, since the difference between the two is frequently clear.[2] Such a concept

---

[1]It is safe to say that the concept of a poetry-prose continuum has not only found many adherents, but indeed is the current prevalent theory. The continuum concept has been forcefully suggested by James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 69-95, though Kugel puts aside the use of the labels "poetry" and "prose" and instead speaks of elevated language with a relative concentration of heightening factors ("high style" or "heightened language") and language in which such factors are relatively absent ("low style" or "unheightened language"). Kugel has been basically followed, with some variation, e.g., by Patrick D. Miller, Jr., "Meter, Parallelism, and Tropes: The Search for Poetic Style," *JSOT* 28 (1984): 99-106 (with an illustration similar to mine on p. 106); Adele Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 5; Petersen and Richards, 28; Gillingham, 36, 43; J. P. Fokkelman, *Reading Biblical Narrative: An Introductory Guide* (Louisville: Westminster, 1999), 174; David Noel Freedman and Jeffrey C. Geoghegan, "Quantitative Measurement in Biblical Hebrew Poetry," in *Ki Baruch Hu: Ancient Near Easter, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine*, ed. R. Chazan, W. W. Hallo, and L. H. Schiffman (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 229-230. A brief outline of the issues in the poetry-prose relation is presented by Kuntz, "Biblical Hebrew Poetry in Recent Research, Part I," 55-57.

[2]Petersen and Richards, 13-14, 28; so also James L. Kugel, "Some Thoughts on Future Research into Biblical Style: Addenda to *The Idea of Biblical Poetry*," *JSOT* 28 (1984): 107-117.

points out that the extremes at either end are easily distinguished, but also that there are texts that have an intermediate status, exhibiting features found on both sides. For such texts the distinction between poetry and prose is not always easy, and perhaps should not be drawn altogether.

The question as to what, exactly, poetic elements are is closely related to the debate over the poetry-prose relation. In recent years it has become evident that there is no single key characteristic by which biblical poetry may be identified. As a matter of fact, poetic features are not restricted to poetic texts. However, the more that these features are present in combination or used with greater intensity within a biblical text, the more likely it is that this text may be classified as poetry. A poetic text is then present when different poetic elements form "a complex of heightening effects."[1]

So, what are the different poetic features? There are various lists of poetic elements. Inasmuch as they often describe the same features in more or less detail, they do not differ too much from one another. For instance, Watson specified nineteen poetic indicators divided into four groups: *broad features*: (1) presence of established line-forms, (2) ellipsis, especially verb-gapping, (3) unusual vocabulary, (4) conciseness, (5) unusual word-order, (6) archaisms, (7) use of meter and rhythm, (8) regularity and symmetry; *structural features*: (9) parallelism in various forms, (10) word pairs, (11)

[1]Kugel believes that "what is called biblical 'poetry' is a complex of heightening effects used in combinations and intensities that vary widely from composition to composition even within a single 'genre'" (*The Idea of Biblical Poetry*, 94). In regard to parallelism, rhythm, and style, Petersen and Richards remark "that all three of these features occur prominently in poetry, though in a more intense, denser, or more compact way than they do in prose. Neither rhythm/meter, parallelism, nor other poetic techniques can, in and of themselves, serve as a hallmark for identifying poetic expression" (14).

chiastic patterns, (12) envelope figure, (13) break-up of stereotyped phrases, (14) repetition in various forms, (15) gender-matched parallelism, (16) tricolon; *other features*: (17) rhyme, (18) other sound patterns; and the *negative feature* of (19) absence/rarity of prose elements.[1] According to an introductory list by A. Berlin, the basic features of BH poetry are terseness, parallelism, rhythm, repetition and patterning, imagery, figures of speech, motifs and themes, the infrequent recourse to such particles as the definite article ה, the direct object marker את, and the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר, as well as BH poetry's reluctance to establish explicit connections between lines (consecutive *waw* is rarely used).[2] P. D. Miller's list of BH poetic indicators includes terseness, ellipsis (particularly of the so-called prose particles), balance or symmetry, parallelism, word pairs, line length, rhythm, figuration, the syntactic features of less predictable tense sequences and word order, parataxis, fronting, and the tendency for decontextualization.[3] Though there are other lists, these three shall suffice.[4] Poetic features then cover aspects of phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics. Having sketched the conceptual background for BH poetry, I can proceed to the poetic analysis of Dan 8:9-14.

---

[1]Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 46-54.

[2]Adele Berlin, "Introduction to Hebrew Poetry," *NIB*, 4:301-315.

[3]Patrick D. Miller, "The Theological Significance of Biblical Poetry," in *Language, Theology, and the Bible: Essays in Honour of James Barr*, ed. S. E. Balentine and J. Barton (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 213-230.

[4]For example, see the 12 particular characteristics of Hebrew verse listed by Gillingham (23-28). For an overview of the various answers given to the question "How does biblical poetry and prose differ?" see Kuntz, "Biblical Hebrew Poetry in Recent Research, Part II," 44-47.

Poetic Analysis of Daniel 8:9-14

The first task is to identify any poetic features present in Dan 8:9-14. Table 20 shows the results of a rhythm count of Dan 8:9-14.[1] The syllables,[2] words, units,[3] and accentual units[4] per syntactic line are counted to examine if they could coincide anywhere

---

[1]The position that "Hebrew poetry possesses rhythm, not meter" (Petersen and Richards, 47), and therefore one should speak of rhythmic patterns instead of metrical patterns, is gaining more and more adherents (see Alonso Schökel, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics*, 34-47). Note should especially be taken of Donald R. Vance (*The Question of Meter in Biblical Hebrew Poetry*, Studies in Bible and Early Christianity, no. 46 [Lewiston: Mellen, 2001]), who in an extensive and comparative study of the question of meter in the alphabetic acrostic poems in the Hebrew Bible comes to the conclusion that "the poetry of the Hebrew Bible does not contain meter," although it possesses rhythm (496-497).

[2]The counting of pre-Masoretic syllables follows the system established by D. N. Freedman (Prolegomenon to *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, by George Buchanan Gray [N.p.: Ktav, 1915; reprint 1972], xxxii, xxxv [page citations are to the reprint edition]; cf. Howard, *The Structure of Psalms 93-100*, 28-30) and refined by J. P. Fokkelman (*Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible: At the Interface of Prosody and Structural Analysis*, vol. 2, *85 Psalms and Job 4-14*, SSN, no. [41] [Assen: Van Gorcum, 2000], 13-17). The pre-Masoretic syllable count of Dan 8:9-14 takes the following into consideration: the masculine singular segholates are reduced to monosyllables (קֶרֶן in vs. 9a, נֶגֶב and יֶתֶר in vs. 9b, פֶּשַׁע in vss. 12a and 13c, קֹדֶשׁ in 13c and 14c, and עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר in vs. 14b), and resolved diphthongs are counted as one syllable (הַשָּׁמַיִם in vs. 10a and אַלְפַּיִם in vs. 14b). The syllable count includes the conjunctive *waw* at the beginning of each line, while sometimes such a *waw* is not counted (so Frank Moore Cross, Jr., and David Noel Freedman, *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry*, SBLDS, no. 21 [Missoula: Scholars, 1975], 126-127; and Stephen A. Geller, *Parallelism in Early Biblical Poetry*, HSM, no. 20 [Missoula: Scholars, 1979], 46). Since in Dan 8:9-14 the conjunction *waw* occurs regularly at the beginning of a clause, as either consecutive or conjunctive, except for the start of direct speech in vs. 13c and vs. 14b, the *waw* should be regarded as original. With regard to the possibility that vs. 11 is poetic it should be noted that each line starts with a conjunctive *waw*, so that its inclusion or elimination does not change the syllable symmetry.

[3]The counting of units follows O'Connor's syntactic approach to BH poetry: M. O'Connor, *Hebrew Verse Structure* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1980); reissued with the essay "The Contours of Biblical Hebrew Verse: An Afterword to *Hebrew Verse Structure*" in 1997; cf. William L. Holladay, *Hebrew Verse Structure* Revisited (I): Which Words 'Count'?" *JBL* 118 (1999): 19-32. Regarding the possibility that vs. 11 is poetic, it should be noted that according to O'Connor's system of analysis the biconsonantal preposition עַד in vs. 11a does not count as a unit, whereas the two nouns שַׂר and הַצָּבָא in vs. 11a count as two units, because the *maqqēf* does not play a role in his analysis.

[4]The method of counting stresses or accentual units that is used here is to assign one stress to every content word, regardless of length (cf. Howard, *The Structure of Psalms 93-100*, 31). Secondary accents are not counted as stress or metric accent, e.g., in וּמִמֶּנּוּ (vs. 11b), and two words joined by *maqqēf* form a single tone unit, e.g., שַׂר־הַצָּבָא (vs. 11a) receives only one stress.

with rhythms typical of poetic cola.[1]

Table 20. Rhythm Count of Daniel 8:9-14

Verse	Syllables pre-MT (MT)	Words	Units	Accentual Units
9a	16 (17)	7	6	5
9b	17 (19)	8	5	4
10a	9 (10)	4	3	3
10b	15 (15)	6	4	4
10c	4 (4)	1	1	1
11a	8 (8)	4	3	3
11b	9 (9)	3	3	3
11c	8 (8)	3	3	3
12a	12 (13)	5	4	4
12b	7 (7)	3	3	3
12c	4 (4)	1	1	1
12d	4 (4)	1	1	1
13a	11 (11)	4	4	3
13b	15 (15)	5	5	5
13c	22 (24)	10	9	9
14a	5 (5)	2	2	2
14b	10 (13)	6	5	6
14c	4 (5)	2	2	2

Of all the verses and units of direct speech, only vs. 11 shows a rhythmic structure, its three lines forming a tricolon. However, if the syntactic unit of a clause is not considered to be the norm for a colon, the following alternative counts could be suggested for vss. 9a (divided after מֵהֶם), 12c-d (taken together), 13c (divided after הֶחָזוֹן

[1]The colon is a single line of poetry. As such, the terms "line" and "colon" are used interchangeably.

and after תֵּת), and 14b (divided after בֹּקֶר)[1] (see table 21).

Table 21. Alternative Rhythm Count of Daniel 8:9-14

Verse	Syllables pre-MT (MT)	Words	Units	Accentual Units
9a1	7 (7)	3	2	2
9a2	9 (10)	4	4	3
9b	17 (19)	8	5	4
10a	9 (10)	4	3	3
10b	15 (15)	6	4	4
10c	4 (4)	1	1	1
11a	8 (8)	4	3	3
11b	9 (9)	3	3	3
11c	8 (8)	3	3	3
12a	12 (13)	5	4	4
12b	7 (7)	3	3	3
12c-d	8 (8)	2	2	2
13a	11 (11)	4	4	3
13b	15 (15)	5	5	5
13c1	6 (6)	3	3	3
13c2	9 (10)	4	3	3
13c3	7 (8)	3	3	3
14a	5 (5)	2	2	2
14b1	3 (5)	3	2	3
14b2	7 (8)	3	3	3
14c	4 (5)	2	2	2

According to the alternative analysis not only vs. 11 shows rhythmic features but also vss. 13c, 14b.c, and vs. 12 (with an overlong vs. 12a) seem to have symmetrical

[1]The suggestion to divide the syntactic lines in vss. 9a, 13c, and 14b at the indicated places is based on Masoretic accentuation (except for the first division in 13c which was placed syntactically; the accentuation divides after הַתָּמִיד) and symmetrical considerations. The latter one is also the reason to take vs. 12c and 12d together.

features, all forming tricola. The major number of (accentual) units per line is then 3.

Verse 11 is particularly striking, presenting itself as a tricolon.[1] First, the syllable count results in a symmetrical 8 + 9 + 8 pattern (syllables per word: 2.1.3.2 / 4.2.3 / 3.2.3).[2] To speak of concentric regularity may stretch the minimal evidence provided by just one tricolon. It is, however, interesting to see that the length of the three lines in vs. 11 concurs exactly with the average length of cola in BH poetry, which is about 8 syllables.[3] Second, the word and unit count (4 + 3 + 3) as well as the stress/accent count (3 + 3 + 3) is symmetrical, too.[4] This again corresponds to the major BH poetic unit,

---

[1]Interestingly, Lucas refers in passing to vs. 11 as "tricola [*sic*]" (*Daniel*, 217), but he does not explore this any further nor does he engage in any poetic analysis.

[2]Asymmetry in syllables exists between lines that exhibit an imbalance of two or more syllables (Geller, *Parallelism*, 371-372). Daniel 8:11 can therefore be considered as symmetrical since the difference in the number of syllables per line is only one.

[3]Already Freedman argued that the average BH colon consists of about 8 syllables. Howard observes a "'normal' syllable count for the line, in the range of 7-8 syllables," in Psalms 93-100 which establishes a pattern of roughly 8 syllables and 3 stresses (*The Structure of Psalms 93-100*, 31). A major study in this respect has been undertaken by Fokkelman. On the basis of full syllable counts for 85 psalms and Job 4-14, Fokkelman comes to the conclusion that the BH poets themselves did most assuredly count syllables (*Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible*, 2:383; and idem, *Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible: At the Interface of Prosody and Structural Analysis*, vol. 3, *The Remaining 65 Psalms*, SSN, no. [43] [Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003], 325-327; whereas earlier Freedman held that syllable count is merely descriptive of the phenomena [Freedman, prolegomenon to *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, xxxii]). Of the cola in all 150 Psalms, 65.1% are seven, eight, or nine syllables long, with eight being the central norm figure (*Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible*, 2:383 and 3:326 [cf. the matrix of frequency of colon lengths per Psalm in 3:412-416]; *Reading Biblical Poetry*, 47-49). Fokkelman therefore maintains that "*the numbers 7–8–9 are . . . essential, and demonstrate that the colon is the fundamental building block of Hebrew prosody*" (ibid., 47 [emphasis his]). A preliminary analysis of the book of Proverbs shows that the average number of syllables per colon is 8.019, which "confirms the honorary title rightly granted to the number 8: the central norm figure for the prosody in classical Hebrew poetry" (*Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible*, 3:16).

[4]A schematic representation of the scansion indicating syllables ("o") and stress (accents) of vs. 11 is the following:

11a oó o-ooó oó
11b ooóo oó ooó
11c ooó oó ooó.

word, or stress number per colon, which is 2 or 3. In comparison with other poetic passages in the book of Daniel, the stress pattern 3 + 3 + 3 of Dan 8:11 is not unusual.[1] In the poetic passage in the same chapter, that is, Dan 8:23-26, the predominant stress number per colon is 3.[2] And third, the fact that Dan 8:11 is a tricolon in which each syntactic clause coincides with a poetic colon (vs. 11a, 11b, 11c) strengthens its poetic characteristic.[3] The use of tricola is quite common in BH poetry, though bicola occur more often, certainly because of the extensive use of parallelism.[4] Indeed, one of the poetic features listed by Watson and also by Gillingham is the use of tricola.[5] Furthermore the specific tricolon in Dan 8:11 is not exceptional since there are also other tricola of the accentual unit type 3 + 3 + 3 in Daniel: in the Hebrew parts in 9:24c; 12:1a, 12:1b; and in the Aramaic part in 2:20, 22; 4:8, 9b, 21, 24b.[6]

---

[1]According to Bentzen, who offers an accent count for the poetic passages in Daniel, the number of accents per line that occurs most in Daniel is 3 (passim).

[2]Bentzen presents the following number of accents for Dan 8:23-26: 23: 2 + 2, 3 + 2; 24: 2 + 2, 2 + 2; 25: 3 + 3, 2 + 3, 3 + 3; 26: 3 + 3, 3 + 3 (67). However, he deletes וְלֹא בְכֹחוֹ from vs. 24 and counts וְעַם־קְדֹשִׁים at the end of vs. 24 to vs. 25 (60). Applying the method of alternation prosody, that is, stressed and unstressed syllables alternated regularly without regard for natural word stress, Segert observes that in the vision in 8:23-26 "the most frequent prosodic features are bicola with three accented syllables, alternating with unstressed syllables in each colon" ("Poetic Structures," 267).

[3]Segert notes that "the coincidence of prose units—cola and combinations of cola (= poetic verses)—with syntactic units is the most objective criterion of poetry and is the first test to be applied to a passage" (ibid., 273).

[4]Of 2,695 verses in all the Psalms, Fokkelman identifies 346 as tricola (12.8%), 2,329 as bicola (86.4%), and 20 as monocola (0.7%) (*Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible*, 3:417-421; a slightly revised list of the one published in 2:522-525; the number of 2,795 verses in the Psalms given in *Reading Biblical Poetry*, 233 n. 4, is a mistake).

[5]Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 53; Gillingham, 27.

[6]Bentzen, 23, 39, 73, 77.

In summary then, vs. 11 clearly has the poetic characteristic of rhythm. Verses 12, 13c, and 14b.c do not show such a clear rhythmic feature.

Poetic features also include devices involving sound. Possible sound devices can be detected in vs. 9b/10a, vs. 12b-d, vs. 14c, and clearly in vs. 11. The use of צְבִי (vs. 9b) followed by the construct צְבָא (vs. 10a) after two intervening words could constitute a play of sound.[1] The three clauses in vs. 12b-d—in fact, three successive words (אַרְצָה, וְעָשְׂתָה, and וְהִצְלִיחָה)—end with the sound ָה-, which could be an intentional rhyme. The two words in vs. 14c, וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ, display a chiastic sound pattern that exists between their roots: צדק / קדשׁ.

Daniel 8:11 exhibits a number of clear instances of alliteration and assonance. In 11a.b.c the letter ה occurs five times at the beginning of a word (out of 10 words). In 11b.c the letter מ occurs three times at the beginning of a word (out of 6 words). The six words in 11b and 11c show an alliterative pattern of ה- and מ-sounds at their beginning: מ-ה-ה // ה-מ-מ. Some minor play on sounds that still create cohesion includes the following: The last vowel of the final two words in 11b (הֵרִים and הַתָּמִיד) is a long /i/-sound (ִי-), whereas the last vowel of the final two words in 11c (מְכוֹן and מִקְדָּשׁוֹ) is the long /o/-sound (וֹ). In 11c each word contains a /k/-sound (כ and ק), which is then the dominant in-word sound. The last two words in 11c start with the similar double sound -

[1]The assonance/alliteration between צְבִי (vs. 9b) and צְבָא (vs. 10a) is observed by Hitzig, 131; Kranichfeld, 293; Zöckler, 175; Meinhold, "Daniel," 308; Prince, *Daniel*, 241; Goettsberger, 61; Stahl, *Weltengagement*, 173.

מק-/מכ.[1] Also the sound combination of the first and second syllable in the last word in 11a (-גְד- in הִגְדִּיל) and in 11c (-קְד- in מִקְדָּשׁוֹ) is alike. On the whole, the high density of sound patterns in vs. 11 suggests that the nature of the three lines of this verse is poetic rather than prose.

Another feature that places a text closer to the poetic end of the poetry-prose continuum is the tendency to omit the definite article -ה (i.e., the consonantal article, not the vowel article under an inseparable preposition), the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר, and the particle את, which have been called the "prose particles" by Andersen and Forbes.[2] Sometimes the consecutive *waw* is included. Of these the most prosaic particle is את, whereas the article is relatively the least prosaic, while אֲשֶׁר comes in between.[3] However, Segert finds these particles "significantly represented in postexilic poetry" and thus suggests that they "cannot serve as criteria to distinguish it [BH poetry] from prose."[4] The best way to determine whether the prose particles have any value in determining the

---

[1]It is of course clear that כ and ק need to be distinguished since they belong to different phonetic groups, כ being a palatal and ק being a velar. Nevertheless, the similarity of the sound pattern with the previous letter מ could indicate a play on sound.

[2]Francis I. Andersen and A. Dean Forbes, "'Prose Particles' Counts of the Hebrew Bible," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. C. L. Meyers and M. O'Connor, ASOR Special Volume Series, no. 1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 165-183. The absence of prose elements has also been listed as poetic feature by Watson (*Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 54), Gillingham (23), Miller ("Biblical Poetry," 216), and Berlin ("Introduction to Hebrew Poetry," 303).

[3]See also Freedman and Geoghegan, 231-232.

[4]Segert, "Poetic Structures," 265, 272. Segert's questioning of the applicability of prose particle counts for late Biblical Hebrew seems to be supported by the fact that, according to Andersen and Forbes ("'Prose Particle' Counts," 177, 179), Dan 11 receives a score of 7.692% (47 out of 611 words are prose particles), which would make that chapter squarely poetic (close to some Psalms and to poetic chapters in prophetic books), which, however, is not the case when other poetic features are considered.

prosaic or poetic character of Dan 8:9-14 is to analyze the text accordingly.[1]

There is no occurrence of the direct object marker את in Dan 8:9-14, though there are two direct objects in vss. 11b (הַתָּמִיד) and 12b (אֱמֶת).[2] A short analysis of the direct objects in Dan 8 proves to be interesting. Direct objects occur thirteen times in Dan 8. Seven times they are preceded by the object marker את (vss. 4, 7 [2x], 15, 16, 19, 27), all in prose language. Six times the direct object stands without the object marker את: four times clearly in poetry (vss. 24, 25 [2x], 26), and then once in vs. 11b and once in vs. 12b. Before arguing that there is an indication of poetry here, it is important to know that whenever אֱמֶת is the direct object it is never preceded by the object marker, either in poetry or in prose.[3] The omission of את before אֱמֶת in Dan 8:12b is therefore not unusual and has no bearing at all on identifying the style of language. Likewise, it can be argued that the direct object הַתָּמִיד in the apparently prose Dan 11:31 is not preceded by את

---

[1]Andersen and Forbes counted the three prose particles—definite article, relative pronoun, and direct object marker—for every chapter of the Hebrew Bible and concluded that in general, chapters with a score of less than 5% for these particles are wisdom, lyrical poetry, and oracular prophecy, most chapters with a score of 5-10% are poetic, chapters with a score of 10-20% are mixed, and chapters above 20% are prose. For Dan 8 they counted 6 relative pronouns, 57 articles, 7 direct object markers out of 383 words. The score of the three particles is then 18.277% which would suggest that Dan 8 is mixed in character, but closer to prose than to poetry (ibid., 177). If the same count is limited to Dan 8:9-14 the results are 14 articles (no relative pronouns or direct object markers) out of 75 words, that is, a score of 18.667% (for Dan 8:11-14 only the score is 14.286%, that is, 7 of 49 words). For the poetic sections of the Hebrew parts of Daniel such a prose particle count results in a score of 7.692% for 8:23-26 (4 out of 52 words), 7.292% for 9:24-27 (7 out of 96 words), and 22% for 12:1-3 (11 out of 50 words).

[2]These two cases should be added to Hoftijzer's statistical analysis of objective complements without את in Dan 8. J. Hoftijzer, "Remarks Concerning the Use of the Particle ᵓt in Classical Hebrew," in כה*: 1940–1965*, ed. P.A.H. de Boer, OtSt, no. 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 78.

[3]Gen 24:27, 49; 32:11 (as direct object of the following relative clause); 47:29; Josh 2:14; 2 Sam 2:6; Ezek 18:9; Mic 7:20; Zech 8:16 (2x), 19; Pss 30:10; 40:11; 51:8; 57:4; 61:8; 146:6; Neh 9:33; 2 Chr 31:20.

either, and so the absence of את before הַתָּמִיד in Dan 8:11b does not necessarily indicate poetry.[1]

The relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר does not occur in Dan 8:9-14. However, there is no place where it has been omitted and so its absence cannot function as an indicator of poetry.

The definite article occurs at expected places in the text. There are only three instances where one could argue for an omission of the article. However, they can be interpreted on grounds other than identification as poetic feature. In the first case, the subject צָבָא in vs. 12a has no article, though a host was mentioned before. As put forth in the syntactic analysis, the indefiniteness of the host in vs. 12a implies that this host is different from the host in vss. 10 and 11a. In the second case, the indefiniteness of אֱמֶת (vs. 12b) does not pose any problem since this noun is frequently indefinite in the Hebrew Bible. And in the third case, the indefiniteness of קֹדֶשׁ points to the encompassing dimension of the term. Thus, the lack of the definite article with these words does not constitute a poetic feature, although the possibility of a poetic indication cannot be ruled out per se.

In addition to the so-called "prose particles," the directional ה-ending has been identified as a prose indicator by Hoftijzer. He observes that in Dan 8 the directional ה occurs seven times (with יָם "sea," צָפוֹן "north," and נֶגֶב "south" in 8:4, and with אֶרֶץ

[1]Hoftijzer observes that in the book of Daniel the density of את in chaps. 1:1-2:4a, 8, and 10 is in agreement with the findings in narrative material and in chaps. 9, 11, and 12 is similar to that of poetic material ("Particle ʾt," 79). In general, Hoftijzer is correct, but he fails to distinguish between different parts within a chapter, for example, between the poetic Dan 8:23-26 and the rest of chap. 8.

"earth" in 8:7, 10, 12, 18), whereas there are no *zero*-instances. Such a use of directional ה "is completely in agreement with what is found in prose texts and in contradiction with the poetic material."[1] Again, vss. 11, 13, and 14 show no tendency since they contain neither a directional ה nor a *zero*-instance. Thus, the absence of prose particles cannot be regarded as an indicator of prose language in verse 11.

However, there is another prose indicator. Verbal forms with *waw* consecutive (*wayyiqtol* and *w^e qatal*) can function as indicators of the style of language. All ninety-eight occurrences of the *wayyiqtol* in the Hebrew parts of Daniel are in prose texts. There is no single occurrence of a *wayyiqtol* in the poetic parts. The *wayyiqtol* can therefore be regarded as an unambiguous indicator of prose material. For Dan 8:9-14 this means that the clauses in vss. 9, 10, 13a.b, and 14a are clearly prose. The presence of three *wayyiqtol* forms in the three clauses in vs. 10 and their absence in the three clauses in vs. 11 is one of the most decisive factors to distinguish the style in vs. 10, which is narrative prose, from the more elevated style in vs. 11. The *w^e qatal* form occurs seventy-seven times in the Hebrew parts of Daniel, with the exception of two cases (8:4), always in direct speech. Since the syntax of direct speech often reflects a certain correspondence with poetry, it is not surprising that *w^e qatal* forms do occur in poetic sections (8:24 [4x], 25; 9:25, 27; 12:1). Hence, the *w^e qatal* forms in 8:12c.d and 14c do not preclude a poetic style of these clauses.

Table 22 displays the number of instances of "nonpoetic" particles and of

---

[1]J. Hoftijzer, *A Search for Method: A Study in the Syntactic Use of the* H-*Locale in Classical Hebrew*, Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, no. 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 184-185.

wayyiqtol and w^{e}*qatal* forms in the different verses of 8:9-14, in the poetic parts of 8:23-26, 9:24-27, and 12:1-3, and in the Hebrew parts of Daniel (1:1–2:4a; 8–12). From such a statistical comparison it is clear that vss. 9, 10, 13a.b, and 14a are certainly prose, whereas vss. 11, 12, 13c, and 14b.c exhibit only a minimal number of prose particles. These verses could be in poetic style. In the end, it appears that Segert's observation that prose particles do not help in identifying poetry or prose in the book of Daniel has to be qualified. It is true that the relative absence of prose particles in Daniel does not clearly identify a poetic section. However, the relative density of prose particles still indicates the prose character of a text.

Table 22. Nonpoetic Particle and *wayyiqtol/*w^{e}*qatal* Count in the Hebrew Parts of Daniel

	8:9-14								8:23-26 poetic	9:24-27 poetic	12:1-3 poetic	1:1–2:4 & 8–12
	9	10	11	12	13 a.b	13 c	14 a	14 b.c				
את	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	40
אֲשֶׁר	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	47
-ה	4	3	2	1	1	3	–	–	3	7	10	237
הָ-	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9
wayyiqtol	1	3	–	–	2	–	1	–	–	–	–	98
w^{e}*qatal*	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	1	5	2	1	77

There are two words in Dan 8:9-14 that are used in the Hebrew Bible predominantly in poetry. The first is מָכוֹן (Dan 8:11c) that occurs elsewhere eight times in poetry (Exod 15:17, 1 Kgs 8:13=2 Chr 6:2; Pss 33:14; 89:15; 97:2; 104:5, Isa 18:4)

and eight times in prose (1 Kgs 8:39, 43, 49=2 Chr 6:30, 6:33, 6:39; Isa 4:5[1]; Ezra 2:68). If the eight references in the parallel texts of 1 Kgs 8 and 2 Chr 6 are only counted as four, it is understandable why for Driver מָכוֹן is a "chiefly poetical" word.[2] The second word is the noun מִרְמָס (Dan 8:13c), which is elsewhere used five times in poetry (Isa 5:5; 7:25; 10:6; 28:18; Mic 7:10) and only once in prose (Ezek 34:19).[3] One should be careful not to deduce too much from these two words. Yet, they do provide additional support for the more poetic nature of vss. 11c and 13c.

Clear instances of syntactic or semantic parallelism, that is, "repetition of similar or related semantic content or grammatical structure in adjacent lines or verses,"[4] are not found in Dan 8:9-14. At the most, vs. 11b and 11c could work on Kugel's "A, what's more, B" pattern. Since parallelism is one of the dominant features of biblical poetry, its relative absence in Dan 8:9-14 appears to be a major weakness of the suggestion that Dan 8:11 may be poetic. However, as Segert pointed out, in contrast to preexilic prosody "syntactic and semantic cohesion, expressed most obviously by parallelism, is considerably weakened in postexilic poetry,"[5] and thus becomes a decreasing factor in identifying poetic language.

---

[1]Of the more recent commentators only John D. W. Watts considers Isa 4:2-6 to be poetry (*Isaiah 1-33*, WBC, vol. 24 [Waco: Word, 1985], 47-49).

[2]Driver, *Daniel*, 117; followed by Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 176.

[3]One is tempted to add the nominal use of the absolute and indeterminate קֹדֶשׁ (Dan 8:13c, 14c) since such a form occurs elsewhere only in Ps 134:2. However, a single instance of comparison cannot provide enough evidence to decide whether קֹדֶשׁ reflects poetic usage or not.

[4]Berlin, "Introduction to Hebrew Poetry," 304.

[5]Segert, "Poetic Structures," 263.

Variation in word order may be typical for poetry.[1] Again, vs. 11 attracts attention. The verb occurs at the end in vs. 11a, in the middle in vs. 11b, and in clause-initial position in vs. 11c. Thus, the verb moves from the third position (vs. 11a), to the second (vs. 11b), and then to the first position (vs. 11c). Hence, the verb position forms a nice pattern if vs. 11 is a tricolon.

Further below, I suggest that the sudden occurrence of masculine gender of the verbs in 11a and 11b, which appear to have the feminine horn as the subject, could serve as another indicator for a switch from prose to more elevated language. The masculine gender in vs. 11 would then corresponds to the (grammatically correct) masculine gender in the poetic text in vss. 23-26.

Finally, the position of vs. 11 at the end of the vision report suggests by analogy to the position of the other poetic parts in the second half of Daniel, that 8:11 could be of poetic nature. Shifts from prose to poetry are attested at the high points of the visions and epiphanies in Dan 7-12. In BA such a phenomenon appears in the vision of 7:2-14 (7:9-10, 13-14) and its angelic interpretation (7:23-27). In BH one finds climactic poetry at the end of the angelic interpretation in chap. 8 (8:23-26), and at the end of the angelic discourses in chap. 9 (9:24-27) and in chaps. 11 and 12 (12:1-3). Since 8:11 is the conclusion of the vision report, the poetic character of this verse, perhaps even of the following audition in vss. 12-14, fits into such a prose-poetry pattern.[2]

---

[1]Gillingham, 24; Miller, "Biblical Poetry," 222-223.

[2]In like manner, Segert argues in regard to Dan 12:1-3: "Though there are relatively few poetic features in 12:1-3 . . . the function of this passage as the conclusion of the vision in chaps. 10-11 supports its characterization as poetry" ("Poetic Structures," 271).

To summarize, in a poetry-prose continuum most of the clauses in Dan 8:9-14 range closer to the prose end. However, vs. 11 shows a combination of several poetic features that, when taken together, make the conclusion almost inevitable that this verse is intentionally composed in poetic-style language. The correspondence of syntactic units with colon length creates a tricolon with the following poetic features: (1) rhythm as exhibited in a symmetrical syllable, word, unit, and accent count; (2) sound devices by assonance and alliteration with the letters *mem* and *he*; (3) absence of prose particles and absence of *wayyiqtol* or *w^{e}qatal* forms; (4) use of the chiefly poetic word מְכוֹן; (5) pattern of positioning the verb differently in all three lines; (6) masculine gender of the verbs in 11a and 11b matching the masculine gender of verbs in the poetic interpretation in 8:23-26; and (7) position of vs. 11 at the end and climax of the vision report in conformity with the other poetic parts in Dan 7-12 that are located at the end of a vision report (Dan 7:9-10, 13-14) or interpretation (8:23-26; 9:24-27; 12:1-3). Other parts in the passage (vs. 12, 13c, and 14b-c) also show some poetic features,[1] but they are too few to allow for any intelligent decision whether these parts are poetic or prosaic. Maybe these verses should be placed somewhere in the middle of the poetry-prose continuum.

The occurrence of a poetic inset in Dan 8:11, as well as its shortness, comprising only one verse or three lines, should not be surprising. Poetic insets in prose are not an

[1]Verse 12 shows prosodic regularity, with the exception of vs. 12a, correspondence of syntactic units with colon length creating a tricolon, assonance in endings, and a relative absence of prose particles. Verse 13c exhibits prosodic regularity and a relative absence of prose particles. And vs. 14b.c shows prosodic regularity, assonance, and a total absence of prose particles.

unusual phenomenon, and they can be very short.[1] Naturally, the shorter a poetic inset is, the more important it becomes that its poetic features can be clearly detected, as is the case for Dan 8:11.[2] The question that remains to be answered concerns the reason and function of the poetic style in vs. 11.

Function of Poetic Style in Daniel 8:11

In the book of Daniel one can find a number of poetic insets.[3] In the stories in Dan 1–6 they are interspersed throughout narrations (2:20-23; 3:31-33; 4:31b-32; 6:26/27-28) and vision reports (4:7b-9, 11-13/14a). In the visions in Dan 7–12 they are placed in vision reports (7:9-10, 13-14) and in angelic interpretations (7:23-27; 8:23-26; 9:24-27; 12:1-3). In order to determine the function of poetic language in 8:11, it is necessary to summarize the purpose and function of the other poetic parts in Daniel.

Poetry in Dan 1–6 highlights a narrative climax.[4] It is furthermore "a focusing technique to point out the main themes of the narrative."[5] The poetic parts have a

---

[1]Fokkelman observes that "the prose writers like to vary their prose with poetry at well-chosen moments. We regularly come upon a fragment of poetic art, maybe just a single verse or strophe, and sometimes even poetry of a sizable length is inserted" (*Reading Biblical Narrative*, 175).

[2]If in Dan 8 the distinction between prose in vs. 10 and poetry in vs. 11 seems for some not that obvious, a further remark by Fokkelman could be helpful: "It also regularly happens that the language used by the writer condenses during narration, somehow becomes more compact, and suddenly proves capable of being scanned" (ibid., 175).

[3]Koch speaks of "poetic interspersions" (*poetische Einsprengsel*) and even claims that "it belongs apparently to the apocalyptic genre that hymnic parts in elevated language are interspersed at significant places" (*Das Buch Daniel*, 81).

[4]Cf. ibid. After analyzing the poems in Dan 2:20-23 and 6:27-28, Prinsloo concludes that "the author of the narrative uses poetry exactly at the crucial stages in his story, either to slow the pace or underline the message, but always to catch the attention" (107).

[5]Venter, 1009.

theocentric perspective, emphasizing God's power and control. "In Daniel then, poetry is used intermittently to make explicit the book's theological message."[1]

The function of the poetic sections in the visionary part of Daniel does not seem to be different from their function in the stories. The same heightening effect and theological import of the poetic insets is evident in the visions of Dan 7–12. Segert claims that "all three allegedly poetic passages in the second part of the book of Daniel (8:23-26, 9:24-27, and 12:1-3) have the same function: they serve as the climax of the vision. In this position they attract attention by their effective, compact structuring."[2] Not only do the poetic insets in Daniel mark the climax of a symbolic or epiphany vision, they also "emphasize the most relevant messages in a vision,"[3] specifically the theme of God's control and reign, involving divine intervention and judgment (see table 23).

At first sight, the poetic character of Dan 8:11 seems to break the theocentric pattern of the poetic passages in Daniel. In spite of the fact that vs. 11 exhibits poetic features it does not mention God's power and control. Rather, on the contrary, this verse recounts the activities of the horn demonstrating its power and control. However, exactly herein could lie the reason for the use of elevated language in vs. 11. The message is underscored by its form. The horn presumptuously attributes divine prerogatives to itself

---

[1]James W. Watts, *Psalm and Story*, 170. Recently, C. L. Seow finds the poetic doxology in Dan 2:20-23 "theologically pivotal to the entire passage" ("From Mountain to Mountain: The Reign of God in Daniel 2," in *A God So Near: Essays on Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller*, ed. B. A. Strawn and N. R. Bowen [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003], 362), putting the reign of God "at the heart of the entire chapter" (373).

[2]Segert, "Poetic Structures," 265.

[3]So Segert (ibid., 274), without explicating what the most relevant messages in the different visions are.

and acts like a god. It brings heaven on earth. Such a message is pointedly draped in poetic style that is otherwise used for emphasizing God's supremacy and that in the context of 8:9-11 effectively sharpens the horn's attack on God and what belongs to him.

Table 23. Poetic Insets in the Visions and Angelic Interpretations in Daniel 7–12

Poetic Text	**7:9-10 7:13-14**	**7:23-27**	**8:11 (12, 13c, 14bc?)**	**8:23-26**	**9:24-27**	**12:1-3**
Climax of	Vision 7:2-14	Angelic interpretation 7:17-27	Vision (& audition) 8:3-11 (3-14)	Angelic interpretation 8:19-26	Angelic discourse 9:22-27	Angelic discourse 11:1-12:4
Antagonistic Power (AP)	[Horn, 7:8, 11]	Fourth beast Ten kings King (main)	Horn	King	Desolator	[North King, 11:40-45]
AP's Activity	[Violence, blasphemy]	Violence, blasphemy, desecration	Violence, blasphemy, desecration	Violence, blasphemy,	Violence, desecration	[Violence]
Affected Personage	Peoples, nations, and languages	Holy ones of the Most High	[Host of heaven, 8:10]	People of the holy ones	Your people	Your people
Celestial Personage	Ancient of days Son of man	Most High	Commander of the host	Prince of princes	Anointed one	Michael
Divine Activity	Judgment 7:9-10, 13-14	Judgment 7:26-27	[Judgment 8:14c]	Judgment 8:25f	Judgment[1] 9:27	Judgment 12:1-3
Final Activity	Divine	Divine	Horn [Divine]	Divine	Divine	Divine

[1]In 9:24-27 there is, of course, more divine activity mentioned than only divine judgment, but it is clear that all the activities are in favor of God's people.

In the case that vss. 12, 13a, and 14b-c are considered to be more poetic than prose—a possible option, yet difficult to prove (see above)—the element of divine intervention and judgment is present. The passage in Dan 8:11-14 would then fit into the theocentric pattern of Danielic poetry and in theme follows closely the poetic passages in 8:23-26 and 7:23-27.

The function of poetry in 8:11 can now be defined: (1) It indicates the climax of the vision in Dan 8; (2) catches attention, (3) heightens the tension in describing the ultimate madness of the horn, and (4) conveys a strong substantial, even theological statement: the horn exalts itself to a divine level and attempts to usurp the role of God. The thrust of the vision report, as underlined by its climax in elevated language, is to present the presumptuous usurpation of divine power and control.

Conclusion

In summary, the three lines in 8:11 should be regarded as very short, embedded poetry in the prose narrative of the vision report. From a structural perspective, vs. 11 forms the climax of the vision report. Set at such a crucial location, this verse highlights the climactic act of the horn's presumptuousness when it exalts itself to the position of the commander of the host assaulting his (high) priestly role and assuming divine status itself. The writer accentuates and charges this climax by means of poetic devices.

Gender

Gender Difficulties

The passage in Dan 8:9-12 is peculiar for its use of gender. In no other passage in

the book of Daniel is there such a density of apparent cases of gender incongruence and shifts of verbal gender. No less than five gender-related difficulties appear in these verses (there are none in vss. 13-14). In sequence of their occurrence these are: First, in vs. 9a the masculine pronominal suffix in מֵהֶם refers to a feminine antecedent, independent of whether the suffix refers to the four winds or to the four horns since both are feminine in gender. Second, in vs. 9a the feminine subject קֶרֶן־אַחַת "one horn" takes a masculine verb יָצָא. Third, in vs. 11, an unexpected transition to masculine verb forms occurs. Whereas vs. 10 exhibits feminine verbs in congruence with the feminine subject "horn," the verb הִגְדִּיל in vs. 11a is suddenly masculine without any apparent change of subject. The verbs in the following two clauses continue the masculine gender (vs. 11b-c). Of course, וְהֻשְׁלַךְ in vs. 11c, being a passive, has the regular gender in congruence with the masculine subject מְכוֹן. Fourth, in vs. 12 seemingly another transition occurs in verbal gender since feminine verbs are used without reintroducing the horn as subject. Fifth, in vs. 12a the usually masculine צָבָא is the grammatical subject of the feminine verb תִּנָּתֵן.

So far, commentators have provided some syntactic explanations for the unexpected gender in vs. 9a, but it has been difficult to provide convincing explanations for the gender shifts in vs. 11a (masculine verb) and in vs. 12a (feminine verb). It is then no wonder that Dan 8:11-12 in particular has often been regarded as a convoluted passage.[1] However, the syntactic analysis of these verses has shown that four of the

---

[1]For example, after pointing out that there are three difficulties in 8:11-12, all related to gender (our difficulties 3, 4, and 5), Prince concludes that the text is obviously corrupt and "if the Masoretic text of this passage be allowed to remain unaltered, a satisfactory translation is impossible" ("On Daniel viii. 11, 12," 203-204).

apparent difficulties can be explained satisfactorily. Let us recapitulate the essential points.

With regard to the first difficulty, the masculine plural pronominal suffix in מֵהֶם (vs. 9a) obviously replaces the feminine form, and such a replacement has to be regarded as grammatically possible. This phenomenon not only occurs frequently in the Hebrew Bible, but also in the book of Daniel itself. The masculine plural suffix appears instead of the feminine form once more beside Dan 8:9a in the Hebrew (Dan 1:5) and in five places in the Aramaic (Dan 2:33, 41, 44; 7:8, 19). In fact, because of these replacements it happens that the feminine plural pronominal suffix is never used in Daniel, either in the Hebrew or in the Aramaic.

With regard to the second difficulty, the gender incongruence between subject and verb in vs. 9a can be explained as a case where the verbal inflection is omitted when the verb precedes the subject. After the subject has been introduced (the feminine קֶרֶן), the verbal gender in vs. 9b is feminine, as expected.

With regard to the fourth and fifth difficulties, צָבָא can have the feminine gender, though extremely rarely (elsewhere only in Isa 40:2), and thus is the grammatical subject of the feminine תִּנָּתֵן. If the gender of צָבָא in Dan 8:12a is indeed feminine, then the feminine verb forms in the four clauses of vs. 12 all have this host as subject. There is no sudden recurrence of feminine forms with the unmentioned horn as subject,[1] especially in light of the fact that the last gender attributed to the horn was the masculine in vs. 11a and

[1]For Ratner, Dan 8:8, 12 in comparison with vss. 9-11 exhibits "ambiguity caused by multiple referents" (124.) Unfortunately, Ratner does not elaborate which multiple referents occur in the text and how an appropriate referent selection should be carried out.

11b and that meanwhile a new grammatical subject has been introduced in vs. 12a.

Masculine Verbal Gender in Daniel 8:11

The only gender shift that remains to be explained is the third difficulty, that is, the sudden occurrence of masculine verb forms in vs. 11a and 11b that appear to have the feminine horn as the subject. Several proposals have been made to account for the shift from feminine verbs in vs. 10 to masculine verbs in vs. 11. It is obvious that some of these suggestions involve also the other gender-related difficulties in vss. 9-12, and yet, their focus is on vs. 11.

First, in regard to vs. 11, the use of masculine verb forms instead of the feminine has been explained simply by the "tendency to ignore the feminine."[1] Such an explanation cannot satisfy for the obvious reason that the verbs in the four clauses prior to vs. 11a have been used in the correct feminine gender. Why would the "tendency to ignore the feminine" occur only in vs. 11?

Second, Buschhaus proposes that the he-goat is the subject of the masculine gender in vss. 9a and 11a.[2] This suggestion is far from convincing. For one, Buschhaus needs to revocalize יָצָא into Hiphil imperfect יֹצִא, which does not really fit the syntax or the context. More importantly, to take the he-goat as the agent of the magnification to the commander of the host in vs. 11a would disrupt the flow of the increasing magnification of the horn in the previous clauses and thus would destroy the literary magnification

[1]So Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 175, who in support of his explanation cites this general grammatical observation by Joüon (cf. Joüon and Muraoka, 552 [§150b]).

[2]Buschhaus, 28.

pattern with the keyword גדל that is applied to the ram, the he-goat, and now to the horn. It is also clear that the last occurrence of the he-goat in vs. 8a lies too far back to be understood as the subject in vs. 11a without mentioning the he-goat again.

Third, Slonim suggests as a principle that irregular gender is used intentionally to heighten the reader's attention and to mark specific passages as climax.[1] Dan 8:9a with its masculine verb is among the texts that he lists,[2] but according to his principle vss. 11 and 12 could also be included. However, Slonim overstates his case because his explanation cannot account for all passages in which gender disagreement occurs. The best advice is to treat each and every passage separately on its own terms.[3] Unless a passage is marked as particularly important or as climax by some other features, one should be extremely careful to propose that an irregular gender in the same text is used to attract the reader's attention to it.

Fourth, the explanation of the irregular gender in Dan 8:11 that has received the widest scholarly support is the suggestion that the masculine gender of the verbs would

---

[1]Slonim, "Masculine Predicates," 297-302. Slonim regards in general the deliberate use of irregular gender "to attract the reader's attention to an aspect of the scriptural text" (297), "to force the reader to notice hidden meanings . . . by shocking him through anomalous constructions" (302), to increase the impressiveness (302), and in the case that both genders in two or more predicates refer to the same feminine noun "this irregularity served to mark a *crescendo*, a climax" (299, emphasis his). Slonim holds the same view of deliberate gender incongruence for the sake of heightened attention in regard to the use of masculine pronominal suffixes with reference to feminine nouns, as is exemplified in Dan 8:9a by מֵהֶם. Such a use of masculine suffixes instead of the feminine forms is deliberate and serves the purpose "to attract the attention of the reader and to indicate elusive shades of meaning" (idem, "The Substitution of the Masculine," 401) and "to force the reader, through the shock of ungrammatical endings, to ponder some hidden meaning of the text" (idem, "The Deliberate Substitution of the Masculine," 158).

[2]Slonim, "Masculine Predicates," 300.

[3]So Ratner (150) in his critique of Slonim.

refer to the masculine reality behind the feminine symbol used in the text.[1] In other words, the author drops the symbolic speech about the horn, which is feminine in gender, and allows a glimpse of the concrete reality behind the horn symbol. "The king himself, too, becomes momentarily visible in v 11a."[2] The use of the masculine verbs in vs. 11 would then be in accordance with the use of masculine verbs in the angelic interpretation in vss. 23-25, where the horn symbol is deciphered as "king," which is masculine in gender, and, of course, masculine verb forms are used to describe the activities of that king. Bevan rejects this explanation because "in the second half of vs. 12 the feminine gender reappears, although the horn has not again been mentioned."[3] This argument should not be overlooked by those who hold that the horn is the subject in vs. 12b-d. However, Bevan's objection cannot be maintained if it is realized that the subject in the four clauses of vs. 12 is understood to be the host (vs. 12a), and that vs. 12 reports the

---

[1]The explanation of the irregular masculine gender as referring to the reality behind the symbol is also known as *constructio ad sensum.* The following scholars believe that the masculine gender in vs. 11 is constructed *ad sensum* (those scholars who apply such an interpretation both to the masculine pronominal suffix and the masculine verb in vs. 9a are marked by an asterisk): *Rosenmüller, 258, 261; von Lengerke, 379; *Maurer, 142, 143; *Kranichfeld, 292, 294; *Zöckler, 175, 176; Kamphausen, 33; Moore, "Daniel viii. 9-14," 195; König 3:166 (§249e); Montgomery, 335; Hubert Junker, *Untersuchungen über literarische und exegetische Probleme des Buches Daniel* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1932), 70; Obbink, 109; Lattey, 85; Bentzen, 56; Nötscher, *Daniel*, 43; Plöger, *Daniel*, 122; Delcor, 174; Lebram, "König Antiochus," 768 (cf. idem, *Daniel*, 93, 95), for whom the change of gender also indicates that vss. 11-12a constitute an interpolation; Hasslberger, 17, 98; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 159; Süring, 415; Maier, 305 n. 107; Niditch, 219-220 (as possibility); Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 86 (cf. idem, *Daniel* [1993], 328); Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 401; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 210; Gese, 408 n. 26; Lust, "Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel," 290; *Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," 5; *Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 171; Lucas, *Daniel*, 206; Beyerle, 31 n. 29. There are also commentators who use such an interpretation explicitly only for vs. 9a, but do not mention it with vs. 11: Hävernick, 267; Kliefoth, 251, 268-269 (for him the gender shift indicates a shift from vision to prediction); Keil, 294; Leupold, 344.

[2]Goldingay, *Daniel*, 210.

[3]Bevan, 132.

words of the holy one mentioned in vs. 13a.

A fifth suggestion is similar to the previous one insofar as the explanation for the irregular gender is sought in the realm of the reality to which the symbolic language refers. Hasel, who also believes that vs. 11 could be constructed *ad sensum*, proposes that the "change in gender may reflect change in the phases of the two entities which the metaphor-symbol represents."[1] As a historicist interpreter, Hasel refers here to the two phases of Rome: the political-pagan phase as described in vss. 9-10 and the religious-papal phase as described in vss. 11-12. The problematic aspect of this interpretation is that there is an apparent inconsistency in the use of verbal gender. For if the change in vs. 11a indicates a different phase of the symbolic reality, it is difficult to explain why the verb in vs. 11b is still in masculine gender but the verbs in vs. 12, which for Hasel have the horn as subject, revert to the feminine gender.

Finally, Erbes and Petersen interpret the different genders as indicators of weakness and greatness of the subject. In explaining the gender shift from vs. 10 to 11 and from vs. 11 to 12, Petersen believes:

> The most simple solution may be found in the phenomenon of syntactical gender shift in accordance with the masculine gender as indicating strength, the feminine gender expressing weakness, as suggested to me in class by Johann Erbes; see also the grammar by Nyberg (§ 79e, 231). It fits perfectly with the context in Dan 8:9-12 and explains the gender shifts of these verses. When growing great (or acting greatly, understanding the *hifil* adverbially), the horn becomes masculine; when the host of God is given over, the feminine gender is used.[2]

Yet, what Nyberg avers by his examples is that a word can have masculine gender in one

---

[1]Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 401.

[2]Petersen, 205 n. 5. Erbes confirmed his view in personal communication.

text, to express something "big, mighty, strong, and the like," and feminine gender in another text, to express something "little, weak, dependent, contemptible, and the like."[1] Nyberg's examples do not illustrate that such a gender shift can occur within a specific text unit in regard to the same referent, as Erbes and Petersen suggest for Dan 8:9-12. If their suggestion of a qualitative value of gender in relation to strength is correct, one would expect that at least the immediate neighboring clauses would be compatible with such a concept. However, the fact that in vss. 9b, 10a.b.c, 12b.c.d the feminine gender is used while describing powerful activities of the horn and its host precludes the idea that gender expresses a quality of strength. In these clauses the feminine gender certainly does not signify weakness.

In summary, two of the previously suggested ideas could serve as possible explanations for the irregular masculine gender of the verbs in Dan 8:11a and 11b. The masculine gender could refer to the reality behind the symbolic horn. At the same time the irregular gender may heighten the attention of the reader to what the text in vs. 11 says. An interplay of these two factors is very likely. However, more can be said regarding gender.

Gender as Stylistic Device

It is striking that the verbal gender shifts so often in such a small passage. Not denying the syntactic intricacies of the various gender-related issues, the number of gender incongruities and gender shifts leads to the suspicion that in Dan 8:9-12 the

---

[1]For example, YHWH riding on a עָב קַל "swift cloud" [m.] in Isa 19:1 and עָב קְטַנָּה "little cloud" [fem.] in 1 Kgs 18:44 (Nyberg, 231 [§79e]).

gender could be used intentionally for stylistic or literary purposes. In fact, the sophisticated use of grammatical gender, in particular the interplay of opposite genders, can be an efficient means to achieve literary coherence and to create structure in a passage.[1] Thus, I propose that the gender in 8:9-12 is used stylistically, in addition to and not contrary to the syntactic explanations for the gender in vss. 9 and 12 and the two possible factors for the masculine gender in vs. 11 identified above. The author appears to have consciously "played" with the opposition between masculine and feminine gender. There is a gender balance in vss. 9-11 in that the different verbal genders match each other: one masculine verb form followed by a feminine one in vs. 9 and three feminine verb forms in vs. 10 followed by three masculine forms in vs 11.[2]

```
9a      m.     \    /     fem.    9b
                \  /
10a  )           \/             (  11a
10b  }  fem.     /\        m.   {  11b
10c  )          /  \            (  11c
```

The arrangement of opposite gender of verbal forms creates a coherence in vss. 9-11. Verse 12 is remarkably set off because all four verbal forms are feminine. This may be additional support for the view that vs. 12 is not part of the vision proper but in fact belongs to the audition.

There is still more to consider. The discrepancy between verb and subject in vs.

[1]Ratner affirms that there is an intentional use of gender and that it may be regarded as a "stylistic device" (136). He observes the possibility of "playing" with the opposition between masculine and feminine in Biblical Hebrew (151), but he does not state that Dan 8:9-12 exhibits the use of gender as stylistic feature.

[2]The gender balance is also noted by Delcor (174).

9a could very well be intentional serving as an additional pointer to the importance of the new subject, that is, the horn, which from now on takes center stage in the vision. The introduction of the new agent is highlighted by the strange gender of the verb. The same function of highlighting a new agent seems to be intended in vs. 12a, where a different "host" from the previous host of heaven is introduced as the new agent and is combined with a feminine verb, although צָבָא is usually masculine. The literary effect of introducing the horn and the host by the same stylistic feature of unusual verb gender is that the correspondence on a stylistic level signifies association on an interpretative level. One may even hypothesize that the feminine gender itself that is used for צָבָא in vs. 12a aligns that host ingeniously with the horn, which is feminine in gender.[1] Also, the unusual feminine gender of צָבָא in vs. 12a could be occasioned by the intention to refer here to a different host from the one mentioned in vss. 10-11.[2] Though there is no gender identification for the host of heaven, readers may have regarded צָבָא as masculine until they would be surprised by a צָבָא with feminine gender in vs. 12a.[3] In summary, the possible reasons why צָבָא in vs. 12a is marked as feminine are (1) to differentiate it rhetorically from the צָבָא mentioned in vss. 10 and 11 and (2) to align it in gender with the horn so that it becomes clear that this host belongs to the horn.

A further observation regarding gender has to do with an additional explanation of

---

[1]A suggestion also proposed by Gane, "The Syntax of *Tēt Ve* . . . in Daniel 8:13," 381-382.

[2]The feminine gender in vs. 12a is of course not the main reason why צָבָא in vs. 12a refers to a different host from צָבָא in vss. 10a and 11a (see the linguistic analysis to צָבָא in vs. 12a).

[3]In fact, this is exactly what happens to modern readers (see the different commentators).

the masculine verbs in vs. 11. As argued above, one has to reckon with the possibility that the sudden shift in verbal gender, with the same subject, is one of several indications for elevated language. Such an "ungrammatical" construction is certainly more easily acceptable in a poetic section than in a prose text. The masculine gender in vs. 11 also corresponds to the masculine gender in the interpretation in vss. 23-26, a text that is poetic, though there the masculine מֶלֶךְ function as subject and the masculine gender of the verbs is therefore expected. However this may be, the switch from prose to more poetic language in vs. 11 could very well be a reason for the shift of verbal gender from feminine to masculine.

Finally, the masculine הִגְדִּיל in vs. 11a strengthens the literary link to the use of the masculine הִגְדִּיל in vss. 4 and 8. As I will argue below, these three Hiphil forms of the keyword גדל serve as an important structural device in the vision. A feminine form would have weakened such a Hiphil pattern of גדל.

Conclusion

After examining the use of gender in Dan 8:9-12 it becomes obvious that there is an interplay of various functions. Syntactic explanations can be given for the apparent gender incongruities in vs. 9a and the feminine gender in vs. 12. The incorrect or unusual gender of the verb forms in vss. 9a and 12a heightens the reader's attention to the introduction of a new agent, that is, a horn and a host. The similar introduction of these two agents links them interpretively together—the host of vs. 12a and the horn are on the same side—whereas the unusual gender for the host in vs. 12a effectively distinguishes it

in the reader's mind from the host of heaven in vs. 10. Finally, the masculine verbs in vs. 11 direct the attention to the attack on the commander of the host of heaven by the power behind the symbolic horn, pointing to the climax of the vision, a climax that is portrayed in an elevated style of language.

In conclusion, the use of gender does not convolute the text, but is a stylistic device on a formal level that creates coherence in vss. 9-10 and heightens attention for the important message in vs. 11, consistent with the poetic-like character of this verse. The poetic character of vs. 11 and the specific use of gender are thus the most important formal devices of literary style in vss. 9-14.[1]

Thematic Distribution and Arrangement

The focus in this section is on how specific words and expressions play semantically together to create the themes in the text, and how these themes are skillfully arranged and linked with each other to convey the message of the text. As such, this section represents a text-semantic analysis that carefully studies the text as a whole and as

---

[1]Another formal literary device is suggested by Shea, who proposes a deliberately intended literary construction which he calls "overhanging verb": In vs. 9 there is no overhanging verb; in vs. 10 there is one overhanging verb (וַתִּרְמְסֵם); and in vss. 11-12 there are two overhanging verbs (וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה). This supposed construction should indicate "progression." By "overhanging" Shea means that the verb does not describe an action "that took place on the vertical dimension and in heaven" ("Spatial Dimensions," 518, cf. 512). By "overhanging verb" Shea apparently means a verbal clause that consists of only one word. However, it is not unusual at all that a clause consists just of a verb with its inherent subject. The clause וַתִּרְמְסֵם in vs. 11c actually contains verb, subject and object. Furthermore, to assume such a "literary structure" places undue structural force on the vertical dimension in this part of the vision. The vision is not so much about the vertical activity of the horn—though this is present—as about the horn's activities per se. Also, the function of "progression" is rather unclear, since Shea does not specify what the progression is and what its function could be. Finally, this literary construction does not account for the fact that vs. 11 is the endpoint and climax of the vision and vs. 12 is part of the audition.

a structured entity. This section is naturally based on the semantic analysis of the vocabulary of Dan 8:9-14 as undertaken in chapter 2 of this study. Therefore, the analysis of the meaning of the different words and expressions will not be repeated in this section.[1]

Two different but related avenues of analysis are pursued here. First, a semantic investigation focuses on the vocabulary of 8:9-14 and groups the terminology used in this text according to thematic fields. Then, a *Leitwort* investigation focuses on the more frequent words and word stems in the whole of Dan 8 and groups these *Leitwörter* into thematic fields. The first avenue is particular in that it limits its interest to only a part of Dan 8, namely vss. 9-14, encompassing all vocabulary used in that part, whereas the second avenue is particular in that it is interested only in the vocabulary that occurs more often, encompassing the entire chapter. The purpose of the terminological analysis is evident: Both the thematic fields and the *Leitwörter* bring out the key points in the text.

Semantic Fields of Daniel 8:9-14

Introduction

The following terminological investigation seeks to uncover the rich tapestry themes and motifs in Dan 8:9-14.[2] They will be established by grouping semantically

---

[1]I refrain from referring to the specific sections in chapter 2 (above), for the reader will easily find there the discussion of the semantic meaning of a particular word or phrase under the analysis of the clause in which it occurs.

[2]The "exceptional high information value" of the first half of Dan 8, designating the distribution and frequency of different words, has been observed by Schweizer, "Die Sprache der Zeichenkörper," 27-30. See especially the table on p. 28 that lists the text length, vocabulary and information value for each of the illocution units of Dan 8.

related words and expressions that are used in the text into semantic fields or isotopies.

It is relatively easy to identify themes and motifs that are supported by a number of different expressions, for example, the military theme or the cultic theme. Expecting that in a brief vision report themes and motifs could be referred to in a condensed way, it also becomes necessary to pay attention to those themes and motifs that are pointed to by only a few but very explicit expressions. One must distinguish between words that exclusively refer to a specific motif, words that primarily refer to a specific motif but do have additional, secondary connotations, and words that can refer to different motifs. Overemphasizing terms and phrases that are ambiguous in their interpretation should be avoided.

The terminological analysis consists of several steps. First, an inventory of the vocabulary in Dan 8:9-14 that forms a particular semantic field is provided. Expressions that belong to the same semantic field are presented in a list, ordered according to their occurrence in the text, together with additional comments. Some of the terms are marked as secondary, which means that in the specific terminological context they may have an additional association, though they usually have another, primary association. For example, the term הַתָּמִיד primarily has a cultic association, but in addition it can also have an administrative, royal connotation that fits into the semantic field of power and control as referred to by other terms in Dan 8:9-10. It has to be admitted that the choice between primary and secondary association is not always easy to make, but contextual considerations usually provide a sure guide.

After the inventory has been taken, the distribution of the terminology in the text

is examined and its structural value determined. Finally, the interplay of the different isotopies is demonstrated in the characterization of the horn figure.

Military Terminology: Power, Control, Violence

Word	Verse	Comment
יצא	9a	"go forth to battle"; used as a technical military term (often with צָבָא)[1]; cf. its military connotation in three of the other five Danielic occurrences (10:20; 11:11, 44)
קֶרֶן	9a	horn as symbol for a power active on the earthly level
צָבָא	10a, 10b, 11a, 12a, 13c	army; sometimes used for warfare or military service
רמס	10c	stepping down forcibly upon: "is one of the verbs used to describe conquest,"[2] implying destruction or ruin
שַׂר־הַצָּבָא	11a	military rank: commander-in-chief of the army
שׁלך hif./hof.	11c, 12b	to throw with considerable force; fits together with רמס in the word field of destructive activity
מִרְמָס	13c	state of destruction after a conquest

In light of the militant activities of the ram and of the goat that are previously described in the vision, the continuation of military activity occasions no surprise.[3] Terminology from the semantic field of war appears especially in vss. 9-11 and reflects the violent nature of the horn.[4]

---

[1]Preuss, "יָצָא," 6:229; Anton van der Lingen, "*bwʾ-ysʾ* ('To Go Out and To Come In') as a Military Term," *VT* 42 (1992): 59-66; cf. also Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 393, 396.

[2]Smith-Christopher, 113.

[3]For the notions of power, control, and violence in Dan 8 see Langer, "Die Isotopie der Macht," 87-102.

[4]Ewald notes the "frequent mention of martial matters" here (*Daniel*, 262).

Royal Terminology

Word	Verse	Comment
קֶרֶן	9a	horn as symbol for king or kingdom (cf. 8:23)
הַתָּמִיד	11b, 12a, 13c	secondary: תָּמִיד belongs to the royal administrative vocabulary
מְכוֹן	11c	often refers to the foundations of the throne of YHWH

Royal terminology is closely related to military terminology since both are found in the semantic field of power. The term קֶרֶן is the primary evidence of royal language, whereas both הַתָּמִיד and מְכוֹן show royal connotations only in a secondary sense. The term תָּמִיד is essentially a cultic term, but it also occurs in the context of the kingly court. It is used in an administrative context for the loyal retainer who is eating at the king's table "perpetually" (2 Sam 9:7, 10, 13; 2 Kgs 25:29; Jer 52:33) and receives the "regular" allowance by the king (2 Kgs 25:30; Jer 52:34) and also for the king's servants who serve in his presence "continually" (1 Kgs 10:8). On the basis of these texts, a royal connotation of the term תָּמִיד has been suggested by Paran, arguing that תָּמִיד originated in royal contexts.[1] Whether royal administrative vocabulary has influenced cultic vocabulary or vice versa, the common denominator of the use of תָּמִיד in these contexts is that תָּמִיד expresses the basis on which a lasting relationship between unequal partners, a

[1]Meir Paran, דרכי הסגנון הכוהני בתורה = *Forms of the Priestly Style in the Pentateuch: Patterns, Linguistic Usages, Syntactic Structures*, with an introduction by Menahem Haran, Publication of the Perry Foundation for Biblical Research in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989), 293 n. 68. Milgrom follows Paran and acknowledges the possibility that the term תָּמִיד "may have been borrowed from royal vocabulary" (*Leviticus 1-16*, 389). For Levine, תָּמִיד shows "that the vocabulary of cult was part of the scribal lexicon of government agencies" and thus is another indication for "the administrative matrix of cultic terminology" (*Numbers 21-36*, 372). One might also point out that the Akkadian *ginû* refers to regular offerings to the gods as well as to dues to an official or king (*CAD*, 5:80-81), and thus seems to represent an equivalent to תָּמִיד.

superior and those in his service, can exist. In the royal court it is the continual service by the king's servants on the one hand and the king's unfailing sustenance on the other hand. In the cultic court it is the continual service of God by the people and priests on the one hand and God's perpetual presence and sustenance on the other hand. Thus, transferring the administrative, royal connotation into a cultic context, תָּמִיד expresses that a number of cultic acts were to be performed as a perpetual service of God, suggesting that God, to whom these acts were directed, could be regarded as king. מָכוֹן, too, is usually associated with the sanctuary. It also relates to the divine throne (often in a cultic context), designating its foundations.

Cultic Terminology[1]

Word	Verse	Comment
יצא	9a	secondary: priestly activity of going out from the sanctuary (Lev 16:17, 18, 24; 1 Kgs 8:10; 2 Chr 5:11; often in combination with בוא [see below])
קֶרֶן	9a	secondary: horns of the altar (Exod 27:2; 29:12; Lev 4:7; 16:18)

[1]The cultic terminology in Dan 8:9-14 has been examined by Rodríguez, who identifies the following terms as related to the sanctuary worship system: מָכוֹן "place"; מִקְדָּשׁ "sanctuary"; קֹדֶשׁ "sanctuary"; צָבָא "host"; הוּרַם "was taken away"; קֶרֶן "horn"; אֱמֶת "truth"; פֶּשַׁע "rebellion"; תָּמִיד "continuance"; and נִצְדַּק "be declared righteous, be vindicated, be purified" ("Cultic Language," 527-549). Shea also noted several cultic elements in the vision of Dan 8: (1) the use of sacrificial animals as symbols for the nations; (2) the reference to four horns in 8:8 is reminiscent of the four horns of the sanctuary altars; (3) the reference to the sanctuary in 8:11, 13, 14; (4) the use of the term *tāmî d*; (5) the expression "evening morning" in 8:14 not only refers to creation but in particular to "sanctuary days"—Shea sees a connection of "evening-morning" to the lighting of the lamps "from evening to morning" (Exod 27:20-21; Lev 24:2-3) and to the pillar of fire and cloud (Num 9:15-16, 21—and (6) the designation of the two conversing angels in 8:13 as "holy ones," using as background the imagery of the two cherubim within the sanctuary ("Unity of Daniel," 196-198). In a later work, Shea no longer mentions (2) and (6) as possible links to the sanctuary (*Daniel 7-12*, 111-112).

צְבִי	9b	"beauty" in connection with God's presence; can refer to the sanctuary or temple mount (cf. Dan 11:45)
צָבָא	10a, 10b, 11a, 12a, 13c	secondary: used in cultic context in relation to the service of the Levites (Num 4:3, 23, 30, 35, 39, 43; 8:24, 25);[1] as participle הַצֹּבְאוֹת, it refers to the women serving at the entrance of the sanctuary (Exod 38:8; 1 Sam 2:22)
שַׂר	11a	secondary: refers in cultic context to leading priests or officers of the sanctuary
רום hif. + מִן	11b	used in cultic context as a technical term for the priestly activity of setting aside something that belongs to God
הַתָּמִיד	11b, 12a, 13c	(1) regular cultic *tāmîd* activity performed by the (high) priest and (2) continual cultic worship/service of God
מָכוֹן	11c	used in association with the dwelling place of God, either on earth (sanctuary/temple) or in heaven
מִקְדָּשׁ	11c	common designation for the sanctuary
פֶּשַׁע	12a, 13c	critical offense against God that had to be dealt with on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:16, 21) or to be directly forgiven by God; הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם (Dan 8:13c) functions as substitution for the distinctly cultic הַתָּמִיד
קָדוֹשׁ	13a, 13b	attribution of holiness to a person is found frequently in the cult
קֹדֶשׁ	13c, 14c	concept of "holiness" is essential to the cult; קֹדֶשׁ can refer to the sanctuary (holy place, most holy place, or as a whole) as well as to holy people or holy things

[1]Van der Woude argues that in accordance with the verbal usage of צבא, which for him in the sacred realm "never refers to cultic, but always to profane, service" ("צָבָא," 2:1041), the substantive צָבָא "can also refer to the profane labor by the Levites at the sanctuary" (ibid., 2:1042). With that he obviously refers to the physical labor performed by the Levites for the sanctuary, which elsewhere is expressed by the term עֲבֹדָה (Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology, I*, 61). Ringgren, however, believes that the six instances of צָבָא in Num 4 refer "to the cultic service performed by the Levites in the tent of meeting" ("צָבָא," 12:214; cf. Tremper Longman III, "צבא [# 7371]," *NIDOTTE*, 3:733).

עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר	14b	secondary: in light of the other cultic terms עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר may also refer to the Day of Atonement, the only cultic day that explicitly starts with עֶרֶב (Lev 23:32) and mentions an activity related to קֹדֶשׁ[2]
צדק	14c	secondary: refers rarely to cultic cleansing or purification

There is no question that Dan 8:9-14 exhibits cultic terminology.[2] In fact, the cultic imagery in Dan 8, which especially appears in vss. 9-14 and has its highest concentration in vss. 11 and 14c, belongs without doubt to the most prominent characteristics of the vision in Dan 8. In relation to the horn's religious actions, which culminate in the desecration of the temple, Gese goes so far to say that "all in chapter 8 is geared to this cultic viewpoint."[3]

The cultic motif is central at least in the visions. "Altogether, the visions of Daniel 7–12 are permeated with priestly imagery, symbolism, and concepts."[4] In addition, however, the cultic motif may very well be at the heart of the whole book of Daniel.[5]

---

[1]The festival of Unleavened Bread also begins in the evening (Exod 12:18), but it is not possible to detect any other terminological or conceptual links between this festival and Dan 8.

[2]*Pace* Hasslberger who after excising Dan 8:11-14 declares that cultic elements do not play a decisive role in chap. 8 (400 n. 11).

[3]Gese, 409. See also Langer, 96.

[4]Marvin A. Sweeney, "The End of Eschatology in Daniel? Theological and Socio-Political Ramifications of the Changing Contexts of Interpretation," *BibInt* 9 (2001): 138. Sweeney regards the cultic motif as central in the second part of Daniel: "The forms in which Daniel's visions are expressed and their use of symbolic imagery is [*sic*] deeply indebted to priestly tradition and the Jerusalem temple, even when they employ motifs derived from pagan mythology" (135).

[5]A point forcefully argued in the dissertation by Vogel, "The Cultic Motif."

Creation Terminology

Word	Verse	Comment
צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם	10a	host of heaven (e.g., Gen 2:1)
אֶרֶץ	10b, 12b	earth (e.g., Gen 2:1)
כּוֹכָבִים	10b	stars (e.g., Gen 1:16)
עשׂה	12c	secondary: designates in creation texts creational work
עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר	14b	"evening and morning" used in Gen 1

The words צָבָא "host," שָׁמַיִם "heaven," כּוֹכָבִים "stars," and אֶרֶץ "earth," all of which appear in just one verse (8:10), are used in close proximity only in Deut 4:16-19 and in Jer 31:35-37, both passages that refer to creation. Further, all these terms, including עשׂה, are also found in the creation account in Gen 1:1–2:4a where the combination of עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר is prominent, providing at least part of the background for עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר in Dan 8:14b.

Judgment Terminology

Word	Verse	Comment
מִרְמָס/רמס	10c/13c	secondary: used above all in the prophetic announcement of judgment (Isa 1:12; Ezek 34:18) and in the narrative description of the fulfillment of a prophetic warning (2 Kgs 7:17, 20; 9:33)[1]
שַׂר	11a	secondary: שַׂר can have judicial function[2]
גדל hif.	11a	to have an exaggerated self-evaluation (cause for judgment)

---

[1]See E.-J. Waschke, "רָמַס *rāmas*," *TDOT*, 13:510-511.

[2]See, e.g., Fox, *In the Service of the King*, 161.

רום hif.	11b	secondary: used also in context of arrogance and pride (cause for judgment)
צלח & עשׂה	12c, 12d	since usually used for prospering under divine blessing, the terms sound presumptuous (cause for judgment)
עַד־מָתַי	13c	question asking for intervention and judgment
וְנִצְדַּק	14c	צדק very often occurs in judicial contexts and there with a forensic meaning

The vocabulary of pride or arrogance used in the description of the horn's activities clearly indicates the presumptuous character of the horn power. It is noteworthy that the notion of presumption appears only when the description of what the horn is doing introduces strong cultic imagery. Hence, one gets the strong impression that it is war against the cult that marks the horn's character as arrogant and haughty.

It is also important to note that the terminology of presumption belongs to the author's repertoire to express his own conceptual or ideological point of view. The passage in Dan 8:9-11 is certainly not a neutral record of events. In searching for elements that express the subjective opinion of the author of Dan 8, Bader[1] recognizes a first indication of the horn's arrogance in its growing toward "the beauty" in vs. 9b. If heaven is considered reasonably to be positive, then the horn's growth against heaven (vss. 10 and 11) can only signify a negative attitude of the horn. The horn even goes against the heavenly system of values as represented in the cult. And finally it is said that the activities are directed against אֱמֶת "truth" (vs. 12b). The horn and its host destroy everything that is truth. In other words, "that which Daniel considers to be true is at

[1]Bader, "Reale und gedachte Welt," 53-54.

stake." In the light of this extremely negative portrayal of the horn and its host, the positive assessment in vs. 12d, וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה "and it will do and succeed," sounds like sheer mockery.[1]

The presumptuous activity of the horn leads naturally to the question of judgment. In the book of Daniel, as well as in prophetic oracles, presumption and judgment are closely linked, presumption being portrayed as almost always inevitably leading to judgment.[2] In fact, the thematic structural pattern in the vision of Dan 8 established by the key term הִגְדִּיל, which will be discussed later, points exactly to such a "hubris leads to a great fall" motif.[3] The entire vision of Dan 8 draws such a pattern and reads like an illustration of the proverb "Pride goes before destruction, and a haughty spirit before stumbling" (Prov 16:18).

Judgment is also associated with eschatology. In a vision that pertains to the end (8:17, 19), judgment as the final thought needs to be understood as an eschatological event. In fact, as noted in the semantic analysis, the root צדק is typically used in prophetic material in eschatological contexts, and itself points to eschatological צֶדֶק that will be established at the final time, not infrequently in the Messianic kingdom.

---

[1]Ibid., 54.

[2]Bergman, Ringgren, and Mosis, 2:405.

[3]Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 88.

Covenant Terminology

Word	Verse	Comment
כּוֹכָבִים	10b	secondary: stars as simile for the numerous covenant people (Gen 22:17; 26:4; Exod 32:13; Deut 1:10; 10:22; 28:62; Neh 9:23; 1 Chr 27:23)
פֶּשַׁע	12a, 13c	offensive act that willfully breaks relationships with YHWH (covenant breach) or is directed against YHWH as his people's suzerain
אֱמֶת	12b	secondary: often denotes God's continual favor and faithfulness in the covenant
עַד־מָתַי	13c	appeal for intervention and judgment by the covenant God
שׁמם	13c	secondary: used for the desolation of the land as a result of covenant disobedience (Lev 26:22, 31, 32, 34, 35, 43)
עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר	14b	secondary: evening and morning used in context of covenant breaking (Deut 28:67; note כְּכוֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם "as the stars of heaven" in vs. 62)

The term אֱמֶת needs further explanation. As argued in the semantic analysis, אֱמֶת in the book of Daniel has a specifically unique connotation and refers to the truthfulness and reliability of the divine revelation, that is, God's word and prophetic message. This has to be regarded as the primary meaning of אֱמֶת in Dan 8:12b. However, elsewhere אֱמֶת is often used in relationship to the covenant to denote the faithfulness of God,[1] so that it has even been qualified as a term expressing covenantal relations.[2] In 8:12b, a

[1]See the use of אֱמֶת in relation to בְּרִית in Isa 61:8; Jer 32:40-41; Mal 2:5-6; Pss 25:10; 111:7-9; 132:11-12; Neh 9:33-34. Cf. Mic 7:20; Ps 146:6; and especially the formula חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת with its variants (Gen 24:27; 32:11; etc.).

[2]M. Weinfeld, "בְּרִית *bᵉrîth*," *TDOT*, 2:258. On the covenant implications of אֱמֶת (and אמן) cf. Meredith G. Kline, "Abram's Amen," *WTJ* 31 (1968): 1-11, esp. 7-8; Paul Kalluveettil, *Declaration and Covenant: A Comprehensive Review of Covenant Formulae from the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East*, AnBib, no. 88 (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1982), 50-51.

secondary association of אֱמֶת with the covenant should therefore not be excluded.

Cult and covenant are inextricably connected. The cultic center of the sanctuary or temple is the visible symbol for the presence of the covenant God and thus of the covenant bond itself.[1] It is the covenant that ensures God's presence. An attack on the cult is therefore nothing else than an attack on the covenant God. Likewise, an attack on God's covenant people should provoke God as suzerain into action for his covenant partners. God is bound by the covenant to defend his sanctuary and his covenant people. If for some time he does not react to attacks on either or both, the urgent question עַד־מָתַי "until when?" that implores his intervention becomes more than legitimate. The cry in 8:13c can be understood as the cry to the suzerain to do something about those who trample the covenant. Since here the beseeching is directed toward God, not toward humans, it is also apparent that the question of unfaithfulness to the covenant is God's. God is apparently not fulfilling his part of the covenant, that is, protecting as suzerain his people and his cult. In other words, the anguished cry to God in 8:13c implies that the covenant problem is not on the side of God's people in the sense that they would have transgressed the covenant. Rather the source of perplexity is God's silence toward the attack on the covenant by the horn power. The *deus otisius* is in danger of becoming the

[1]Cf. Gregory Stevenson: "Since the covenant bond between God and Israel ensures the presence of God among faithful Israelites, the temple thus serves as central, unifying symbol of that covenant bond. This function of the temple is clear beginning with the tabernacle traditions. As a physical repository for the Ark of the Covenant, the tabernacle represented God's covenant" (*Power and Place: Temple and Identity in the Book of Revelation*, BZAW, no. 107 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001], 129; cf. also James Valentine, "Theological Aspects of the Temple Motif in the Old Testament and Revelation" [Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1985], 27-30). The interconnectedness between the ark and the covenant is readily seen in expressions such as אֲרוֹן בְּרִית "the ark of the covenant" (43 times), אֲרוֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָה "the ark of the covenant of YHWH" (32 times), and הָאָרֹן לָעֵדֻת "the ark of the testimony" (Exod 25:22: 26:33, 34; 30:6, 26; 31:7; 39:35; 40:3, 5, 21; Num 4:5; 7:89; Josh 4:16).

deus absens.

It has to be emphasized that in Dan 8:9-14 the covenant theme is not taken up in order to point to the breaking of the covenant on the part of God's people. First of all, such a notion is not clearly expressed in the text, in spite of those commentators who see it in vs. 12a. Second, it is very difficult to regard the secondary associations of the terms הַכּוֹכָבִים, עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר, and שׁמם with the covenant as intended allusions.[1]

Terminology of Perception

Word	Verse	Comment
שׁמע	13a	to hear
דבר	13a, 13b	to speak or talk, with the possible implication of conveying information
אמר	13b, 14a	to speak or talk, with focus on the content of what is said (usually following in direct speech)

The sensory events in vss. 13a.b, and 14a are easily recognized. They all involve

[1]It is mere speculation to establish a link between Dan 8:9-14 and the covenant curses in Deut 28. Among the numerous consequences of disobedience mentioned in Deut 28 one finds the following two: "Then you shall be left few in number, whereas you were as numerous as the stars of heaven (כְּכוֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם), because you did not obey YHWH your God" (vs. 62). "In the morning (בֹּקֶר) you shall say, 'Would that it were evening (עֶרֶב)!' And at evening (עֶרֶב) you shall say, 'Would that it were morning (בֹּקֶר)!' because of the dread of your heart which you dread, and for the sight of your eyes which you will see" (vs. 67). The link to Dan 8 could be construed along these lines: The falling of some of the stars to earth and thus the diminishing of the number of stars in Dan 8:10 may allude to the consequence of breaking the covenant stated in Deut 28:62. And the idea that a long number of evenings and mornings have to go by in which the horn acts against everything which is divine and the question "How long?" is asked sounds similar to the yearning of those who experience the consequences of the covenant breaking and wish that evening and morning would go by faster. Yet, such an argument for a covenant breach of God's people in Dan 8:9-14 is at best hypothetical and can only function as support of a primary reference to such a theme in the text, which, however, is not present. The term שׁמם in vs. 13c is syntactically connected with פֶּשַׁע—a term that designates here the rebellious sin of the horn and its host—and thus does not make primary reference to the covenant curses on the land in Lev 26.

the sense of hearing on the part of Daniel and the act of communication on the part of the holy ones.

Distribution of Semantic Fields

Table 24 illustrates the distribution of the different terminological groups in Dan 8:9-14.

Table 24. Distribution of Terminology in Daniel 8:9-14 according to Isotopies

Verse	9		10			11			12				13			14		
	a	b	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	d	a	b	c	a	b	c
Power	2	-	1	1	1	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Royal	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Cult	2	1	1	1	-	2	2	2	3	-	-	-	1	1	4	-	1	2
Creation	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Judgment	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	-	-	1
Covenant	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-
Perception	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	1	-	-

The distribution of the semantic fields adds to the structure of the passage. The two main isotopies are "power and violence" and "cult and holiness." The military terminology expressing power and violence, which is used in vss. 3-8, continues to be used strongly in vss. 9-11a and to a lesser extent in vss. 11b-13. Cultic associations are already found in vss. 3-8 and vss. 9-10. These prepare the reader for the climax of the vision and the audition when the language shifts to a predominance of cultic terms in vss. 11-14.

At the point of transition of the two semantic themes the author ingeniously

employs words that have both military and cultic connotations. As in Dan 8 the cultic associations grow increasingly stronger as the military associations get increasingly weaker. Such a literary device can already be perceived in the introductory clause for the horn. The verbal roots בוא (8:5, 6) and יצא (8:9a), which are used to describe the first activity of the goat (בוא) and of the horn (יצא), are used as a word pair[1] in technical military language for going out to battle and coming (back) in, relating to the success of the commander and his army,[2] but also in cultic language for (mostly priestly) activity in the sense "perform cultic acts" (Exod 28:35; 33:7-11; 34:34; Lev 9:23; 16:17-18, 23-24; Num 27:17, 21; 2 Kgs 11:9; Ezek 42:13-14; and in the context of worship in Ezek 44:3; 46:2, 8-10).[3] In fact, in Num 27:17, 21 the military and cultic sense are very close to each other, and it is difficult to distinguish between the two.[4]

The symbol of the "horn" takes up several connotations. It adequately comprises different semantic fields or isotopies present in the passage. As a symbol, horn is used

---

[1]On the word pair בוא and יצא see P. P. Boccaccio, "I termini contrari come espressioni della totalità in ebraico," *Bib* 33 (1952): 178-190; Josef G. Plöger, *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium*, BBB, no. 26 (Bonn: Hanstein, 1967), 174-184; Preuss, "יָצָא," 6:229-230, 236-237; and van der Lingen, 59-66.

[2]J. G. Plöger, 178-181; Preuss, "יָצָא," 6:229, 236; van der Lingen, 59-66. Both Plöger and Preuss further refer to the word pair בוא and יצא as an inclusive pair of antonyms to indicate totality in the sense of "being able to do something/everything" (so esp. Boccaccio, 178-190) and also as word pair referring to the rising and going down of the sun and the stars, to which Preuss ("יָצָא," 6:230) even attributes military overtones.

[3]J. G. Plöger, 175-178; Preuss, "יָצָא," 6:229; van der Lingen, 64-65. J. G. Plöger (176-177) and van der Lingen (64) allow also for the possibility that the blessing and curse in Deut 28:6, 19 with the word pair בוא and יצא has its *Sitz im Leben* in the cultic language describing the undertaking of the crossing of the threshold of the sanctuary by the high priest that was regarded as particularly dangerous.

[4]So J. G. Plöger, 178-179; and Preuss, "יָצָא," 6:229.

for kings or kingdoms. It thus has a symbolic royal connotation. Horn, of course, is also used for strength and power, and as such refers to military might and dominion. The context of cultic imagery in the vision further suggests attributing a cultic connotation to the horn, reminiscent of the horns of the altar.

The occurrence of הַצֶּבִי "the beauty" in vs. 9b is surprising. The horn comes forth from a compass point and grows toward different geographical directions. As the third term after "toward the south, toward the east, toward the . . ." one would expect either "north" or "west." This is also suggested by the structural parallel to the first activities of the ram and the goat, especially to the threefold geographical directions in vs. 4. However, instead of a compass point the noun הַצֶּבִי appears. As already noted, הַצֶּבִי is often regarded as the short form of the fuller אֶרֶץ־הַצְּבִי "land of beauty" (11:16, 41), a geographical term. Yet אֶרֶץ־הַצְּבִי is not just any geographical designation but the designation for the promised land (Jer 3:19; Ezek 20:6, 15). The term הַצֶּבִי is therefore another indicator that the activity of the horn turns to a non-military, religious level, as the term combines the geographical aspect (military level) with the idea of the promised land in the midst of which God's temple resides (cultic and covenantal level).

Another case of intentional word choice is the use of צָבָא over against חַיִל. The term חַיִל is used in the Hebrew of Daniel exclusively in chap. 11 (vss. 7, 10, 13, 25 [2x], 26).[1] In the context of the warfare in that chapter, חַיִל is the proper term to employ since

---

[1]In the Aramaic chapters the noun חַיִל is used in the sense of "army" in 3:20aR and 4:32, and perhaps also in the construct phrase in 3:20a, although it could designate the characteristic of the warriors, and in an adverbial sense in 3:4; 4:11; 5:7 (קָרֵא בְחַיִל "cry loud"). Interestingly, in Nebuchadnezzar's reflection in 4:32, which is filled with royal terminology, the heavenly host or celestial army is designated by the construct phrase חֵיל שְׁמַיָּא "army of heaven."

it refers to an army and has the connotation of power and strength. However, in the vision of Dan 8, the military חַיִל is not used. Instead צָבָא is used, which occurs five times in 8:10-13 (and only once more in Daniel, in 10:1, in the sense of conflict). The reason for choosing the term צָבָא seems obvious. In the passage of Dan 8:9-13, which is laden with cultic terminology, the use of צָבָא fits significantly better since it has both military and cultic connotations and is able to interrelate war and cult.[1]

Finally, in vs. 11a the term שַׂר in the primary military expression שַׂר־הַצָּבָא also has a cultic notion, since it can refer to leading personnel at the sanctuary: priests (Isa 43:28; Ezra 8:24, 29; 10:5; 1 Chr 24:5; 2 Chr 36:14) or Levites (1 Chr 15:5-10, 16, 22, 27; 2 Chr 35:9; Ezra 8:29?).

In taking up expressions from the previous verses the question in vs. 13c again reflects the two main motifs. It uses mainly cultic terms (הַתָּמִיד, הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם, and קֹדֶשׁ), but with וְצָבָא מִרְמָס also employs military terms, of course keeping in mind that צָבָא has a secondary cultic association. The main focus of the question then is the horn's attack on the cult.

In conclusion, through the thematic movement from war to cult and through the deliberate use of words that have both cultic and military associations the activities of the horn are effectively portrayed as an attack on the cult, a cultic war. To be sure, this does

---

[1]In relation to the use of צָבָא, or צבא, Tremper Longman III emphasizes the interrelation of war and cult: "According to the OT, Yahweh made his presence known in a special and personal way in the tabernacle-temple, on the one hand, and on the battlefield, on the other. Yahweh's presence is symbolized by the ark of the covenant, which was present in the Holy of Holies except at times of warfare, when it was carried into battle. . . . The connection between Yahweh and war is also noted by the frequent title (lit.) 'LORD of Hosts' (*yhwh ṣ*[e]*bā'ôt*, from the nom. *sb'*)" ("צבא," 3:733).

not mean that the war is a "holy war," a religious or sacred warfare, or a war with religious dimensions.[1] It is rather a war in the realm of the cult, since the main terminological field in this passage is the cultic one. The essence of the horn's activities is not so much military in nature, but cultic. Hence, the central goal of the horn, as portrayed here, is not to win a military war, but to take over the cult.[2]

The semantic fields that are primarily present in the solution to this attack on the cult—creation and judgment—emphasize once more the centrality of the cult in the horn's warfare, since these themes play important roles in the cult much more than in warfare. It is exactly in the final part of the cultic section that the clearest allusions to creation and judgment are given (vs. 14b and 14c), suggesting that judgment and creation are embedded in the cultic motif and, even more so, form its climax.

Macrotheme: Day of Atonement

It is the thematic progression and development in the vision report in Dan 8 that suggests most strongly that the divine intervention utilizes the concept of an

---

[1]On the religious character of warfare in ancient Israel and the ancient Near East and the debated concept of "holy war" see, e.g., Gerhard von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, trans. M. J. Dawn [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991]), who argues that the war in ancient Israel was indeed an eminent cultic act, not simply a war with religious dimensions; Miller, "Holy War and Cosmic War in Early Israel"; idem, *Divine Warrior*; Charles Sherlock, *The God Who Fights: The War Tradition in Holy Scripture*, Rutherford Studies in Contemporary Theology, no. 6 (Edinburgh: Rutherford; Lewiston: Mellen, 1993), esp. 4-10; John A. Wood, *Perspectives on War in the Bible* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998), esp. 9-34.

[2]The background imagery alluded to here seems to be the enemy attack on the Israelite sanctuary, which at least in the narratives of the wilderness wanderings and the conquest was as much a military headquarters as a cultic center and appears as a cradle of the cultic-military leadership. For such a role of the tabernacle see Myung Soo Suh, *The Tabernacle in the Narrative History of Israel from the Exodus to the Conquest*, StBL, no. 50 (New York: Lang, 2003), 56-60, 146-147.

eschatological Day of Atonement. Both the themes surfacing in the answer (vs. 14) and the logical consequence of what requires vindication point to such an encompassing macrotheme.

First, the combination of the themes of creation, judgment, and cult is clearly found in the Day of Atonement, both in biblical and post-biblical Jewish tradition.[1] In his study of Lev 16 in its literary context, Jürgens demonstrated the creation-theological roots of the Day of Atonement and of its process of permeating holiness starting from the sanctuary.[2] The cessation of all work on the Day of Atonement, which is unique for an Israelite yearly festival, places the day squarely within the Sabbath concept and marks it

---

[1]See Doukhan, *Daniel: The Vision of the End*, 60-64. As an example for the biblical tradition Doukhan refers to Ps 103, which besides "the whole catechism of ancient Israel's covenant faith" (Samuel Terrien, *The Psalms: Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary*, The Eerdmans Critical Commentary [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003], 703) presents YHWH as Creator (vss. 21-22) and Judge (vss. 6, 19) in the context of his dealings with his people's חֵטְא, עָוֹן, and פֶּשַׁע (vss. 3, 9-12; cf. Lev 16:21). Although this psalm is usually not attributed a Day of Atonement setting, John Eaton imagines it "as intended for the assembly at the autumn festival" (*The Psalms: A Historical and Spiritual Commentary with an Introduction and New Translation* [London: Clark, 2003], 358). One may also point to the connection of Rosh HaShanah, the first day of Tishri, which remembers creation, and Yom Kippur, the tenth of Tishri, which as the culmination of the penitential period of ten days (*Roš Haš.* 18a) signifies the climax of the judgment. Milgrom even suggests that originally the tenth of Tishri was the climax of a New Year festival that began on the first day, pointing, among other things, to Ezek 40:1, where Rosh HaShanah is said to be on the tenth of the month (*Leviticus 1-16*, 1067-1070; *Leviticus 23-27*, 2164-2165; cf. Simon Landersdorfer, *Studien zum biblischen Versöhnungstag*, ATA, no. 10/1 [Münster: Aschendorff, 1924], 44-54; Jonathan D. Safren, "Jubilee and the Day of Atonement," in *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, July 29–August 5, 1997, Division A: The Bible and Its World*, ed. R. Margolin [Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1999], 107*-113*).

[2]Benedikt Jürgens, *Heiligkeit und Versöhnung: Levitikus 16 in seinem literarischen Kontext*, HBS, no. 28 (Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 425-429 (cf. the remark on the frontflap: "Leviticus 16 proves to be the central text of the book Leviticus. Its ritual symbolism is open toward the prehistory and serves the partial restitution of the original creation order in the real world"). See also Doukhan, *Daniel*, 61-64; idem, *Secrets of Daniel*, 130-131 (includes references to rabbinic literature).

as a totally consecrated day of rest in the enjoyment of full cultic re-creation.[1] The Day of Atonement is also closely associated with judgment, as Gane convincingly argued, for only on this day the two themes of purification of the sanctuary and the people and of judgment coalesce.[2] Hence, the crucial denouement of the vision report in Dan 8 should be understood in terms of an eschatological Day of Atonement.

Second, since the horn's war within the realm of cult assaulted the people of God as well as the sanctuary, the priestly commander, and the continual cultic service of YHWH, the divine action described in vs. 14 requires all of them to be restored to their right place. There is only one cultic ritual by which all these entities come rightfully into their own again: the Day of Atonement. In other words, the objects of purification on the Day of Atonement—the sanctuary and the people of God—and the vindication of God himself correspond conceptually to both the target of the horn's assault in Dan 8 and the intended goal of what is restored to its right place in 8:14c, that is, the sanctuary, the host, and God himself.[3]

Besides thematic reasons, there are also structural, intertextual, and terminological reasons to regard the Day of Atonement as the macrotheme for Dan 8:14. With regard to structure, it is important to point out that the vision report ends with the concise but thematically rich allusion to the Day of Atonement. As Collins observes, "the ensuing

---

[1]Jürgens, 425-429; Gane, *Cult and Character*, 315.

[2]Ibid., 305-309.

[3]For Gane, the concept that "God's justice, represented by his sanctuary, must be justified" seems to be expressed by the terminology of Dan 8:14c (*Cult and Character*, 342 n. 27).

state is not described."[1] This is especially evident in the interpretation which ends with the king being broken "without human hand" (vs. 25). The end of the revelation in Dan 8 therefore coincides with the eschatological Day of Atonement, the importance of which is not reduced by any further explanations.

The intertextual web of 8:9-14 in the book of Daniel brings to light time and again the concept of an eschatological Day of Atonement. Particularly the intertextual relationship with chap. 7 prepares for the extensive use of cultic imagery in the vision report of Dan 8 and sets the tone for the Day of Atonement theme. The vision in chap. 7 is permeated by cultic allusions to the Day of Atonement. Also the intertextual relation to 9:24, which shows Day of Atonement language, is compatible with the idea that 8:14 should be interpreted within the parameters of the Day of Atonement.[2]

Against the backdrop of a Day of Atonement setting, several terminological allusions to it are recognizable in Dan 8:9-14. First, the horn acts in פֶּשַׁע "rebellion" (Dan 8:12a, 13c). The term פֶּשַׁע occurs only twice in Leviticus: in 16:16, 21.[3] It describes an inexpiable, defiant sin that falls into the same category as the "high-handed" sins of Num 15:30-31. פֶּשַׁע automatically defiles the sanctuary, and the sanctuary can

---

[1]John J. Collins, "The Meaning of 'the End' in the Book of Daniel," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin (Lanham: University Press of America, 1990), 94.

[2]On the intertextual relations of Dan 8:9-14 with other texts in Daniel see chapter 4.

[3]פֶּשַׁע is a term of the poetic books and the prophets and occurs only nine times in the Pentateuch (Gen 31:36; 50:17 [2x]; Exod 22:8; 23:21; 34:7; Lev 16:16, 21; Num 14:18).

only be purified from פֶּשַׁע on the Day of Atonement.[1] Thus, if פֶּשַׁע in Dan 8 is dealt with in a cultic way, and the context does suggest it, פֶּשַׁע has to be set right by a Day of Atonement activity, the only cultic ritual that deals with פֶּשַׁע.[2]

The expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר (Dan 8:14b) with its specific sequence of "evening-morning" is reminiscent of the only cultic day, next to the feast of Unleavened Bread, that explicitly begins in the evening: the Day of Atonement (Lev 23:32).

The key root קדשׁ surfaces in Dan 8 in the terms מִקְדָּשׁ (vs. 11c) and קֹדֶשׁ (vss. 13c, 14c). That קֹדֶשׁ is restored to its rightful place in vs. 14c is reminiscent of the Day of Atonement when קֹדֶשׁ is purified from פֶּשַׁע (Lev 16:16). In Lev 16, קֹדֶשׁ occurs seven times designating the sanctuary or parts of it (vss. 2, 3, 16, 17, 20, 23, 27), once in the phrase מִקְדַּשׁ הַקֹּדֶשׁ "sanctuary of holiness" (16:33), and twice in connection with a special linen garment to characterize it as holy (16:4, 32). The inner sanctum of the sanctuary is uniquely called הַקֹּדֶשׁ "the holy" in this chapter (16:2, 3, 16, 17, 20, 23, 27, 33). The verb קדשׁ piel "sanctify" occurs once in Lev 16 (vs. 19). Hence, קֹדֶשׁ seems to be an "explicit terminological link between Daniel 8:14 and Leviticus 16."[3]

---

[1]Gane, *Cult and Character*, 294-298. Offenders committing פֶּשַׁע cannot receive expiation by means of noncalendric sacrifices.

[2]A connection between פֶּשַׁע in Dan 8 and Lev 16 is suggested by Thomson (243) and Hasel ("The 'Little Horn'" [1986], 440).

[3]Ibid., 455; Vogel, "Cultic Motif," 82. The apparent change from מִקְדָּשׁ to קֹדֶשׁ in Dan 8:11-14 has received some attention and has been attributed either to reflect a design that follows the structure from vision to audition (Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" [1986], 454) or from sanctuary language in general (מִקְדָּשׁ) to language of the Day of Atonement ritual when the קֹדֶשׁ is purified (Vogel, "Cultic Motif," 87-88). Both options seem possible. What is clear, however, is that the indefinite term קֹדֶשׁ is employed to encompass both the sanctuary and the people (as explained in chapter 2 [above]).

These are the terminological links to the Day of Atonement in the Hebrew language of Dan 8:9-14.[1] Yet, there is possibly another connection in the Greek language. The macrotheme of the Day of Atonement could very well be the reason why the Greek versions render וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ in vs. 14c with καθαρισθήσεται τὸ ἅγιον, two terms that feature prominently in the prescription of the Day of Atonement rituals in Lev 16.[2] The verb καθαρίζω—thirty of its ninety-four occurrences are found in Leviticus and there it always means to render ritually clean—is used to describe the process of purification of the holy (ἅγιος), the tent of meeting, the altar, and the people (Lev 16:19, 20, 30 [2x]), and throughout Lev 16 the adjectival noun τὸ ἅγιον or ὁ ἅγιος "is uniquely used to designate the adytum" or הַקֹּדֶשׁ "(most) holy place" (Lev 16:2, 3, 16, 17, 20, 23, 27, 33).[3]

At this point it is important to consider another cultic concept that is usually suggested to serve as background for the activity mentioned in 8:14c: the concept of rededication.[4] The question is whether Dan 8 refers to the Day of Atonement or to

---

[1]Not a terminological but a conceptual link could be established by the term הַתָּמִיד. The use of הַתָּמִיד indicates that the assault of the horn is directed against the regular and continuous cultic service. If this is the case, it seems reasonable to infer that the desecration of the regular cultic service must be restored to its right place by the purification wrought at an eschatological Day of Atonement.

[2]Doukhan points out that καθαρίζω in Dan 8:14 is "a technical word used to refer to Kippur" and that Rashi in the *Miqraot Gdolot* suggested to read this Danielic passage in light of the Day of Atonement (*Secrets of Daniel*, 127). Cf. Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 455.

[3]John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus*, SBLSCS, no. 44 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1997), 241. Elsewhere, καθαριζω and ἅγιος are used in the same context only in a short note on the Day of Atonement in relation to the altar of incense (Exod 30:10), in the prescription of the consecration of the altar (Exod 29:37), and in the instructions for priests eating sacred food (Lev 22:4).

[4]In the historical interpretation of most commentators, Dan 8:14 is seen as the rededication of the temple after its desecration by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (1 Macc 4:36-59; 2 Macc 1:8; 10:1-8).

rededication.[1]

Both concepts, rededication and the Day of Atonement, share several themes occurring in Dan 8 with which they are closely connected: the preceding sin and transgression that led to the violation of the laws of purity of the sanctuary/temple, the required purification of the sanctuary/temple, and the theme of creation.[2] Therefore, the cultic allusions in Dan 8 could often be interpreted both ways. Likewise, the animal terms used in Dan 8, which will be discussed below, could be understood as referring not only to the Day of Atonement but also to rededication, since they are mentioned in the context of (re)dedication in Num 7; 2 Chr 29:20-24; and Ezek 43.

However, several features in Dan 8 uniquely point to a Day of Atonement setting, and are either absent or cannot be detected in the concept of rededication. First and foremost, the theme of judgment does not play a role at rededication, but is at the heart of

---

[1]It is necessary to differentiate between inauguration/dedication and rededication (cf. the distinction of rituals of founding, rituals of maintenance, and rituals of restoration by Frank H. Gorman, "Priestly Rituals of Founding: Time, Space, and Status," in *History and Interpretation: Essays in Honour of John H. Hayes*, ed. M. P. Graham, W. P. Brown, and J. K. Kuan, JSOTSup, no. 173 [Sheffield: JSOT, 1993], 47-64). The concept of inauguration or dedication does not comply with the evidence in the vision report in Dan 8, for there is no sanctuary that is inaugurated or initially dedicated, but rather a sanctuary that is restored to its right place after it has been desecrated.

[2]The biblical data for rededication are rather sparse. A rededication of the temple occurs under Asa (2 Chr 15) and under Hezekiah (2 Chr 29), and by the Maccabbees in the Second Temple period. Since the actual procedures for rededication seem to reflect the dedication procedures, the latter ones could also be taken into account to find out what happened at a rededication. Major passages dealing with the dedication of cultic place and status are the prescription for the consecration of the priesthood and the tabernacle (Exod 29 and 40; cf. the prescription for the consecration of the outer altar in Ezek 43:18-27), the consecration of the priesthood and the inaugural service (Lev 8 and 9), the consecration of the tabernacle (Num 7), the dedication of the Solomonic temple (1 Kgs 8; 2 Chr 7:1-11), and the dedication of the Second Temple (Ezra 3:1-6; 6:16-18). In fact, the dedication ceremonies were also continued, as it were, through the yearly ritual of consecration on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:19 with קדשׁ piel).

the Day of Atonement.[1] Second, the restoration of the people to their right, which is one of the two main aspects expressed by וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ (8:14c), is not a focus of the temple rededication, but again is central to the Day of Atonement. Third, the evoking of a day starting in the evening by the phrase עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר (8:14b) is not an idea associated with rededication, but it is in conformity with the Day of Atonement. Fourth, there is also a distinction in the fact to whose activity the attention is directed. The rededication is carried out by the king, priests, and people, and signifies that they cleanse the temple from the desecration that has occurred and rededicate it for a renewed cultic service. The emphasis lies on the human effort and prostration. The purification rituals on the Day of Atonement are carried out by the high priest, signifying what YHWH would do for his people and "to preserve the justice of YHWH's administration."[2] Here, the emphasis is put clearly on YHWH. Inasmuch as the assault of the horn in Dan 8:9-12 is directed against God, the question in 8:13c is addressed to God, and the solution in 8:14c refers to a divine activity, the concept of a Day of Atonement suggests itself as better qualified to meet the divine-centered perspective of the end of the vision report. Fifth, the close intertextual link to the vision in Dan 7 with its Day of Atonement setting of the judgment scene provides additional evidence for such a setting in Dan 8:14.[3]

---

[1]For example, the celebration of Hanukkah, which remembers the rededication of the temple in Maccabean times, does not carry any elements of judgment (cf. Solomon Zeitlin, "Hanukkah: Its Origin and Its Significance," *JQR* 29 [1938-1939]: 1-36; James C. VanderKam, "Hanukkah: Its Meaning and Significance according to 1 and 2 Maccabees," *JSP* 1 [1987]: 23-40; Irving Greenberg, *The Jewish Way: Living the Holidays* [New York: Summit, 1988], 272-277).

[2]Gane, *Cult and Character*, 300-302, 318-323.

[3]See the intertextual analysis of the relationship between Dan 8:9-14 and Dan 7 (below).

In sum, while many cultic features of the vision report in Dan 8 could be understood also in terms of rededication, other significant features make such an association unlikely and discredit rededication as the macrotheme of this passage. Rather, the macrotheme of the vision report should be seen in the Day of Atonement.

Finally, allusions to cultic terminology and the Day of Atonement already appear in the first part of the vision report and prepare the reader to encounter these themes in its second, highly dramatic part. Therefore, I will turn to the terminology of 8:3-8 that anticipates the themes of 8:9-14.

Semantic Fields in Daniel 8:3-8 in Anticipation of Daniel 8:9-14

Some of the themes and motifs in the vision report about the horn are found also in the first part of the vision (Dan 8:3-8). Particularly prominent is, of course, terminology in the semantic fields of power, control, and violence. Almost every clause contains lexemes from these: עמד "stand" or "withstand" (8:3, 4, 6, 7); קֶרֶן "horn" (8:3 [2x], 5, 6, 7, 8); נגח piel "gore" (8:4); יָד "hand" or "power" (8:4, 7); בוא "come" (8:5, 6); חֵמָה "rage" (8:6), כֹּחַ "strength" or "power" (8:6, 7); מרר hitpalpel "become furious" (8:7); נכה hif. "strike" (8:7); שׁבר "smash" (8:7, 8); שׁלך hif. "throw (to earth)" (8:7); רמס "trample" (8:7); עצם "be powerful" (8:8). The use of lexemes of the same semantic fields in vss. 9-10 is therefore a continuation of the thematic development in vss. 3-8.[1]

Cultic terminology, however, is also present in the first part of the vision report and can be found in the use of specific animal terms. The distinct use of animal imagery

[1]For example, the keywords that describe in vss. 10-12 the activity of casting down (שׁלך) and trampling (רמס) link the section of the horn with the previous section of the he-goat (vs. 7).

in Dan 8 demands an explanation. In modern times, the animal imagery in Dan 8, and also in Dan 7, has been interpreted against the background of astrological geography in which signs of the zodiac represent specific countries.[1] However, the weaknesses of this theory—for example, the problematic use of sources for astrological geography, or the questionable assigning of the symbols ram and goat to their supposed countries—provide a reason to look for a better explanation.[2]

A suggestion with some plausibility is that the animal terms in Dan 8 are used as metaphorical representations, as elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. The animal אַיִל "ram" is probably the most common animal term to metaphorically designate leaders, princes, nobles, and similar personnel.[3] However, the terms that are employed for the goat in Dan

---

[1]An astrological background to the use of the animal imagery of Dan 8 was first proposed by Franz Cumont ("La plus ancienne géographie astrologique," *Klio* 9 [1909]: 263-273, esp. 273) at the suggestion of F. C. Burkitt, and elaborated with regard to Dan 7 by André Caquot ("Sur les quatre bêtes de Daniel VII," *Semitica* 5 [1955]: 6-13). Several commentators have taken up this idea (for Dan 8 see, e.g., Bentzen, 69; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 157; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 203, 208-209).

[2]John Day shows that Teucer's zodiacal system, which Caquot used, is questionable as background to Dan 8, since in Teucer's system the goat stands for Syria whereas Dan 8:21 states that the goat represents Greece (*God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament*, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, no. 35 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985], 154-155). Ernest C. Lucas points out several weaknesses of the astrological geography theory: (1) One needs to draw on different schemes of astrological geography to explain Dan 8 for no one scheme explains the links of animals and countries in Dan 8 (and in Dan 7); (2) none of the sources for astrological geography is earlier than the first century AD (the fragmentary text attributed to Teucer of Babylon is from that time); and (3) the likelihood of the ram as astrological symbol in Babylon is extremely doubtful ("The Sources of Daniel's Animal Imagery," 177-182; *Daniel*, 168, 213-214; cf. also idem, "Daniel: Resolving the Enigma," *VT* 50 [2000]: 70-71). Gzella follows Lucas and Day and discusses in addition why the ram as an astrological symbol for Persia is highly doubtful (130-133). Cf. Behrens, 319 n. 18.

[3]"Ram" as a symbolic designation for political and military dignitaries is found in Exod 15:5; 2 Kgs 24:15; Jer 4:22; Ezek 17:13; 30:13; 31:11, 14; 32:20; 39:18; Pss 2:5; 58:2; Job 41:17 (see Patrick D. Miller, Jr., "Animal Names as Designation in Ugaritic and Hebrew," *UF* 2 [1970]: 181-182; cf. also Robin Wakely, "אַיִל [# 380]," *NIDOTTE*, 1:373-375). Judg 5:8 and Ps 29:1 could be further possible examples, though only after text-critical decisions (Miller, "Animal Names," 186).

8 are not utilized in such a metaphorical way anywhere else in the Hebrew Bible.[1] And the term עַתּוּד "male goat," which can stand metaphorically for rulers (Isa 14:9; Zech 10:3), does not occur in Dan 8, which raises the question as to why it was not used in this chapter if the animal imagery was intended to refer to rulers and nations.[2] The metaphorical usage of animal imagery for worldly powers does present a plausible yet not a completely sufficient explanation for the specific use of animal imagery in Dan 8.

The proposal forwarded here is that the animal imagery of Dan 8 functions on the basis of inner-biblical allusions evoking cultic imagery. In contrast to the unclean hybrid creatures of the vision of Dan 7 the usage of clean animals in the vision of Dan 8 could be understood as an intentional reference to cultic activity, particularly since the "central element" of the vision is "the profanation of the sacred"[3] and the perversion of the cult. In fact, all the animal names mentioned in Dan 8 belong to the group of sacrificial animals: אַיִל "ram" (8:3, 4, 6, 7 [4x], 20), צָפִיר "he-goat" (8:5 [2x], 8, 21), עֵז "goat" (8:5, 8), and שָׂעִיר "hairy one" > "he-goat" (8:21).[4]

The word אַיִל "ram" is a sacrificial term. Out of 155 times in the Hebrew Bible, it

---

Following Miller, Gzella stresses that against the biblical background the animals of Dan 8 function in general as metaphors for rulers or worldly powers, expressing strength and leadership (133-138).

[1]עֵז "goat" is used once in a simile in 1 Kgs 20:27 to describe the small number of Israelite warriors as "two little flocks of goats" in comparison with the large Aramaean army.

[2]Other animal terms can also stand metaphorically for leaders but are not used in Dan 8 (see Miller, "Animal Names," 180-186).

[3]Gzella, 8.

[4]See the study of the semantic field of sacrificial animal terms by René Péter-Contesse, "Quels animaux Israël offrait-il en sacrifice? Etude de lexicographie hébraïque," in *Studien zu Opfer und Kult im Alten Testament*, ed. A. Schenker, FAT, no. 3 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992), 67-77.

occurs 59 times in cultic contexts.[1] The expression אַיִל אֶחָד "a/one ram," with which the ram is surprisingly introduced in Dan 8:3, occurs 21 times.[2] In these texts "a/one ram" is always, together with other animals, destined to be a burnt offering. Thus, אַיִל אֶחָד in Dan 8 "conceals a massive allusion to the Old Testament sacrificial cult, which is explicitly mentioned for the first time in Dan 8:11b."[3] Perhaps there is even an allusion to the Day of Atonement via Gen 22:13, but this requires a text-critical decision.[4] That the expression אַיִל אֶחָד is used intentionally can also be seen in the difference between

---

[1]Péter-Contesse fails to mention that this term appears also in Dan 8.

[2]Seventeen times as אַיִל אֶחָד (Num 7:15, 21, 27, 33, 39, 45, 51, 57, 63, 69, 75, 81; 28:27; 29:2, 8, 36; Dan 8:3) and four times as וְאַיִל אֶחָד (Lev 16:5; Num 6:14; 28:11, 19). There is a text-critical variant in Gen 22:13 which also could be taken into consideration, for the MT אַיִל אַחַר is often read as אַיִל אֶחָד by the versions (Samaritan Pentateuch, LXX) and most commentators.

[3]Schindele, "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen," 37.

[4]If אַיִל אַחַר in Gen 22:13 indeed should be read as אַיִל אֶחָד, one could argue for an intertextual relation between this text and Dan 8:3 (suggested to me by Jacques Doukhan and David Resendes), for Abraham and Daniel share a similar experience of sight that is expressed in corresponding terminology: "Then Abraham raised his eyes and looked, and behold, one ram," and Daniel reports "Then I lifted my eyes and looked, and behold, one ram":

וַיִּשָּׂא אַבְרָהָם אֶת־עֵינָיו וַיַּרְא וְהִנֵּה־אַיִל אֶחָד (Gen 22:13)
וָאֶשָּׂא עֵינַי וָאֶרְאֶה וְהִנֵּה אַיִל אֶחָד (Dan 8:3).

Further in both accounts the attention is drawn immediately to the horns (קְרָנַיִם) of the ram. It is of course intriguing that the Akedah (Gen 22) is connected to the Day of Atonement (Lev 16) by terminological links. עֹלָה "burnt offering," אַיִל "ram," and ראה nif. "appear" appear together only at the end of the Akedah (Gen 22:13-14), the ordination of priests (Lev 8–9; esp. 9:2-4), and the Day of Atonement (Lev 16; esp. 16:1-5) (Stanley D. Walters, "Wood, Sand, and Stars: Structure and Theology in Gn 22:1-19," *TJT* 3 [1987]: 305-306, 309-310). This would be an indication that אֶחָד אַיִל in Dan 8:3 is in fact alluding to the Day of Atonement, of course bearing in mind that this argument is dependent upon a text-critical decision in Gen 22:13. However, there are also plausible explanations to keep אַיִל אַחַר in Gen 22:13 intact, understanding אַחַר as "when" to express "temporal immediacy" so that Abraham saw the ram the instant it was snagged (Marvin H. Pope, "The Timing of the Snagging of the Ram, Genesis 22:13," *Biblical Archaeologist* 49/2 [1986]: 114-117), or similarly as "immediately after" (Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, WBC, vol. 1B [Dallas: Word, 1994], 99), or as "another" to refer to "another ram" in comparison to Isaac who virtually was to be the first ram (Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 18–50*, NICOT [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995], 113).

the introduction of the ram as an indeterminate entity and the introduction of the he-goat as a determinate entity (8:5).[1]

The term צָפִיר "goat" occurs six times in the Hebrew Bible. In Dan 8 it occurs as הַצָּפִיר (8:5) as well as in the phrases צְפִיר־הָעִזִּים "male goat" (8:5, 8) and הַצָּפִיר הַשָּׂעִיר "the shaggy goat" (8:21). צָפִיר is the main term used for the designation of the second animal of the vision. Outside of Dan 8, צָפִיר occurs only in 2 Chr 29:21 and Ezra 8:35, both in sacrificial contexts.[2] Thus the term can be designated as sacrificial language.[3]

The word שָׂעִיר "(shaggy) goat," which occurs in Dan 8:21 together with צָפִיר "goat," is a cultic word par excellence. It occurs fifty-nine times in the Hebrew Bible, of which forty-four times are in cultic contexts (seven times for the goat for Azazel in Lev 16).[4]

Note that the distribution of the terms אַיִל "ram," עֵז "goat," and שְׂעִיר "goat" shows its highest density in the Pentateuch—particularly in Lev 16, Num 7 and 29—and

---

[1]Schindele, "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen," 37. Gzella, with many commentators, regards אֶחָד as "an explicit marker of indetermination" and perceives an intentional contrast between the ram, which is indeterminate, and the attacking he-goat, which is determinate (94-95), but he fails to recognize the allusive force of the phrase אַיִל אֶחָד.

[2]On the cultic context of 2 Chr 29:21 see below. The other text in Ezra 8:35 mentions that after Ezra and the exiles arrived safely in Jerusalem, they offered burnt offerings to YHWH: "12 bulls for all Israel, 96 rams [אֵילִים], 77 lambs, 12 male goats for a purification offering [צְפִירֵי חַטָּאת]" (cf. שְׂעִיר חַטָּאת "goat for a purification offering" in Num 29:22, 28, 31, 34, 38; and the fuller versions in Num 28:15, 22, 30; 29:5, 11, 16, 19, 25). This is the same combination of sacrifices as offered at the dedication of the second temple (Ezra 6:17) and at the rededication of the first temple by Hezekiah (1 Chr 29:21).

[3]Péter-Contesse, 70.

[4]Ibid.

in Ezekiel.[1] Hence, possible allusions of the animal imagery in Dan 8 might be to the Day of Atonement (Lev 16; Num 29:7-11), the consecration of the tabernacle (Num 7), or the cultic calendar in general (Num 28 and 29).

It is worthwhile to take a closer look at 2 Chr 29:21, since this is the only passage in the Hebrew Bible where all of the three terms used for the animals in the vision of Dan 8 appear.[2] Second Chronicles 29 describes the cleansing of the temple and its rededication under the rule of Hezekiah.[3] The prescription of the preparations and the ritual itself is "different from anything prescribed or described elsewhere in the Bible."[4]

Still, there are several possible allusions in 2 Chr 29:20-24 to the Day of

---

[1]אַיִל "ram" occurs at least four times per chapter in Lev 8, 9; Num 7, 23, 28, 29; Ezek 40, 46; Dan 8; עֵז "goat" occurs at least four times per chapter in Num 7, 29; Ps 59; and שָׂעִיר "goat" occurs at least four times per chapter in Gen 36; Lev 16; Num 7, 29; Deut 2; Ezek 35. עֵז "goat" also appears often in the Psalms, whereas אַיִל is rarely used in the Psalms and the Wisdom literature, and שָׂעִיר not at all in this section of the Hebrew Bible. In Lev 16 all terms occur: אַיִל "ram" in Lev 16:3, 5; עֵז in Lev 16:5; and שָׂעִיר "goat" in Lev 16:5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 18, 20, 21 [2x], 22 [2x], 26, 27 (i.e., 14 times in Lev 16; that is the highest number of occurrences of שָׂעִיר in any chapter [13 times in Num 7]).

[2]אַיִל (2 Chr 29:21, 22, 32), צָפִיר (29:21), עֵז (29:21). שָׂעִיר occurs two verses later in vs. 23.

[3]After the Levites had carried out the cleansing and all the preparations for the consecration, Hezekiah and the princes of the city (שָׂרֵי הָעִיר) went up to the house of YHWH (vs. 20). In their presence the Aaronite priests offered "seven bulls, seven rams (אֵילִים), seven lambs, and seven male goats (צְפִירֵי עִזִּים) for a sin offering for the kingdom, the sanctuary, and Judah" (vs. 21). Only the goats were for the sin offering, the others were for burnt offerings. Particularly the offering of the male goats is described in more detail. It is mentioned that the priest brought the goats before the king and the assembly and then laid their hands on them (vs. 23). After slaughtering the goats the priests purged (חטא piel) the altar with the blood of the goats "to atone for all Israel" (לְכַפֵּר עַל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל) (vs. 24). After this central sacrificial rite the king ordered to offer the burnt offering (vs. 27). The text is closed with וַתִּכּוֹן עֲבוֹדַת בֵּית־יְהוָה "and the service of the house of YHWH was established (again)" (vs. 35).

[4]Japhet, 924. It is probably paralleled the closest by the sin offerings described in Ezekiel as a component of the cleansing rituals for the altar (43:18-27; cf. Num 7:87-88) and the sanctuary (45:18-20), of the purification of the priests (44:27), and of the preparation for Passover (45:21-23).

Atonement.[1] First, the sacrificial animals used in 2 Chr 29 are similar to those prescribed in Lev 16, although their number is different. Second, as on the Day of Atonement and on other calendric festivals, the sacrificial animals, at least the goats for the חַטָּאת (2 Chr 29:24), are killed by the priest,[2] whereas for the other sin offerings, the animals are killed by the one who brings the offering.[3] Third, the sin offering explicitly is for the sanctuary (2 Chr 29:21; Lev 16:16, 20). Fourth, the laying of both hands (dual) upon the goats occurs in the Hebrew Bible only in 2 Chr 29:23 and Lev 16:21.[4] And fifth, the goats are intended to atone for the sins of all the people (2 Chr 29:24; Lev 16:17, 33, 34): lexical links are the use of the phrase כפר + עַל with "Israel" as object (2 Chr 29:24; Lev 16:34), and the all-inclusiveness in regard to the people which is expressed by כָּל (2 Chr 29:24; Lev 16:17, 33).

Whatever ritual 2 Chr 29:20-24 exactly describes, the terms used in 2 Chr 29:21

---

[1]A potential connection between the ritual in 2 Chr 29 and the Day of Atonement ritual, or a modeling of the one after the other, is noted by Martin J. Selman, *2 Chronicles: A Commentary*, TOTC (Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity, 1994), 490; Richard L. Pratt, Jr., *1 and 2 Chronicles* (Fearn, Ross-shire: Mentor, 1998), 427; Steven S. Tuell, *First and Second Chronicles*, IBC (Louisville: John Knox, 2001), 214.

[2]See Johannes Hänel, "Das Recht des Opferschlachtens in der chronistischen Literatur," *ZAW* 55 (1937): 46-47. Some argue that the plural third-person "they" in vss. 21, 22, and 23a is impersonal and should be rendered by the passive (so Japhet, 926).

[3]For differences between 2 Chr 29:23-24 and Lev 4 see William Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, vol. 2, *2 Chronicles 10-36: Guilt and Atonement*, JSOTSup, no. 254 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 195-196.

[4]See René Péter, "L'imposition des mains dans l'Ancien Testament," *VT* 27 (1977): 50; H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, NCB (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1982), 357. The Hebrew is not absolutely clear whether the laying on of hands is performed by the priests or by the king and the congregation. For the latter view see Jacob Milgrom, "Hezekiah's Sacrifices at the Dedication Services of the Purified Temple (2 Chr 29:21-24)," in *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, ed. A. Kort and S. Morschauser (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 159, including nn. 4 and 5.

for the sacrificial animals and the reminiscences of the Day of Atonement reinforce the idea that the specific use of animal imagery in the vision of Dan 8 has a cultic connotation and, more specifically, prepares the reader of the vision report for the encounter of thematic connections with the Day of Atonement.

The animal imagery in Dan 8 also shows a more direct link to the Day of Atonement. In Lev 16, the two male goats that should be offered for a sin offering (חַטָּאת) are called שְׁנֵי־שְׂעִירֵי עִזִּים "two male goats," and there is also אַיִל אֶחָד "one ram" for a burnt offering (16:5).[1] Later the goats are called שְׁנֵי הַשְּׂעִירִם "two goats" (16:7, 8), or, when only one of the goats is referred to, הַשָּׂעִיר "the goat" (16:9, 10, 18, 21, 22a, 22b, 26). The goat to be sacrificed is called שְׂעִיר הַחַטָּאת "the goat of the sin offering" (16:15, 27), and the goat to be sent into the wilderness is called הַשָּׂעִיר הַחַי "the live goat" (16:20, 21). Interestingly, the goat in the vision of Dan 8 is called in the interpretation הַצָּפִיר הַשָּׂעִיר "the goat, the goat" (Dan 8:21), as if the angel Gabriel clarifies that the goat of the vision is a הַשָּׂעִיר goat, the designation used for the goats at the Day of Atonement.[2]

In summary, the specific use of the imagery of ram and he-goat should be interpreted as cultic and is in accordance with and anticipates the cultic terminology that becomes much more prominent later in the vision report. The animal terms allude to the

---

[1]The connection between the animal terms in Dan 8 and Lev 16:5-6 has been noted by Doukhan (*Daniel: The Vision of the End*, 26).

[2]Since צָפִיר appears to be a loan-word from Aramaic, it is suggested that שָׂעִיר is added as the Hebrew equivalent by way of explanation (e.g., Charles, 216 ["some scribe added the Hebrew synonym"]; Lucas, *Daniel*, 207).

Day of Atonement, arguably in a subtle way, but they stand out particularly in light of the cultic climax in Dan 8:11-14.

Spatial Imagery

Another literary feature is the shift in movement of the horn from the horizontal (earthly) to the vertical (heavenly) sphere. Staying within the symbolic imagery, the horn extends horizontally on earth until it comes to the beauty (הַצֶּבִי, vs. 9b), and then it rises up vertically to the host of heaven, the stars, and to the commander of the host.[1]

The spatial allusions in Dan 8 convey a strong sense of "aggressive movement between earth and heaven."[2] References to earth and ground (vss. 10b, 12b) stand in contrast to references to heaven ("host of *heaven*" in vs. 10a; "stars" in vs. 10b) and occur always in combative context, usually when an opponent is thrown to the ground in defeat (cf. 8:5 [2x], 7). The horn throws some of the host and the stars to earth and tramples them, it throws the foundations of the sanctuary down—"to the earth" seems to be implied—and it throws truth to the ground. The horn is therefore correctly designated as *Himmelsstürmer* who interferes with the celestial realm and causes disorder.

Lebram observes an alleged disharmony in vss. 11-12a in which the horn is back on earth, removing the sacrifice, after it was already acting in heaven (vs. 10). Besides the gender change, for Lebram this is reason enough to decide that vss. 11-12a must be an

---

[1]Such a shift of movement between vs. 9b and vs. 10a has been detected by Lebram ("König Antiochus," 768) and by Shea ("Spatial Dimensions," 497-526; cf. Rodríguez, "Daniel 8, 9," 4), while Hasel identifies a horizontal expansion of the horn in vss. 9-10 and a vertical movement of the horn into heavenly realities in vs. 11-12 ("The 'Little Horn'" [1986], 381-383).

[2]Goldingay, *Daniel*, 205-206.

interpolation.[1] The problem with such an assumption is, however, that Lebram interprets הַתָּמִיד completely earthly. Yet, if הַתָּמִיד is understood to refer to the continual service and worship of God and to the high priestly activity of the commander of the host, as shown above, then its removal in vs. 11b does not interrupt the vertical movement in the activities of the horn. Thus, it is not necessary to pose a recurring up-and-down movement by the horn with changing spheres of action. Rather the horn increasingly develops vertically into a colossus that bridges the earthly and heavenly realms.

Formally the horn's development is marked by the keyword גדל that identifies three dimensions of the growing of the horn: the horizontal dimension (גדל qal in vs. 9b), the vertical dimension (גדל qal in vs. 10a), and the inwardly vertical dimension (גדל hif. in vs. 11a). The prepositions used for the development of the horn emphasize the different spatial aspects: אֶל is employed for horizontal movement (vs. 9b) and עַד for vertical development, be it outwardly or inwardly (vss. 10a, 11a).

In sum, vss. 9-11 are both formally and thematically structured in a horizontal (vs. 9) and vertical movement (vss. 10-11), which once more creates the dramatic effect that vs. 11 needs in order to be considered as the presumptuous zenith of the horn.

"Leitwörter" and Keywords in Daniel 8:9-14

"Leitwörter"

Another avenue to trace the key themes of a passage is to look for its *Leitwörter* and to establish the semantic fields these *Leitwörter* can be assigned to. Paying attention

---

[1]Lebram, *Daniel*, 95.

to those expressions that appear several times in a text enhances the delineation of the text's meaning and structure.

What exactly is a *Leitwort*?[1] The semantic concept of the *Leitwort*, which is based on emphatic repetition, was formulated by Martin Buber. According to Buber, the *Leitwort* is "a word or word root that is meaningfully repeated within a text or sequence of texts or complex of texts; those who attend to these repetitions will find a meaning of the text revealed or clarified, or at any rate made more emphatic."[2] The *Leitwort* has two functions: to emphasize and clarify the content or central themes of a passage and to establish a relationship between two or more passages within a text.[3]

An investigation of the *Leitwörter* in Dan 8 has been undertaken by D. Bauer.[4] Bauer defines a *Leitwort* as a root that occurs at least three times in a specific text.[5] This definition is more formal and in a sense more practical than Buber's, since it provides an objective criteria to isolate the *Leitwörter* of a text. It lacks, however, the notion of emphasis and so each root that occurs at least three times is considered to be a *Leitwort*, although not every one may play a significant role in the text. However, if necessary, the

---

[1]The German term *Leitwort* (plural: *Leitwörter*) is kept untranslated here as a technical term. Different renditions used elsewhere are "guiding phrase," "leading word" or "leadword," "keyword," and "catchword."

[2]Martin Buber, "*Leitwort* Style in Pentateuch Narrative," in *Scripture and Translation*, by M. Buber and F. Rosenzweig, trans. L. Rosenwald with E. Fox, ISBL (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 114 (translated from a 1927 lecture; see Martin Buber, *Werke*, vol. 2, *Schriften zur Bibel* [Munich: Kösel; Heidelberg: Schneider, 1964], 1131).

[3]Ibid., 744.

[4]Bauer, "Daniel 8," 73-85.

[5]Ibid., 78.

differentiation according to emphatic repetition could still be drawn after all the words and word stems with at least three occurrences have been singled out.[1]

In following Bauer, the vocabulary in Dan 8 contains forty-five *Leitwörter*, which are listed according to their first occurrence in table 25.[2]

The distribution of these *Leitwörter* is such that all of them are introduced in the first half of Dan 8, the last *Leitwort* being introduced in vs. 13b. Most of their occurrences are found in 8:1-14: 134 occurrences over against 88 occurrences in 8:15-27. Obviously, the author of Dan 8 "shows his crucial point, his interest of statement, within the first half of the text."[3]

The *Leitwörter* can be classified in basically four semantic fields or isotopies that concentrate in different parts of Dan 8.[4] The semantic field "first-person narrator" is found at the beginning (vss. 1-2), in the middle (vs. 15), and at the end (vs. 27). The semantic field "perception" shows equal distribution, with a concentration at the beginning (vss. 1-3). The semantic field "power, control, and violence" concentrates in the vision report and the audition (vss. 3-13). And the semantic field "holiness, sanctuary" shows a high concentration in vss. 11b-14c (ten of the twelve occurrences of תָּמִיד, the root קדשׁ, and פֶּשַׁע). What the inventory of vocabulary and the thematic

---

[1]A difference in nomenclature is that the study of *Leitwörter* belongs for Buber to stylistic analysis, while for Bauer it comes under semantics and text-grammatical pragmatics.

[2]Bauer, "Daniel 8," 78-79. For the sake of coherence with my work, I substituted Bauer's text references to vs. 13 (he follows Schindele's division in 13a-13f [Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," 13-14]) with my own references according to a division into vs. 13a-13c.

[3]Bauer, "Daniel 8," 79.

[4]Ibid.; cf. Bauer's table on pp. 84-85.

Table 25. *Leitwörter* in Daniel 8

Leitwort	Reference	*Leitwort*	Reference
מלך (9x):	1a, 1a, 20c, 21a, 21d, 22c, 23a, 23a,	יד (4x):	4c, 7h, 22d, 24b
	27d	עשׂה (4x):	4d, 12c, 24e, 27d
חזון (7x):	1a, 2a, 2e, 13c, 15c, 17g, 26e	גדל (8x):	4e, 8a, 8b, 9b, 10a, 11a, 21b, 25c
ראה (15x):	1a, 1c, 2a, 2b, 2e, 3b, 4a, 6b, 7a,	בין (6x):	5a, 15d, 16e, 17e, 23a, 27f
	15a, 15f, 16e, 20b, 26a, 27e	צפיר (4x):	5c, 5e, 8a, 21a
אני (6x):	1b, 2c, 2f, 5a, 15b, 27a	עז (3x):	5c, 8a, 23a
דין (4x):	1b, 2d, 15b, 27a	בוא (4x):	5c, 6a, 17a, 17b
אחר (4x):	1c, 3h, 19c, 23a	ערב (3x):	5c, 14b, 26a
היה (8x):	2b, 2f, 5a, 7e, 7h, 15a, 19c, 27a	ארץ (6x):	5c, 5d, 7f, 10b, 12b, 18a
אשׁר (6x):	2d, 6b, 19c, 20b, 21c, 26b	נגע (3x):	5d, 7a, 18b
עין (3x):	2f, 3d, 6b	כח (5x):	6c, 7e, 22d, 24a, 24b
אבל (3x):	3a, 5f, 21c	שׁבר (4x):	7d, 8b, 22a, 25f
הנה (4x):	3c, 5b, 15e, 19b	שׁלך (3x) :	7f, 11c, 12b
איל (8x):	3d, 4a, 6a, 7a, 7c, 7e, 7h, 20a	רמס (3x):	7g, 10c, 13f
אחד (3x):	3d, 13a, 13b	עצם (3x):	8b, 24a, 24f
עמד (12x):	3d, 4b, 6b, 7e, 15f, 17a, 18c, 18c,	ארבע (4x):	8c, 8c, 22b, 22c
	22b, 22c, 23a, 25e	צבא (5x):	10a, 10b, 11a, 12a, 13c
פנה (8x):	3d, 4b, 5c, 6b, 7e, 17c, 18a, 23a	שׂר (3x):	11a, 25e, 25e
קרן (9x):	3e, 3f, 5f, 6a, 7d, 8b, 9a, 20c, 21b	תמיד (3x):	11b, 12a, 13d
גבה (3x):	3f, 3g, 3h	קדשׁ (6x):	11c, 13a, 13b, 13f, 14c, 24f
אחת (3x):	3g, 9a, 9a	פשׁע (3x):	12a 13e, 23a
ים (3x):	4a, 26f, 27b	צלך (3x):	12d, 24d, 25b
לא (5x):	4b, 7e, 7h, 22d, 24b	דבר (3x):	13a, 13b, 18a
אין (3x):	4c, 5d, 27f	אמר (6x):	13b, 14a, 16c, 17d, 19a, 26b

Note: *Leitwörter* occurring in Dan 8:9-14 are highlighted.

distribution in 8:9-14 has shown is therefore also evident in the distribution of the *Leitwörter* in Dan 8. Verses 9-14 contain mainly *Leitwörter* in the semantic fields of power/control (vss. 9a-13c: קֶרֶן, עשׂה, גדל, שׁלך, רמס, צָבָא, שַׂר, צלך) and holiness (vss. 11b-14c: תָּמִיד, קדשׁ, and פֶּשַׁע), with a few *Leitwörter* of perception (חָזוֹן, דבר, and אמר) in vss. 13-14.

Thus, the *Leitwörter* effectively create a thematic movement in Dan 8:1-14 that Bauer describes aptly as follows:

> After an introduction, in which the narrator introduces his own person and his "perception," he gets onto the subject of "power, control, and violence." Towards the end of the exposition of this theme emerges as new theme "holiness." It stands quite massive, like a "drumbeat," at the end of the first part of the text. This movement from the "I" of the narrator and his "perception" over the theme "power, control, and violence" to the theme "holiness" forms a climax with its culmination between 11b and 14c.[1]

The thematic goal of the vision report is naturally to be found in that semantic field to which the thematic progression leads up: holiness.

Keyword גדל and the "Hubris-Fall" Pattern

The concept of the keyword (*Schlüsselwort*) is closely associated with the concept of the *Leitwort.* The term "keyword" is used in this study to refer to words that contribute significantly to the understanding of the text's structure and meaning. Such a keyword may be a *Leitwort* (e.g., the verbal root גדל in 8:4, 8, 9b, 10a, 11a, 25), but it may also be an expression that occurs less than three times but is strategically placed at a crucial point in the text (e.g., וְנִצְדַּק in 8:14c).

The meaning of the individual keywords in Dan 8:9-14 has already been analyzed in chapter 2 in the various semantic analyses of words and phrases. It is therefore not necessary to repeat these analyses and their conclusions. Going beyond them, in the present section the keyword גדל is examined with regard to both its structural and thematic purpose.

---

[1]Ibid., 80.

An extremely important literary function can be assigned to the verbal root גדל which, without doubt, is *the* keyword in Dan 8. It is inserted at various points in Dan 8, having as its subject the different agents mentioned in the vision as well as the king in the interpretation: in vss. 4 (ram), 8 (he-goat), 9b, 10a, 11a (all: horn), and 25c (king).[1] The occurrences of the verbal root גדל in the vision report of Dan 8 line up to an intentional literary *crescendo* of boastful activity by adding stronger dimensions to גדל, with its climax appropriately at the end of the vision report in vs. 11, as shown in table 26.[2]

Table 26. Literary Crescendo of the Verbal Root גדל

Text	Actor	Verb	Extension
8:4	ram	גדל hif.	—
8:8	male goat	גדל hif.	exceedingly (literal: up to very)
8:9b	horn	גדל qal	exceedingly toward the south and toward the sunrise and toward the beauty
8:10a	horn	גדל qal	up to the host of heaven
8:11a	horn	גדל hif.	even* up to the commander of the host

*The emphatic position of עַד שַׂר־הַצָּבָא before the verb is here expressed by "even."

[1]Note also the adjective of the root גדל in the phrase הַקֶּרֶן הַגְּדוֹלָה in Dan 8:8, 21.

[2]See Pröbstle, "Linguistic Analysis of Daniel 8:11, 12," 85. A progression related to the verb "magnify itself" is also noted by Collins who locates the delayed climax of the pattern in vs. 25 (*Daniel*, FOTL, 85, 88). For Goldingay and Bucher-Gillmayer the גדל-pattern works toward a climax in vs. 11, where גדל is used for the last time in the vision (Goldingay, *Daniel*, 197; Bucher-Gillmayer, "Gedankenverlauf," 63), whereas for Lucas the keyword גדל enhances the building up to a climax of the vision in vs. 12, which for him is the end of the vision report (*Daniel*, 210). However, Lucas agrees with Collins that the climax of the whole chapter is the description of the referent of the horn and its downfall in vss. 23-25.

Although the verbal root גדל is constructed in different stems (Qal in vss. 9b and 10a; Hiphil in vss. 4, 8, and 11a), the literary *crescendo* still functions, because גדל in the Qal with human subject is very close to the inwardly transitive use or the reflexive use of גדל in the Hiphil.[1] The difference between Qal and Hiphil forms is, however, not "purely stylistic,"[2] because the Hiphil forms have a specific structural function. It is the Hiphil of גדל that expresses most poignantly the idea of self-magnification and thus הִגְדִּיל is used to describe all three powers—ram, he-goat, and horn—at the height of their arrogant activities.

There is more to it. The arrangement of the keyword גדל is intentional to create a triple pattern of the theme "hubris leads to a great fall" (see table 27). The Hiphil of גדל is used at specific places in the description of the ram's and the goat's activities, namely to designate their final activity just before their fall into ruin. The last activity of the ram is וְהִגְדִּיל "and he made himself great" (vs. 4), after which immediately follows the description of the he-goat who puts an end to the ram's power. As the he-goat reaches his might, the last verb used is again הִגְדִּיל "he magnified himself" exceedingly (vs. 8a), after which immediately the large horn of the goat is broken (vs. 8b). The "hubris leads to a great fall" theme is highlighted in vs. 8b by two additional features: first, by the phrase וּכְעָצְמוֹ "but as soon as he was mighty," indicating the sequential relation between making oneself great and the breaking of the power, and second, by giving the horn to be broken, which was formerly designated as conspicuous (vs. 5), now the adjectival

---

[1]Bergmann, Ringgren, and Mosis, 2:403-404.

[2]*Pace* Goldingay, *Daniel*, 197.

attribute “great” (גָּדוֹל), repeating the root גדל and thus again emphasizing the insolent greatness of the goat’s horn.

Table 27. “Hubris Leads to a Great Fall” Theme in Daniel 8

Main Actor	Hubris	Fall
Ram	magnified himself (גדל hif., vs. 4)	Fall immediate: end of the ram (vs. 5-7) whose horns are broken (שׁבר in vs. 7)
Goat	magnified himself exceedingly (גדל hif., vs. 8a)	Fall immediate: large horn broken (שׁבר) (vs. 8b)
Horn	grew exceedingly (גדל, vs. 9b) grew up (גדל, vs. 10a) magnified himself (גדל hif., vs. 11a)	Fall delayed: holy restored (vs. 14c)
King	in his heart he magnified himself (גדל hif., vs. 25c)	Fall immediate: king broken (שׁבר) (vs. 25f)

After the “hubris leads to a great fall” theme has been clearly demonstrated two times, and thus is established as a pattern, it is launched once more in the description of the third power, the horn. The haughtiness of the horn is vehemently increased by the triple use of גדל.

Regarding content, the גדל-pattern that structures the vision thematically culminates in vs. 11 with the use of the keyword הִגְדִּיל (vs. 11a). The structure of this pattern is shown in table 28.

Table 28. גדל-Pattern in Daniel 8:9-11

Reference	Form	Affected Object	Spatial Dimension
Verse 9	גדל qal + אֶל	south, east (peers?), beauty	horizontal
Verse 10	גדל qal + עַד	host of heaven/stars	vertical
Verse 11	גדל hif. + עַד	commander of the host	vertical & inward

It is readily seen that the development of the horn described by the keyword גדל takes place in three dimensions: vs. 9b describes the geographical greatness, vs. 10 the religious actions against the host of heaven, and vs. 11 the self-magnification unto the commander of the host.[1]

However, only the last occurrence of גדל is in the Hiphil stem, as it has been used at the end of the activities of the ram and of the he-goat. Verse 11a describes the ultimate "making oneself great" because the prince of the host, up to which the horn makes itself great, appears to be the highest measure available. It apparently is impossible to make oneself higher than this. Hence, there needs to be a fall. In other words, the use of the keyword גדל in vs. 11a demands by its strategic placement previously at the end of the description of the ram and of the he-goat an inevitable downfall of the arrogant horn.

In fact, the horn moving into heaven conforms to the "Lucifer pattern" as found in

[1]Gese, 408; Vogel, "Cultic Motif," 84-87.

Isa 14:12-15.[1] If Dan 8:10-11 builds upon such a pattern, and there appears to be enough evidence to suggest it, the horn is anticipated to fall. For God brings down the haughty one(s), and whoever exalts himself up to heaven will inevitably experience defeat. The fate of some of the host or stars is expected to become the fate of the horn, namely to fall down from heaven to earth.

The question raised is, When will the power of the horn be broken? The brief but effective description of the success of the horn's host in vs. 12c and 12d heightens the tension, for it is the first time that hubris does not lead to an immediate fall, but indeed appears to have divine-like success.[2] The interposing question in vs. 13 asks exactly

---

[1]Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 88 (cf. idem, *Daniel* [1993], 332). Many see a connection of some sort (allusion, elaboration) between Dan 8:10-12 and Isa 14:12-15. See, e.g., von Lengerke, 377; Kranichfeld, 293; Behrmann, 53-54; Prince, *Daniel*, 146; Driver, *Daniel*, 116; Montgomery, 334-335; Linder, 335; Jeffery, 474; Porteous, *Daniel* (1965), 124; Delcor, 173; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 70, 75 n. 12; Baldwin, 157; Hartman and Di Lella, 236; Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, 8 (idem, "Visionsbericht," 422); Maier, 304; Niditch, 228-229; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 201, 210; Bartelmus, "שָׁמַיִם," 8:219 (cf. idem, "*šāmajim* – Himmel," 101-102); Haag, *Daniel*, 67 (cf. idem, "Menschensohn," 180-182); Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 169-170; Smith-Christopher, 113; Buchanan, *Daniel*, 239; Redditt, 140; Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan*, 183-184; Gowan, *Daniel*, 120; Beyerle, 36-37. Terminological links between the two passages are found in Dan 8:10-11 and Isa 14:12-13 and consist of נפל "fall" (vs. 12), אֶרֶץ "earth" (vs. 12), כּוֹכָב "stars" (vs. 13), שָׁמַיִם "heaven" (vs. 13), and רום hif. "rise" (vs. 13). Although there is "no significant reuse of vocabulary that unambiguously points back to Isaiah" it seems that "the use of Isaianic texts elsewhere in Daniel" makes it "probable that there is a direct allusion to Isa 14" (Michael A. Knibb, "'You Are Indeed Wiser Than Daniel': Reflections on the Character of the Book of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL, no. 106 [Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993], 410). More importantly, however, seems to be the thematic pattern for both passages show a common rebellion theme against the highest God accompanied with usurpatory intentions. Frequently, Isa 14:12-15, and hence also Dan 8:10-11, is considered to reflect traditional ancient Near Eastern myths of rebellion against the chief god, examples of which are suggested to be the Ugaritic myth of the morning star Athtar's attempt to take over Baal's throne, the Mesopotamian myth of Zu, the Hurrian-Hittite Kumarbi and Ullikummi texts, the Greek Titanomachis in Hesiod's *Theogony*, Greek myth in Nonnos of the revolt of Typhon against Zeus (cf. Gowan, *Daniel*, 117). The horn's hubris in Dan 8 has also been compared with the "Ezekiel's Eden myth" of the fall in Ezek 28 (Margaret Barker, *The Older Testament: The Survival of Themes from the Ancient Royal Cult in Sectarian Judaism and Early Christianity* [London: SCPK, 1987], 236, 239).

[2]Gzella notes the "novelty" that the horn's "hybris has some initial success" (140).

about the end of the horn's activities and thereby still intensifies the structural imbalance. This is rhetoric of suspense at its best.

The tension is resolved only by the positive statement of the last two words in vs. 14 (וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ), and finally by the negative statement of the last words of the actual interpretation in vs. 25. Indeed, vs. 25 again uses the keyword גדל hif. for the hubris of the king and then the keyword שׁבר "break" which was employed in the description of the fall of the ram (vs. 7) as well as of the fall of the he-goat's mighty horn (vs. 8b). In this regard, Collins is correct when he finds the fulfillment of the fall of the horn delayed, not only by the angelic dialogue in vss. 13-14 but also by the epiphany of the angelic interpreter and most of his interpretation until in vs. 25 it is said that the king who magnified himself will finally be broken by no human hand.[1] However, Collins obviously does not attribute to the positive וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ (vs. 14c) the crucial place which it merits in light of the arrangement of vss. 9-14, where it serves as divine countermeasure to the activities of the horn.[2] The restoration of קֹדֶשׁ certainly implies the downfall of the horn, which is then explicitly mentioned in vs. 25. If a literary function can be attributed to the absence of any reference to the horn's fall in the vision report, it certainly is that it increases the emphasis on the positive activity expressed by וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ.

Characterization of the Horn Figure

The one fairly full-fledged character in 8:9-14 is the horn. Both the host of

---

[1]Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 88.

[2]Gzella also recognizes that vs. 14c describes the end of the horn in parallel to the end of the ram and of the he-goat (146).

heaven and the commander of the host are passive figures that are not at all characterized, though it is obvious that they belong to the good side. The character of the horn is expressed only through its action. There is no description of its character, nor any utterance by it in the vision.[1] Therefore, the semantic fields that can be recognized in this passage play a significant role in the characterization of the horn figure.

Horn as King

One can easily recognize that the horn is presented as a powerful king. After the previous animals and horns, which symbolically stand for kingdoms and kings, the horn is naturally understood as another king or kingdom. Later in Dan 8, the interpretation of the vision substitutes the symbolic horn with מֶלֶךְ "king" (8:23). The military and royal terminology used in 8:9-12 confirms that the horn functions as king and royal leader of its army (צָבָא, vs. 12a).

Horn as Priest (Anti-Priest)

The involvement of the horn with the cultic matters suggests that it shows an intense interest in the cult. It is in its cultic interest that the horn differs from the previous kings and kingdoms in whose description the cultic element is almost totally absent. Whereas the activities of the ram and of the he-goat, as well as their collision, are described in military terms only, which point undoubtedly to the militaristic nature of the

---

[1]To be sure, the angelic interpretation in Dan 8 contains such characterizing material: The king, which the horn symbolizes, is described as עַז־פָּנִים וּמֵבִין חִידוֹת "insolent and skilled in intrigue" (vs. 23), he acts with שֶׂכֶל "shrewdness" and מִרְמָה "deceit," and the psychological view reveals that בִּלְבָבוֹ יַגְדִּיל "he will magnify himself in his heart" (vs. 25). Cf. the intertextual analysis of 8:23-26 (below).

events, the activities of the horn are described first in military language, but then in increasingly clearer cultic terminology. The horn not only interferes with the cult and the priestly function of the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא. On top of that, the horn acts as priest itself. As the subject of the verb הֵרִים, the horn is presented as an official of the cult, since the subject of רום hif. + מִן with the meaning "to set aside from, remove from" in a cultic context is typically an official of the cult, usually a priest. Furthermore, by magnifying itself to the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא the horn obviously has ambitions to take the position of the commander of the host. It is then reasonable to assume that the horn takes away the *tāmîd* from the commander of the host only to be itself in charge over it. Since the agent of a cultic *tāmîd* activity is a priest, often the high priest, the horn takes the position of a (high) priest. And finally, if the preposition עַל in vs. 12a is understood to mean that the horn sets a host "in control over" the *tāmîd* (but probably עַל should better be understood in the sense of "against"), the horn functions as the high priest who commands his own priestly host.

From the viewpoint of the book of Daniel, the horn oversteps its boundaries as a king when it gets involved in cultic matters.[1] Such an offense must earn God's disapproval and provoke divine punishment.

Horn as God (Anti-YHWH)

The motif of the *Himmelsstürmer* is expressed in that the horn rises toward the

---

[1]Whenever in the book of Daniel a king is involved in matters of cult and worship it is presented in a negative light and earns divine disapproval and judgment: Dan 1:2; chap. 3; 5:2-4, 20, 23; chap. 6; 9:26-27; 11:31, 36.

stars of heaven and even magnifies itself up to the commander of the host. The horn personifies arrogance, presumption, and usurpation of the prerogatives of the divine commander of the host.[1] In striving for that commander's place, the horn is portrayed as presumptiously trying to be divine.[2]

That the horn plays God is discernible in two other places as well. The first hint is the Niphal form תִּנָּתֵן (8:12a), for the following reasons: A Niphal passive without explicit agent frequently indicates that God is the agent (*passivum divinum*),[3] and the verb נתן is not seldom associated with divine action.[4] The context, however, does not point to God as agent of תִּנָּתֵן.[5] This is not to say that the divine associations of the passive תִּנָּתֵן should not receive attention, but they must be applied to the horn. Probably intentionally

---

[1]Commentators agree that the horn represents an extremely arrogant, god-despising character or power, and the variety of designations for this figure and its actions is endless. For example, the horn is portrayed as "Himmelsstürmer" (Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, 8; idem, "Visionsbericht," 421-422), "the antagonist of God in the vision [who] is an aggressor of the powers of cosmic order who charges into heaven, full of arrogance and adept in secret knowledge" (Lebram, *Daniel*, 93), "the arch villain" (Anderson, *Signs and Wonders*, 91), "archetype of arrogance" (Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 98), a person with an "excessively exaggerated urge for power" (Haag, *Daniel*, 11), or in a conscious anachronism as "the Antichrist" (Behrens, 331). The actions and the attitude of the horn are designated, for example, as "acts of pride and presumption" (Driver, *Daniel*, 116), "arrogant assault" (Lattey, 86), "sacrilegious presumption (Nötscher, *Daniel*, 43), "immeasurable arrogance" (Bentzen, 69), "iconoclastic campaign" (Saydon, 636), "God-defiant hubris" (Nelis, 96), "self-aggrandizement" (Kraeling, 57), and "megalomania" (Archer, 7:100).

[2]Delcor uses the term "deification" (173), and Davies takes Dan 8:8-12 as "a picture of a king who aspires . . . ultimately to a divine status" (*Daniel*, 98).

[3]From 71 Niphal forms in the Hebrew parts of Daniel the following function as divine passives: Dan 8:1 (2x), 14, 25; 9:24, 26e (?), 27 (?); 10:1a, 12; 11:36g; 12:10 (?).

[4]The verb נתן is associated with divine action in 4 out of 17 cases in the Hebrew parts of Daniel (1:2, 9, 17; 9:10.), and in 19 out of 24 occurrences of נתן or יהב "give" in the Aramaic of Daniel (2:21, 23, 37, 38; 4:13, 14, 22, 29; 5:18, 19, 28; 7:4, 6, 11, 12, 14, 22, 27; 7:25).

[5]See the comments in the section "The divine retaliation understanding" in chapter 2 above.

they suggest that the horn usurps the position of God and simulates his doing. In the act of giving a host against/over the *tāmî d*, the horn delegates power, as God usually does, and demonstrates that it is the lord over the cult.

The second indication is the prospering of the host of the horn, the anti-host (וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה, 8:12c and 12d). As elaborated above, the theological significance of the verb צלח hif., particularly when it occurs in sequence after the verb עשׂה (Gen 39:3, 23; Josh 1:8; Ps 1:3; 2 Chr 31:21), is that it frequently denotes God as the one who provides success to those in conformity with his will. However, in Dan 8:12 the horn is the reason why the host that conforms to the horn's will prospers (in 8:24 it is the king himself who succeeds). The text portrays the horn as guarantor of the counter-host, exercising the divine role of providing success.

In sum, the text in Dan 8:9-12 characterizes the horn as arrogantly assuming the role of God. Because of such usurpation, the horn has correctly been designated as an "anti-YHWH."[1]

Horn as Chaos Force (Anti-Creator)

Finally, the horn seems to be portrayed as chaos force. In the symbolic language of Dan 8:10 it appears that the horn takes command over the whole creation, over heaven, earth, and the stars. It grows up to the host of heaven and throws down some of the stars to the earth. By bringing stars to earth the language implies on the symbolic level that the horn goes against the creation order and throws it into chaos. In light of this kind of

---

[1]Haag, *Daniel*, 11.

"anti-creation language" in 8:9-12 the expression עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר "evening-morning" in vs. 14b, being a clear allusion to creation, receives deeper significance. It signals that the destructive activities of the horn and its host are countered by an activity that is associated with creation.[1] Thus, the activity expressed by וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ in vs. 14c is expected to restore or re-create what has been damaged by the horn. Here, the typical apocalyptic imagery that the end time resembles the primeval time (*Endzeit gleicht Urzeit*), or the end is like the beginning, proves to be true. Creation motifs are projected into the future.[2]

Summary

In summary, the horn is another שַׂר־הַצָּבָא. The horn is not only portrayed as a power in military terms but also as a power in priestly or cultic terms. It fulfills the role of a king *and* of a priest. Having its own host, it acts as another שַׂר־הַצָּבָא. The climax of the vision in Dan 8 describes an attack on the cult and the cultic personnel. The horn wages a cultic war. However, the grandiose pretensions of the "divine" horn should lead to an inevitable downfall.

With such a characterization it should not be surprising at all that the horn can be described as the earthly embodiment of the evil forces and of the ultimate opposition to the divine. Behind the reality symbolized by the horn stands nothing else than the

---

[1]A similar creation motif is found in the Hurrian-Hittite song about Ullikummi in which the heaven-threatening diorite Ullikummi, who has violated the creation order of the separation between heaven and earth, is cut off by the same primordial copper cutting tool that had separated heaven and earth in creation (cf. Volkert Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, HO 1,15 [Leiden: Brill, 1994], 88-96). The conceptual similarity to Dan 8 is recognized by Roy E. Gane, "Hurrian Ullikummi and Daniel's 'Little Horn,'" in Shalom Paul's *Festschrift* (Leiden: Brill, in press).

[2]John J. Collins, "Apocalyptic Literature," in *The Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible*, ed. L. G. Perdue, Blackwell Companions to Religion (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 434.

archfiend, the satanic figure.[1]

Literary Structure of Daniel 8:9-14

Introduction

The structure of the text is derived from its own structural signals. The individual elements of the text join together in a network of relations to form the structure of the text. Structural features may function on different levels: on the surface structure or the level of form to create cohesion (e.g., deictic elements, elements of junction, repetitions), on the deep structure or the level of meaning to create coherence (e.g., semantic fields that comprise themes, thematic variety and progression), and on the level of pragmatics, that is, how text elements work together for a unified effect on the reader.[2] In the following analysis such features of Dan 8:9-14 will be identified in order to recognize the structure of the composition more clearly.

At first, the form or genre of Dan 8 is established. After an overview of different structures suggested for chap. 8—in scholarly literature, the structure of 8:9-14 has always been integrated in the overall structure and form of chap. 8—the focus will be

---

[1]Nickelsburg suspects that the "chief demon" (*Resurrection*, 15) "is envisioned as the demonic power behind the king," which for him represents Antiochus Epiphanes (ibid., 31 n. 100). Similarly, Haag suggests that the vision in Dan 8:9-12 describes "enigmatically . . . the appearance of the anti-YHWH as the earthly expression of a revolt against God that takes place in heaven to which a part of the host of stars fall victim" (*Daniel*, 11). Haag even goes so far to regard the horn as a symbol for the anti-YHWH of the end time of which Antiochus IV is a historical embodiment (ibid., 64). Gzella argues that the vision report in Dan 8 reveals "the cosmic universal pattern of a power-struggle in the transcendent realm in the way the angels see it" (156).

[2]Cf. Utzschneider and Nitsche, 65-75. On the distinction between cohesion and coherence see Eve-Marie Becker, "Was ist 'Kohärenz'? Ein Beitrag zur Präzisierung eines exegetischen Leitkriteriums," *ZNW* 94 (2003): 97-121.

specifically on 8:9-14. Major tasks of the literary-structural analysis that I will pursue are to establish the place of 8:9-14 in the vision of chap. 8, to determine the individual structural units of 8:9-14, including the question as to where the vision proper ends and the audition starts, to give a justification for the delimitation of this passage, and finally to describe the interplay of structural features in the text. In the course of discussing the text's structural features, I will also deal with the question of unity. As an extended summary of the findings I will offer a structural commentary of 8:9-14 that concentrates attention on the individual structural devices.

Genre of Daniel 8

The genre of Dan 8 is that of a symbolic vision report.[1] Of course, genre can only be determined by means of comparative material. For Dan 8, as well as for Dan 7, such comparative texts have been searched in the biblical corpus as well as in the ancient Near Eastern traditions. Niditch, Koch, and Behrens all studied the development of the form of vision reports in biblical tradition and concluded that the vision reports in Daniel are in

---

[1]Slightly different terms are used to designate the same conceptual form, such as "symbolic vision" (Niditch, 215-216, 232; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 200, who argues that Dan 8 is not a dream vision by pointing out that the characteristic terminology, as used in Dan 7:1, 2, 7, 13, is absent in chap. 8 [201]), "symbolic dream vision" (Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 86; idem, *Daniel* [1993], 54-55, 342; Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 166), "symbolic vision report" (Lucas, *Daniel*, 31-35, 208), or "prophetic vision report" (Behrens, 317), or just "vision report" (Freer; Koch, "Visionsbericht," 413-446). The designation as "apocalyptic narrative" (Redditt, 135), however, is too general, whereas to regard Dan 8 as a symbolic "animal vision" (Porter, 6-8, 12) or even as "theriomorphic historical allegory" (Reid, 95) appears too specifically focused on the use of animal imagery and the allegorical mode of the vision proper and loses sight of the other elements in Dan 8 (on literary allegories of the Danielic visions see Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision*, 110-115).

continuity with the visions in the prophets, presenting a late stage of development.[1] Collins agrees, but also would like to "allow for influence from Near Eastern dream interpretation and possibly from Persian sources too."[2] However, there is no question that formally Dan 8:9-14 is bound into the biblical tradition.

What is a "vision report"? According to Collins, the symbolic dream visions in historical apocalypses, to which he also counts Dan 7 and 8, show a typical pattern: an indication of the circumstances, a description of the vision introduced by a term such as "behold," a request for interpretation, an interpretation by an angel, and concluding material that may include the reaction of the seer, instructions, or parenesis.[3] Daniel 8

---

[1]Niditch identifies three stages in the development of what she defines as "symbolic visions": the simple and short visions of pre-exilic prophets (Amos 7-8; Jer 1; 24), the more complex and longer early post-exilic visions (Zech 1-6), and the even more complex "baroque" visions of Dan 7 and 8 (*The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition*). Independently, Koch argues also that the apocalyptic vision report goes back to a prophetic language pattern. According to Koch, the continuity between prophetic and apocalyptic vision report is seen in the constant pattern of a two-part division, a vision followed by a dialogue of a celestial being and the visionary. Especially within the second element the pattern varies, which shows a development from Amos over Zechariah to Daniel. Still, for Koch the vision report constitutes a specific *Gattung*, despite the fact that there are major points of discontinuity: The vision report in the apocalyptic book (1) is essential, whereas in the prophets visions are exceptional; (2) includes the dismay of the visionary; (3) portrays a hierarchical angelic world; and (4) is in need of an interpretation that is indispensable ("Vom profetischen zum apokalyptischen Visionsbericht," 425-430). Behrens argues that from a formal point of view the vision reports in Dan 8:3-14, Dan 10:5-14, and Dan 12:5-7 do not differ from other prophetic vision reports (314-345, esp. 333-345). Thus, language, form, and genre show no real difference between prophetic and apocalyptic texts of vision reports (337). For Behrens, the development of apocalyptic out of prophecy manifests itself only in elements of discontinuity that are rooted in the world view of the writers—pseudonymity, broad historical overview, radical end—but not in literary phenomena (339-342); therefore his designation of Dan 8:3-14 as "prophetic vision report" (317). This challenges Koch's and Collins's literary-historical and form-critical approach to the apocalyptic phenomenon.

[2]Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 6-8 (citation from p. 8).

[3]Ibid. (cf. *Daniel* [1993], 54-55). Collins lists under the genre of symbolic dream visions Dan 7-8; 1 Enoch 83-84 (*Book of Dreams*); 85-91 (*Animal Apocalypse*); 4 Ezra 11-12; 13; 2 Apocalypse of Baruch 35-47; 53-77.

indeed exhibits all elements of such a pattern (see the next section); not surprisingly so, since Dan 8 is part of the texts that are used to establish the category of the genre "symbolic dream vision." According to Behrens, the principal pattern of a "prophetic vision report" consists of two parts, a vision proper and a dialogue, with their peculiar linguistic features. The vision opens with ראה followed by a nominal clause introduced by וְהִנֵּה, which starts the description of the vision. The dialogue opens with a *wayyiqtol*-form of אמר. The first speech act to follow is always direct speech in the form of a question or an imperative. The dialogue ends with a comment by YHWH or his messenger.[1] For Behrens, therefore, 8:3-14 is a clear example of a vision report, since it shows all constituent elements of such a genre, and the inclusion of the reaction of the seer (vss. 15-19) and the interpretation (vss. 20-25) under the vision report is form-critically not legitimate.[2] Gzella defines 8:3-12 as a "vision report" but not as a "symbolic" vision report, for the designation "symbolic," he argues, would convey the idea that the vision report is allegoric and was invented to illustrate a specific political situation. Gzella demonstrates quite convincingly that Dan 8 should not be understood as an invented allegory, but as "a revelation of transcendent reality."[3] However, the term

---

[1]Behrens, 32-60, 377-378.

[2]Ibid., 320-321. The designation of vss. 3-14 as a complete vision report is *pace* Koch ("Visionsbericht") who presents the vision in vss. 2aβ-14 and the interpretation in vss. 15-26 as two main parts of one vision report (see Behrens, 320 n. 22).

[3]Gzella, 38, 63-68, 82, 111, 143. Gzella's reasons for the unallegorical nature of the vision in Dan 8 include the following: (1) the impression of an eye-witness is created by the "I, Daniel" formula; (2) the repetitive use of the verb ראה (vss. 3, 4, 6, 7) emphasizes the visual perception; (3) transcendent beings are described in vss. 13-14 as independently beholding the vision, giving an objective perspective to it; (4) these angels and their dialogue are not understood as allegorical by the narrator, and therefore the other elements of the vision, some of which are referred to in the angelic

"symbolic" should neither be mistaken to express that the text is allegorical of a contemporary historical situation, nor be understood in a way that the text does not offer an account of a true visionary revelation.

If the term "symbolic" by definition means that the vision conveys a meaning that goes beyond the lexical meaning of its words but does not need to be identical with its interpretative, historical application—as was suggested in chapter 2 above—it is indeed possible to designate Dan 8 as a symbolic vision report.

Daniel 8:9-11 is permeated by symbolic language: an inanimate, concrete entity—a horn—is combined with active verbs and functions like a living agent. The horn is thus personified.[1] Similarly, that stars can be caused to fall from heaven and be trampled upon is clearly to be understood as symbolic. It is interesting to note that such symbolic language appears to be absent from vs. 12, as well as from vss. 13-14. This might again be evidence that vs. 12 does not belong to the vision proper.

Structure of Daniel 8

There is general agreement among scholars on the basic structure of Dan 8. The identification of the main parts of the chapter is unproblematic: an introduction (vss. 1-2),

---

dialogue, are probably not allegorical either; (5) the point of contact between the realm of the vision and the historical reality (e.g., the sanctuary) cannot be understood as allegorical. For the view that the vision report describes a true manifestation, see also Behrens, 331-33; and Agustinus Gianto, "Some Notes on Evidentiality in Biblical Hebrews," in *Biblical and Oriental Essays in Memory of William L. Moran*, ed. A. Gianto, BibOr, no. 48 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2005), 145-149.

[1]The inanimate horn is the subject of the verbs יצא (vs. 9a), גדל (vss. 9b, 10a, 11a), נפל hif. (vs. 10b), רמס (vs. 10c), and רום hif. (vs. 11b), and also the logical subject of the verbs שלך (vs. 11c) and נתן (vs. 12a). All these activities of a horn are unique to Dan 8:9-11 and do not occur elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. In fact, horns occur as an agent only in symbolic visions in Zechariah and Daniel (Zech 2:2, 4; Dan 8:3, 8, 9).

a vision report including an audition (vss. 3-14), an epiphany of an interpreter (vss. 15-18), an interpretation (vss. 19-26), and a conclusion (vs. 27). Minor differences are found in determining the end of the introduction (usually vs. 2a or vs. 2b),[1] the beginning of the actual interpretation (usually vs. 19 or vs. 20),[2] and the end of the interpretation (vs. 25, vs. 26a, or vs. 26b).[3]

In the following, I parallel eight structural outlines of Dan 8 (see table 29) that are based on a more detailed observation of formal structural devices—that is, discourse formulas (superscriptions, formulaic introductions or conclusions), discourse markers (וַיְהִי), linguistic markers (וְהִנֵּה), rhetoric markers (comment, summary, time or geographic indicators), shifts (time, place, person, etc.), length of units, etc.—of the terminological device of repetition, and of thematic devices (similar type of content between units, progression of thought, spatial relations etc.). These outlines stand out against the majority of outlines that solely use thematic criteria and often are merely a structured description of the content. The parallel columns in the table are arranged

---

[1]It is the exception to assign to the introduction only vs. 1 (Hall, 197-198; Reddit, *Daniel*, 135), or vss. 1-3 (Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision*, 222), or even vss. 1-4 (Hasslberger, 79).

[2]Apart from those who do not distinguish between the epiphany of the interpreter and the interpretation proper and thus regard the beginning of the interpretation in vs. 15, the actual interpretation is perceived to begin with vs. 18 (Smith-Christopher, 115), vs. 19 (Prince, *Daniel*, 142; Marti, *Daniel*, 61; Plöger, *Daniel*, 123-129; Delcor, 168; Freer, 38; Towner, 118; Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 328 [earlier, Collins included the indication of circumstances in vs. 18 under the interpretation (*Daniel*, FOTL, 84)]; Bauer, *Das Buch Daniel*, 166), or vs. 20 (Keil, 316; Obbink, 55-56; Hall, 197-198; Hasslberger, 81; Goldingay, *Daniel,* 203-204; Redditt, 142-145).

[3]For most commentators the conclusion comprises vs. 27 only. Some prefer a structure with a two-part conclusion and include the whole of vs. 26 (Marti, *Daniel*, 63; Jeffery, 354; Freer, 39, 52; Smith-Christopher, 117; Gowan, *Daniel*, 116) or only vs. 26b in the conclusion (Koch, "Visionsbericht," 416).

Table 29. Structural Division of Daniel 8

	Hasslberger 1977:79-81	Koch 1986:416-421	Collins 1993:328	Goldingay 1989:203-204	Bucher-Gillmayr	Behrens 2002:317-320	Lucas 2002:208-209	Gzella 2003:65, 88,
1	1-4	1-2a	1-2	1-2a	1-2a	1-2	1-2a	1-2
2		2b		2b	2b-8a		2b	
3		3-4	3-4	3-4		3-4	3-4	3-4
4								
5	5-7	5-6	5a 5b-8b	5-8		5-7	5	5-7
6							6-7	
7		7-8a						
8	8	8b-12	8c-12		8b-12	8-12	8	8-12
9	9-10			9-12			9-12	
10								
11	(-11-14)							
12								
13		13a 13b-14	13a 13b-14	13	13-14	13-14	13-14	13-14
14				14				
15	15-19	15-19a	15-18	15-19	15-18	15-19	15-18	15-18
16								
17								
18								
19		19b	19		19		19	19-25
20	20	20	20	20	20-22	20-25	20	
21	21	21	21a 21b	21			21	
22	22	22-25	22	22			22	
23	23-25		23-25	23-25	23-25		23-25	
24								
25								
26	(-26a) 26b.c	26a 26b	26	26	26	26	26a 26b-27	26
27	27a-e (-f)	27	27	27	27	27		27

synoptically from left to right according to the publication date.[1] In general, the synoptic columns show agreement on the main structural divisions in Dan 8. To some extent, the text-grammatical outline by Bucher-Gillmayr differs. She does not divide Dan 8 into two main parts between vs. 14 and vs. 15. Rather, she detects three text-grammatical units or macro-predications—short introduction (vss. 1-2a), vision (vss. 2b-26), and Daniel's return to the real world (vs. 27)—and subdivides the long, second unit into smaller parts according to alternating semantic relations and connections from complex and manifold, to simple and singular.[2]

It is not necessary here to discuss all structural aspects of Dan 8. As already mentioned, the main outline of the chapter is clear. Instead, I will focus attention on the structural questions in relation to vss. 9-14.

Structure of Daniel 8:9-14

At several points the structure of Dan 8:9-14 has been perceived differently. The

---

[1]Koch's structure was originally presented in 1979 and first published in 1983. His table of the structural analysis of Dan 8 reprinted in 1996 (in Klaus Koch, *Von der Wende der Zeiten: Beiträge zur apokalyptischen Literatur*, ed. U. Gleßmer and M. Krause, Gesammelte Aufsätze, vol. 3 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1996], 172-173), which I follow here, differs from the one published in 1983 ("Visionsbericht," between pp. 432 and 433) in that it takes 8:15-19a as one of the main parts of Dan 8 ("Interaction by the seer"), whereas earlier Koch regarded the interaction as part of the section of the interpretation. Collins's outline of Dan 8 is the one provided in his 1993 commentary. Only for Dan 8:3-14 and 8:19-25 do I follow Collins's more detailed outline in *Daniel*, FOTL, 84-85. Note also that Collins slightly altered his outline of vss. 15-26: While in his previous FOTL commentary the epiphany of an interpreter (vss. 15-17) and the interpretation (vss. 18-26) are separate units on the same structural level (*Daniel*, FOTL, 84), in his 1993 commentary the interpretation comprises all of vss. 15-26 and is subdivided by the epiphany (vss. 15-18), the interpretation proper (vss. 19-25), and the conclusion (vs. 26) (*Daniel* [1993], 328).

[2]Bucher-Gillmayr, 60-61. The subunits of the vision are vss. 3-8a (numerous relations: between "I" and ram in vss. 3-4 and between "I," ram, and he-goat in vss. 5-8a), vss. 8b-12d (relations are all to the horn), vss. 13-19 (different relations: between "I" and Gabriel), vss. 20-22 (limited relations), vss. 23-25 (relations are all to the king), and vs. 26 (almost no relations).

main areas of disagreement are the structural status of the horn passage—whether it belongs to the vision of the he-goat or is a structural entity of itself—and the structural placement of the audition—whether it belongs to the first or to the second half of the chapter.

Vision of the Horn (Daniel 8:9-11)

The first question concerns the structural status of the vision of the horn (vss. 9-11).[1] Two different suggestions exist. The description of the horn has been understood as a subsection of the description of the he-goat,[2] or it has been placed structurally on the same level as the descriptions of the he-goat and of the ram.[3] Five of the seven structural outlines presented above for comparison agree that the horn passage belongs to the vision of the he-goat starting with vs. 5,[4] the exception being Bucher-Gillmayr and Behrens. To be sure, Hasslberger and Goldingay appear to present a combination of the two different opinions when they take the horn passage as an entity separate from vss. 5-8 but place it

[1]Of course, all exegetes listed in the structural comparison above take the vision of the horn until vs. 12 inclusively (except Hasslberger who excises vss. 11-14), but I have already shown that vs. 12 should be regarded as part of the audition.

[2]Koch, "Visionsbericht," Überblick 1 (= "Visionsbericht," [1996], 172-173); Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 84; idem, *Daniel* (1993), 328; Redditt, 136-141; Doukhan, *Secrets of Daniel*, 133; Lucas, *Daniel*, 209.

[3]Prince, *Daniel*, 142; Marti, *Daniel*, 57; Plöger, *Daniel*, 126; Jeffery, 354; Freer, 37-39; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 380; Reid, *Enoch and Daniel*, 93; Smith-Christopher, 111-117.

[4]In the structural outlines of Hasslberger, Koch, Collins, and Goldingay the division of the interpretation into the main actors usually parallels the one of the vision. In the outline of Lucas the structural status of the horn is not the same in vision and interpretation (*Daniel*, 209). Whereas in the vision report he takes the small horn as a subunit to the vision of the he-goat, in the interpretation he regards "the small horn interpreted" (vss. 23-25) as a unit on its own on the same hierarchical level as the different interpretation of the ram (vs. 20), the he-goat (vs. 21) and the breaking of the horn (vs. 22).

together with the he-goat passage in the same structural unit.[1] Behrens regards vss. 8-12 structurally as a unit on the same level as the previous one on the he-goat (vss. 5-7), continuing thematically the he-goat section by focusing on the successors of the he-goat from which one horn is singled out.[2]

The reasons for taking the vision of the horn as a continuation of the vision of the he-goat and its horns are of two different kinds. The first is based on the content; more precisely, on the supposed relation of the horn and the he-goat. Since it is usually assumed that the horn mentioned in vs. 9 goes forth from one of the four horns of the he-goat (vs. 8), the horn passage is naturally seen as an extension of the description of the he-goat. However, it is syntactically not clear whether the horn goes forth from one of the four horns or from one of the four winds, and beyond syntactic considerations there are several reasons that can be advanced for each of these two options.[3] It seems therefore best not to decide the structural placement of vss. 9-11 on the grounds of the horn's disputed starting point.

The second reason is based on form; more precisely on the absence of any formulaic introduction of the horn in vs. 9a. Whereas both the ram and the he-goat are introduced formally by a verb of perception in the first-person singular (ראה "see" in vs. 3b; בין "gain understanding" in vs. 5a) followed by הִנֵּה + participle (vss. 3c and 5b), the horn in vs. 9a is not. Verse 9a does not use any formal introduction for the horn. The

---

[1]Hasslberger, 79-80 (after excising vss. 11-14); Goldingay, *Daniel*, 203.

[2]Behrens, 319.

[3]See chapter 2 (above).

best case in point for the formal argumentation is Koch's detailed structural analysis with its discussion of structural signals.[1] As a result, for Koch, as for others, the text material in vss. 9-12 is a subentity of the great horn (vs. 8b). Yet, such a structural division is not without problems. First, the two main entities of the ram and the he-goat—in Koch's outline sections A1, A2, B1, and B2—are referred to throughout their respective sections: the ram (vss. 3c, 4a, 6a, 7a, 7c, 7e, 7h), its proforms (vss. 3d, 4b, 4c, 4d, 6b, 7b, 7d, 7f, 7g), and the verbal forms with the ram as subject (vss. 4d, 4e); and the he-goat (vss. 5b, 5d, 8a), its proforms (vss. 5d, 6b, 7a, 7eI, 7h, 8bI), and the verbal forms with the he-goat as subject (vss. 6a, 6b, 7b, 7c, 7d, 7f, 7g). In light of these formal and thematic features, which naturally give cohesion to the respective text sections, it is rather strange to designate the horn in vss. 9-12 structurally as a subentity of the great horn in vs. 8b or of the he-goat in vs. 8a, while both the great horn and the he-goat are never mentioned or referred to in vss. 9-14, either by proforms or as subjects. A second and minor point is that the passage in vss. 9b-12, which Koch designates as movement and result, presents a comparatively large amount of text: a total of eleven clauses with thirty word combinations. Compared to Koch's other three sections of movement and result (vss. 4b-e, 6, and 7d-8a), which at the most comprise six clauses with nineteen word combinations (vss. 7d-8a), one wonders whether vss. 9-12 should not be better regarded as a separate section than as an outsized subsection. Third and finally, Koch himself appears to be not quite sure about the formal criteria of the supposed introduction of a new entity in vs. 8b

[1]Koch, "Visionsbericht," 417-418, and his "Überblick."

and calls on the possibility of dramatization.[1]

To be sure, the horn in vs. 9a is formally neither introduced by an expression of perception (ראה, בין, שמע), nor by הִנֵּה, nor by a nominal phrase (with participle), as is the case with the ram and the he-goat. However, as Collins observed in another context, "apocalyptic writers do not necessarily have the same concern for formal purity as some form-critics."[2] Are there any reasons why a formal introduction to the description of the horn could be missing? Perhaps the introduction is absent in order to avoid any static aspect. The horn is right from the beginning portrayed as very agile. The introduction of a new entity, the horn, in immediate relation to an activity should be regarded as intentional, especially since all clauses in vss. 9-11 are verbal clauses, and thus characterize the horn as extremely active. Perhaps the lack of any formal structural signal in vs. 9a is intended to move the person of the seer, who is referred to in such formulas, completely into the background and to solely focus on the climax of the vision. Or perhaps, it is for the rhetorical effect of not allowing a breather at the beginning of the vision's dramatic end. Of course, all this remains speculation since there are no clear indications in the text.

---

[1]After Koch observes the unusual sequencing of seven verbal clauses in vss. 11-12, he remarks: "Therefore I *assume* that the time reference וכעצמו vs. 8b marks a similar incision as is usually marked by the retrospective reference to the first person of the visionary, only that here, for the sake of dramatization, there is no reference to the act of perception" ("Visionsbericht," 418; emphasis mine). Koch then recognizes that pejorative expressions have so far been avoided in the text but suddenly appear in the section of vss. 8b-12, such as rebellion (פֶּשַׁע) and the throwing to the ground of the sanctuary and the truth. This is another reason for him to attribute special significance to this section (ibid.). However, it has to be pointed out that these pejorative expressions do not indicate that the section should start in vs. 8b. Rather, since they describe activities of the horn, one could easily argue that the section should start with the introduction of the horn in vs. 9a.

[2]Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 328.

I would like to argue an alternative position, namely that the horn passage is a structural unit on its own, and that several features mark vs. 9a as a new section, in spite of the fact that there seem to be no explicit formal structural markers present in vs. 9a. The following reasons substantiate such a viewpoint.

The strongest indication that the vision of the horn (vss. 9-11) functions structurally on the same level as the visions of the ram (vss. 3-4) and of the he-goat (vss. 5-8) is the structure of the whole vision and the pattern in each of these parts. The structural parallels between these sections are outlined in table 30.[1]

All three subsections of the vision in Dan 8 show the same pattern: an introduction of the main actor describing its location or starting point in geographical terms, then the movement of the main actor which results in absolute power (doing as one pleases) and self-magnification, and the inevitable downfall. Noteworthy are the terminological links in the introduction (ram, horn: אַיִל אֶחָד / קֶרֶן־אַחַת), the geographical starting point (he-goat, horn: preposition מִן), the movement (he-goat, horn: prepositions עַד and אֶל), the description of total power (ram, host of the horn: עשׂה), and the self-magnification (ram, he-goat, horn: הִגְדִּיל).

The use of the verb יצא in vs. 9a underlines subtly the structural status of the horn. First, the clauses with which the actants of the vision (ram, he-goat, horn) are introduced use verbal roots in an order which exemplifies gradual increase in movement and vigor: standing (root עמד in 8:3), coming (root בוא in 8:5), going forth (יצא in 8:9). Second, יצא stands in contrast to the verb עלה that, being the natural term to describe developing

[1]Cf. Koch's outline in which he uses similar categories ("Visionsbericht").

Table 30. Structural Pattern of the Vision in Daniel 8

Main Actor	**Ram** (8:3-4)	**Goat** (8:5-8)	**Horn** (8:9-11, 12-14)
Topic	אַיִל אֶחָד "one ram"	צְפִיר־הָעִזִּים "a male goat"	קֶרֶן־אַחַת "one horn"
Location / Starting Point	standing (עמד) before (לִפְנֵי) the canal (vs. 3)	coming (בוא) from (מִן) the west (vs. 5)	came forth (יצא) from (מִן) one of them from (מִן) smallness (vs. 9a)
Movement	butting westward (ה-) northward (ה-) southward (ה-) (vs. 4)	came up to (עַד) the ram which I had seen standing before the canal rushed toward him (אֶל) (vs. 6) threw down to earth (שלך hif. + אַרְצָה) trampled (רמס +sf.) (vs. 7a)	grew toward (אֶל) the south toward (אֶל) the east toward (אֶל) the beauty (vs. 9b) grew up to (עַד) the host of heaven (vs. 10a) to earth (אַרְצָה) trampled on (רמס +sf.) (vs. 10b-c) threw down to earth (שלך hof., vs. 11c) (שלך hif. + אַרְצָה, vs. 12b)
Result: Total Power & Magnification	total power (vs. 4) וְאֵין מַצִּיל מִיָּדוֹ - וְעָשָׂה כִרְצֹנוֹ - magnified himself (הִגְדִּיל, vs. 4)	total power (vs. 7b-8a) וְלֹא־הָיָה מַצִּיל מִיָּדוֹ - magnified himself (הִגְדִּיל, vs. 8a)	total power (vs. 12c.d) וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה - (horn's host) magnified himself (הִגְדִּיל, vs. 11a)
Fall	immediate fall שבר (vs. 7) next actor: goat	immediate fall שבר (vs. 8) next actor: horn	delayed fall (עַד־מָתַי, vs. 13c) צדק (vs. 14c) next actor implied: God (divine passive, vs. 14c)

horns, is used in the vision for the coming up of horns (vss. 3 and 8). The horn is therefore not presented as a horn growing up from another horn. And third, יצא has a close relation to the antonym בוא that is used for the introduction and the first activity of the goat (vss. 5-6).[1] Thus the description of the horn's first activity in vs. 9a as going forth (יצא) relates it more to the description of the goat in vs. 5 than to the description of the other horns in the vision.

In fact, the horn acts like an animal. What the horn does is similar to what the previous two animals (ram and he-goat) were doing.[2] How can one explain such a phenomenon? One option is that the horn is portrayed as the sole focus of the he-goat, for the he-goat is never mentioned in vss. 9-14. More probable, however, is that the horn is portrayed on the same level as the ram and the he-goat, and thus is not connected to the he-goat. Rather, it is a totally independent entity, which either, at least on the level of imagery, would be connected to a different animal not mentioned in Dan 8, or has to be considered entirely by itself. Even though in Dan 8, and also in Dan 7, horns are usually attached to an animal, the appearance of a horn by itself in 8:9, as surprising as it may be, should not be ruled out as illogical, for in light of Zech 2:1-2 it is possible that in a vision horns appear by themselves.

With regard to the different observations above, the conclusion is inescapable:

---

[1]For the relation between יצא and בוא see Boccaccio, 178-190; J. G. Plöger, 174-184; Preuss, "יָצָא," 6:229-230, 236-237; and van der Lingen, 59-66 (cf. p. 477 under the section "Semantic fields of Dan 8:9-14" [above]).

[2]Goldingay suggests that the horn is "portrayed by synecdoche in terms appropriate to earthly leaders also symbolized by animals" (*Daniel*, 210).

The description of the horn in vss. 9-11 is a structural unit on the same structural level as the previous two sections, the descriptions of the ram and of the he-goat.

At the same time, it is clear that the section of the he-goat ends in vs. 8 and does not extend beyond this verse. This is evident by the use of the keyword גדל hif. which is followed by the root שׁבר. After the he-goat magnified himself, his great horn is broken, which signals, in comparison with the ram (vss. 4, 7), the end of the description of the he-goat. The four horns that come up toward the four winds of heaven are nothing more than an aftermath of the breaking of the great horn. There is only movement described here—probably dispersion, not powerful expansion—but neither a result of the movement, nor the (self)-magnification of these horns, nor any fall. The four horns simply vanish from the vision. Their relative insignificance would also explain why the noun קֶרֶן, or the plural קְרָנוֹת, is not used in either the vision (vs. 8) or in the interpretation (vs. 22).

Audition (Daniel 8:12-14)

The second area of difference in the structural outlines of Dan 8:9-14 is found in the placement of the audition.[1] The majority of scholars include the audition as the final part of the entire vision report, being a distinct unit separate from the previous description of the horn.[2] A few take the audition together with all or parts of the description of the

[1]The discussion on the placement of the audition is independent from the question whether the audition comprises vss. 12-14 or vss. 13-14.

[2]For example, Koch, "Visionsbericht," 417-419, 441-445; Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 84; idem, *Daniel* (1993), 328; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 203; Lucas, *Daniel*, 208-209.

horn, apparently because many elements in the audition incorporate elements from the description of the horn.[1] Indeed, the audition continues the line of thought of the vision of the horn, and is strongly linked to it by the repetition of הַתָּמִיד and שׁלך in vs. 12a-b, if vs. 12 is regarded as belonging to the audition, and by the expressions used in vs. 13c. Yet, the different mode of perception (hearing), the narrative *wayyiqtol* clause in vs. 13a, the introduction of two holy ones (vs. 13a-b), and the reintroduction of the "I" after vs. 7 in vs. 13a all point to the fact that the audition is structurally separate from the horn vision. The reference to חָזוֹן in vs. 13c links the audition through the occurrence of חָזוֹן in vs. 2 to the entire vision. Hence, the audition is structurally part of the entire vision report (vss. 3-14). It is not part of the vision of the horn. Nevertheless, the audition has many connections with the horn vision.

A quite different structural arrangement is proposed by Bucher-Gillmayr and Bauer who take the audition together with the following verses. Bucher-Gillmayr regards vss. 13-19 as a textual unit in which the semantic relations are distinct and complex, involving the "I" (vss. 13-19) as well as "I" and Gabriel (vss.16-19), in contrast to vss. 8b-12d in which only the horn is referred to.[2] Bauer takes vss. 13-18 as a narrative introduction to the interpretation proper without, however, providing any reasons for it.[3]

However, there are strong arguments against the view that the audition belongs

---

[1]Obbink, 55-56; Leupold, 344; Baldwin, 156-158; Smith-Christopher, 113-114.

[2]Bucher-Gillmayr, 61, 70.

[3]Bauer, *Daniel*, 166. Interestingly, while Goldingay places vss. 13-14 in his outline under the symbolic vision (*Daniel*, 203), he also mentions in passing that the celestial dialogue in vss. 13-19 introduces the interpretative part of the vision (ibid., 202).

structurally to the subsequent verses. First of all, the phrase וַיְהִי + ב + infinitive, which introduced in vs. 2 the first main part of Dan 8, introduces in vs. 15a the second main part.[1] Although Bucher-Gillmayr is certainly correct in observing that vs. 15 continues the perception of Daniel,[2] one also has to take note of וָאֲבַקְשָׁה בִינָה in vs. 15b, which describes a non-perceptive activity of Daniel and, as such, briefly interrupts the perception to introduce a reaction on the part of the seer. It is unnecessary to reason, as Bucher-Gillmayr does, that the continuation of perception precludes the possibility that vs. 15a is a structural signal for a new main text unit. The formulaic nature of וַיְהִי + ב + infinitive with a subsequent וְהִנֵּה + participle cannot be disputed, and the statement "When I, Daniel, *had seen the vision* [חָזוֹן]" (vs. 15a) clearly frames with the occurrence of חָזוֹן in vs. 2 the revelatory experience in vss. 3-14. The first perception in the two parts is also similar: in the vision report Daniel saw a ram standing (וְהִנֵּה . . . עֹמֵד, vs. 3) and in the interpretation he saw a man standing (וְהִנֵּה עֹמֵד, vs. 15). Furthermore, both main parts end with a reference to the vision of the evening and morning (vss. 14, 26).[3] If the interpretation concludes in vs. 26a with a statement about "the vision of the evening and morning" right after the activities and downfall of the king, the section on the evening and morning in vss. 13-14 should be taken as following the previous description of the horn and not as opening the interpretative section. For these reasons, the audition belongs to the vision report in vss. 3-14, and vs. 15 starts the second main part in Dan 8.

---

[1]Koch, "Visionsbericht," 416.

[2]Bucher-Gillmayr, 64.

[3]Koch, "Visionsbericht," 416.

Delimitation of Daniel 8:9-14

In addition to the arguments stated above, several other reasons can be put forward as to why the vision of the horn and the audition in Dan 8:9-14 can be delimited beginning in vs. 9a with the vision of the horn and ending in vs. 14c with the conclusion of the audition.

First, there is a disjunction in vs. 9a. The sequential *wayyiqtol* clause in vs. 8c is not followed in vs. 9a by another *wayyiqtol* clause, but instead by an *x-qatal* clause. Since the preverbal וּמִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם in vs. 9a does not introduce a new topic, this construction has to be regarded at least as a slight disruption in the textual flow. The beginning of the next major text unit in vs. 15 is distinctively marked. In vs. 15a there is a clear disjunction with the temporal construction וַיְהִי + ב + infinitive (וַיְהִי בִּרְאֹתִי), which provides a new reference time, namely after the vision, and introduces a new scene in the course of narration. This structural formula introduces the first main part of Dan 8, the vision, in vs. 2b, and it introduces the second main part, the interpretation, in vs. 15a.

Second, thematically the focus and the actors change in vs. 9a. This clause introduces a new protagonist, and from now on the horn and its activities—the horn is the logical subject in each clause until vs. 11c—are the goal and focus of the vision.[1] As soon as the horn has been introduced in vs. 9a, there is no more mention of anything from the previous part of the vision. The only reference back is the phrase "from one of them,"

[1]For Caspari the horn is "the goal and the actual subject-matter of the vision" and all that was said about the ram and the goat "is only a mere passage" to the horn (140); Hasslberger calls the activities of the horn the "goal of the symbolism" (402); and for Porteous the horn and its activities are "of supreme interest" (124).

which occurs just before the mention of the horn, and links vs. 9a to vs. 8c. Thus, vs. 9a is certainly the continuation of the vision report, but the lack of any anaphoric elements that would refer to previous parts suggests strongly that a new subunit of the vision begins in vs. 9a. by introducing a new main actor.[1] As the new main protagonist, the horn has to be placed structurally on the same level as the ram and the he-goat.[2]

Third, the selected elements mentioned in the question in vs. 13c are all found in the part of the vision that deals with the horn, which gives the impression that the text from vs. 9 (the introduction of the horn) to vs. 14 (the answer to the question) is thematically closely related.

Fourth, with the mention of the horn and its activity, expectations are created that are only solved in vs. 14c. In fact, the question in vs. 13c puts these expectations into words that are then met in the answer in vs. 14c.

Fifth, a literary argument is that the shifts of gender, which apparently serve as literary device, start with vs. 9a. Moreover, there are changes in terminology, for example, from vs. 10a on, the heavenly sphere is introduced in the symbolic language.

---

[1]A new subunit in vs. 9a is also recognized by Hasslberger: "For here [vs. 9a] comes to an end what has been described in vs. 8, and a new sub-sequence of events starts, which is syntactically expressed by the same subject in the clauses 9a-10c" (53).

[2]In his structural analysis, Koch places the horn in vs. 9a on the same level as the horns mentioned in vss. 3, 5, 8 and regards them as subtopic, whereas he regards the ram (vs. 3), the he-goat (vs. 5) and the broken great horn (vs. 8b) as the main topic ("Visionsbericht," chart inserted after p. 432). However, it is rather difficult to see why the broken great horn (vs. 8b) should be considered as the main topic of vss. 8-12. The great horn does not function even once as an actant in these verses. On the contrary, the horn introduced in vs. 9a is the major actant in vss. 9-12 and its activities are referred back to by the question in vs. 13. This horn has to be regarded as the main topic and, therefore, should be placed on the same structural level as the ram and the he-goat, but not on the same level as the four horns.

Sixth, the angelic interpretation of the vision (8:20-26) suggests a demarcation between vs. 8c and vs. 9a in the vision. In the angelic interpretation the ram and its two horns, and the he-goat with its large horn and the subsequent four horns are mentioned briefly in prose style and only simple identifications are provided (vss. 20-22; 30 words). The goal of the interpretation is the poetically marked section on "a king," here as reference to the horn and his activities (vss. 23-25; 39 words).[1] It appears that vss. 3-8 are an extended introduction to the horn and its activities. The specific status of the horn appears also to be indicated by the way the different powers are introduced in the interpretation. Whereas the vision imagery of the different powers preceding the horn is always repeated in the interpretation before the identification is given ("ram" and "two horns" in vs. 20, "he-goat" and "large horn" in vs. 21, and the "four" in vs. 22), the interpretation of the horn breaks this pattern by not mentioning the "horn" and immediately speaking about a king (vs. 23).

A comparison of the reasons mentioned above with the criteria for the end and for the beginning of texts specified by Schicklberger confirms that the text of Dan 8:9-14 shows several characteristics of a small text unit.[2] In sum, all considerations lead to the

---

[1]Cf. Maier who points to the length of the interpretation as argument that the horn is the goal and at the same time the center of the prophetic vision (303).

[2]See Franz Schicklberger, "Biblische Literarkritik und linguistische Texttheorie: Bemerkungen zu einer Textsyntax von hebräischen Erzähltexten," *TZ* 34 (1978): 69-71 (cf. the introduction to literary/stylistic criteria and dramatic criteria for the text delimitation in Jean Louis Ska, *"Our Fathers Have Told Us": Introduction to the Analysis of Hebrew Narratives*, SubBi, no. 13 [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1990], 1-3). In pursuing the question how one determines the beginning and the end of a text, Schicklberger identifies the following criteria and elements that can indicate the beginning of a BH text: (1) exposition, (2) entry of a new theme or new activity, (3) presentation of a new situation or naming of new actors, (4) accumulation of nominal sentences, (5) text opening signals, such as וַיְהִי, (6) cataphoric nature of the text while anaphoric elements are

conclusion that Dan 8:9-14 can be delimitated as a passage. Verse 9a is the beginning of the last part of the vision in Dan 8, which then transfers to an audition that is closely related to and continues perfectly this final visionary description. The end of the audition is in vs. 14c, and a new text unit starts in vs. 15a.

Unity of Daniel 8:9-14

The unity of Dan 8 has been challenged at several places. Later interpolations have been suggested mainly for vss. 11-12, 13-14, and 23-25, 26.[1] There are also more

---

lacking, (7) expectation of a continuation of the text, and (8) entities which are later on referred to by pro-forms (70-71). These criteria are formulated in view of larger narrative texts but apply also for smaller texts, though some smaller texts do not show them. For the end of a BH text Schicklberger specifies the following criteria: (1) the fulfillment of the expectations raised in the beginning of the text or during the text, in other words, the text leads to a goal, and (2) the anaphoric nature of the text while cataphoric elements are lacking (71). It goes without saying that the end of a text is indicated indirectly by the following beginning of a new text which can be recognized by its representative criteria. Applying these criteria to Dan 8:9-14 it is evident that vs. 9 fulfills criteria (2), (3), (6), (7), and (8) for the beginning of a text and vs. 14 shows both criteria for the end of a text.

[1]A few examples need to suffice. Junker argued that the whole vision of the horn (vss. 9-14) is an interpolation on the basis that the audition in vss. 13-14 does not refer at all to the vision described in vss. 3-8 (68-69; so also A. Jepsen, "Bemerkungen zum Danielbuch," *VT* 11 [1961]: 390). Lebram considers vss. 11-12a to be a later interpolation and vss. 13-14 to be a still later interpolation (*Daniel*, 93, 95). Verses 13-14 have been considered secondary by Ginsberg (*Studies in Daniel*, 32; cf. "Book of Daniel," 518) and Martin Noth ("Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel," *TSK* 98/99 [1926]: 160 = "Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel," *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament II*, ed. H. W. Wolff, TB, no. 39 [Munich: Kaiser, 1969], 26). Noth assumes that the audition is not part of the vision for two reasons: vss. 13-14 are only loosely connected with the vision, and בִּרְאֹתִי in vs. 15 should prove that the preceding material is the vision only without any audition. However, Freer points out that there are many auditory elements in Dan 9 and 10:1-12:4 (35-36). Hartman regards vss. 13-14 as interpolation since the "holy ones" in vss. 13-14 refer to angels whereas elsewhere in the book of Daniel the term refers to the saints (230). However, there is no need to suppose that one writer can use a term only in a single way and, on the other hand, some argue that the term "holy one" in Daniel always designates the same (as suggested by Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 85-86). Freer suggests a later origin of vss. 13-14, 26 because for him the vision is complete without vss. 13-14 and the phrases "vision of the tamid" and the "vision of mornings and evenings" might be later labels for the vision in Dan 8 (36-37). Contrary to Freer, one has first of all to point out that the vision indeed awaits a final solution, which is given only in the audition. The activities of the horn and its host by necessity give rise to the question about the (silent) role of God in the described events. The question in vs. 13 is a natural continuation of the comment in vs. 12. Therefore, the vision cannot be complete

elaborate suggestions of the composition history of Dan 8, for example, by Stahl[1] and by Kratz.[2] That parts or the whole of vss. 11-14 are said to interrupt the vision has been argued on the basis of form and often on the basis of content (e.g., Stahl and Kratz). Of course, to reason on the basis of content is more susceptible to subjectivity.

In the following discussion, the suggestion by Hasslberger that vss. 11-14 constitute a later interpolation is examined more closely. His analysis is chosen for critical consideration since it focuses mainly on formal aspects, and at the same time is one of the most elaborate argumentations of its kind.[3] Hasslberger provides six reasons for his viewpoint. First, vss. 11-12 differ from vs. 10 in that they no longer employ symbolic language but rather describe the reality, which can also be recognized by the switch from feminine to masculine gender in vs. 11 for the same subject. Second, the vocabulary in vss. 11-12 (הַתָּמִיד, מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ, and אֱמֶת) is different from vs. 10. Third,

---

without vss. 13-14 which are an essential part to it. And second, since vs. 12 belongs to the audition, as I have suggested, one needs to exclude also vs. 12 if the audition is excluded. However, vs. 12 is (in my view correctly) considered very closely connected to vs. 11 and a redactional incision between vs. 11 and vs. 12 is unlikely.

[1]Stahl believes that Dan 8 went through several redactional stages and for vss. 9-14 only vss. 9, 10, and 12b-d are original. According to Stahl, the following four stages can be detected in the development of 8:9-14 (note that Stahl's reference system is transferred into the one used in this study): (1) vss. 9, 10a, 10b (without וּמִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים), 10c, 12b, 12c, 12d; (2) vss. 11a, 11b; (3) וּמִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים (vs. 10b), vss. 11c, 12a; (4) vss. 13-14 (Stahl, *Weltengagement*, 91, 100, 108, 114, 121).

[2]For Reinhard G. Kratz, the original layer of chap. 8 consists of vss. 1, (2,) 3-8, 15, 17, 20-22, 26b, 27a. Secondary are the additions to the vision reception (vss. 16, 18-19, 27b) and the addition of the little horn (vss. 9-12, 23-25) together with the calculation of the end (vss. 13-14, 26a). Thus, the whole passage of the little horn is later inserted. In the little horn section, vss. 11-12a are again a later insertion because of the masculine gender of verbs with feminine subject ("The Visions of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, VTSup, no. 83, FIOTL, no. 2 [Leiden: Brill, 2001], 1:99-105).

[3]Hasslberger, 17-20.

vss. 11-12 are seen as an interpretation of vss. 9-10 and are therefore not referred to in the angelic interpretation (vss. 20-25), as is also the case with vss. 13-14. Characteristic expressions of vss. 11-12 are missing in the angelic interpretation (שַׂר־הַצָּבָא, הַתָּמִיד, and אֱמֶת). Fourth, the change in word order of וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה in vs. 12c-d and vs. 24 cannot be ascribed to the same author. Fifth, vss. 13-14 refer especially back to vss. 11-12, and there is no motivation for the dialogue at this place. Sixth, the different forms of וָאֶשְׁמְעָה (vs. 13a) and וָאֶשְׁמַע (vs. 16a) cannot stem from the same author.

However, none of Hasslberger's arguments is conclusive. Each of his observations can be explained differently and, as it appears, in a more satisfactory way than arguing for a second author. His reasons for interpolation are taken up in the same order: First, since in my analysis vs. 12 is part of the audition it is expected to be less symbolic than the previous verses. Contrary to Hasslberger's opinion, vs. 11 does employ symbolic language when it describes the magnification of the horn up to the prince of the host—it is not conceivable how this should be a description of the reality—or uses the expression "foundation of the sanctuary" for the basic abstract principles upon which the sanctuary of God is built. Koch also pointed out that symbolic language and literal language are mixed throughout the vision.[1] The verbal gender switch in vs. 11 to the masculine is probably intentional, but even if that is not the case, the gender switch is at the most a minor slip which "does not require us to posit a second

---

[1]Koch, "Visionsbericht," 417. For example, the "trampling" is certainly symbolic language (8:7, 10c, 13c), whereas the geographical directions appear to have a literal application (8:5, 8, 9b).

writer."[1] Second, different vocabulary may be employed to express a different content, and the content in vss. 11-12 describes the attack on the commander of the host and on the cult, which is naturally different from the geographical attack in vs. 9 and the attack on the host of heaven in vs. 10. Furthermore, the important keyword גדל links vs. 11 with vs. 10, as does the preposition עַד (vss. 10a, 11a). Third, vss. 11-12 should not be regarded as an interpretation of vss. 9-10. In fact, different areas of the magnifying of the horn are described, and therefore the words used in vss. 11-12 have to differ to some extent from those used in vss. 9-10. And there are expressions in the angelic interpretation that take up language from vss. 11-14. Though Hasslberger argues against it, it is difficult to avoid the impression that שַׂר־הַצָּבָא and שַׂר־שָׂרִים are parallel expressions that refer to the same being. The "formula" וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה is also taken up in vs. 24. Fourth, there is no reason why the same writer cannot change the word order of וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה. Fifth, it is true that vss. 13-14 refer especially to vss. 11-12.[2] The reason for this lies in the fact that vs. 11 describes the culmination of the actions by the horn. And it is specifically this climax in vs. 11 which triggers the dialogue of the holy beings. However, vss. 11-14 cannot be regarded as an entity in themselves, for at least the root רמס in vs. 13c appears to refer to vs. 10c, and also צָבָא in vs. 13c refers to the host in vs. 10.[3] Sixth, the syntactic analysis has shown that the cohortative form, such as

---

[1]Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 85-86.

[2]So also Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 328.

[3]This is why Behrens correctly observes that the question of the holy one in vs. 13c takes up keywords from vss. 10-12 (321).

וָאֶשְׁמְעָה in vs. 13a, is used at several other places in the book of Daniel, often for apparently no specific reason. On the one hand, such a usage seems to be due to the range of flexibility which the writer needs to be granted. On the other hand, Koch regards it as possible that the cohortative וָאֶשְׁמְעָה in vs. 13a, which marks the brief audition within the first main part of Dan 8, is intentionally different from the וָאֶשְׁמַע in vs. 16, which in macrosyntactic manner introduces the audition of the second main part of Dan 8.[1] In conclusion, Hasslberger's elaborate argument for an interpolation of vss. 11-14 is not convincing. Verses 11-14, or vss. 13-14, naturally fit into the vision report in vss. 3-14. To regard them as later insertions is not only unnecessary, but fails to pay attention to the textual course of description and its rhetorical effects.

One of the most important and versatile devices to create textual cohesion is repetition. The same element recurs at different places in the text. The symmetry of the thematic structural pattern observed above (see table 30) shows that the whole of vss. 9-14 should be accepted as original. In addition to the repetitive terms used in this pattern, there are a number of other recurring terms in vss. 9-14. Table 31 contains all the *Leitwörter* of Dan 8 that occur in vss. 9-14.

The effect of these words, besides intensifying and attracting the reader's attention, is that they bind together vss. 9-14 and vss. 3-8 as well as the first half of the chapter with the symbolic vision and the second half of the chapter with the

[1]Koch, "Visionsbericht," 416.

Table 31. *Leitwörter* of Daniel 8 Occurring in Daniel 8:9-14

Leitwort	Reference	*Leitwort*	Reference
חזן (7x):	1a, 2a, 2e, 13c, 15c, 17g, 26e	צבא (5x):	10a, 10b, 11a, 12a, 13c
אחד (3x):	3d, 13a, 13b	שׂר (3x):	11a, 25e, 25e
קרן (9x):	3e, 3f, 5f, 6a, 7d, 8b, 9a, 20c, 21b	תמיד (3x):	11b, 12a, 13d
אחת (3x):	3g, 9a, 9a	קדשׁ (6x):	11c, 13a, 13b, 13f, 14c, 24f
עשׂה (4x):	4d, 12c, 24e, 27d	פשׁע (3x):	12a 13e, 23a
גדל (8x):	4e, 8a, 8b, 9b, 10a, 11a, 21b, 25c	צלך (3x):	12d, 24d, 25b
ערב (3x):	5c, 14b, 26a	דבר (3x):	13a, 13b, 18a
ארץ (6x):	5c, 5d, 7f, 10b, 12b, 18a	אמר (6x):	13b, 14a, 16c, 17d, 19a, 26b
שׁלך (3x) :	7f, 11c, 12b		
רמס (3x):	7g, 10c, 13f		

interpretation.[1] No doubt the recurring expressions demonstrate that Dan 8:9-14 is an integral part to the chapter.

Besides repetition, the linguistic means of proforms and conjunctions also create cohesion. The two proforms in וּמִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם establish a relation between vs. 9a and vs. 8c. The numeral, the article before the numeral, and the pronominal suffix all refer to elements of the previous clause (vs. 8c). Similarly, the article in הֶחָזוֹן in vs. 13c refers to the previous mention of חָזוֹן in vs. 2. Verses 9-14 then do not hang in the air.

A careful consideration of all arguments leads to the conclusion that one cannot argue on formal grounds, that is, by mainly examining the language, that any part from vss. 11-14 constitutes an interpolation. In fact, vss. 11-12 as well as vss. 13-14 should be

[1]That is also the conclusion of Goldingay who considered only a few of the recurring expressions of Dan 8 that appear in Dan 8:9-14: גדל "become great" (vss. 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 25), שׁלךְ "throw" (vss. 7, 11, 12), רמס "trample" (vss. 7, 10, 13), and עשׂה "do" (vss. 4, 12, 24) (*Daniel*, 205).

regarded as an original and integral part of the vision report.[1] In addition, a thematic analysis provides the same result. Especially the question עַד־מָתַי "until when?" in vs. 13c cannot be excised from the original layer of chap. 8 since it is central to the chapter's theological message.[2]

Structural Commentary of Daniel 8:9-14

The text of Dan 8:9-14 can now be analyzed in a structural commentary. The structural commentary is based on the results of the structural analysis so far, and of the text-grammatical analysis in chapter 2.

Daniel 8:9-14 consists of two closely connected subunits of the vision report in vss. 3-14: the description of the horn (vss. 9-11) and the audition (vss. 12-14), which is mainly concerned with the climactic last part of the vision, the vision of the horn.

Vision of the Horn (Daniel 8:9-11)

Verse 9a introduces a new main actor, the horn. The four clauses that follow (vss. 9b-10c) constitute a *wayyiqtol* chain that expresses progression of events. This section is marked by the keyword גדל that occurs twice to indicate the different dimensions of the growing of the horn: first the horizontal dimension (vs. 9b) and then the vertical dimension (vs. 10a). The spatial dimensions are underlined by the use of the prepositions

---

[1]This confirms the conclusion by Collins that "there is no adequate reason for excising them as secondary" (*Daniel* [1993], 328). So also Odil Hannes Steck, "Weltgeschehen und Gottesvolk im Buche Daniel," in *Kirche: Festschrift für Günther Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. D. Lührmann and G. Strecker (Tübingen: Mohr, 1980), 65 n. 49; Koch, "Visionsbericht," 433; Gese, 409.

[2]See Redditt, 134-135.

אֶל for the horizontal (vs. 9b) and עַד for the vertical movement (vs. 10a). The vertical movement of the horn continues inwardly in vs. 11, when the preposition עַד is used again with גדל in the Hiphil, and it vaunts itself against the commander of the host.

The climax of the entire vision, and not only of the description of the horn, comes in vs. 11 and is marked as such by both form and content. First, vs. 11 is set apart from vss. 9-10 by several formal features. Most visible is the shift of verbal gender from feminine to masculine with the same subject. The horn took feminine verbs in vss. 9-10 but in vs. 11a-b it suddenly takes masculine verb forms. Another signal for the markedness of vs. 11 is the nonverbal עַד שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in the initial position in vs. 11a. This breaks the *wayyiqtol* sequence in vss. 9b-10c, obviously to lay emphasis on the ultimate dimension of the horn's self-magnification which now reaches the commander of the host of heaven, the being to whom all clauses in vs. 11 are related (see the pronominal suffixes in vs. 11b and 11c). The "staccato description" of the horn's actions and their effects in vs. 11 create "a sense of violence and hostility."[1] As has been demonstrated, vs. 11 is also set apart from the previous clauses by its poetic-like style of language.

With regard to content, vs. 11 is marked as the culmination of the גדל hif.-pattern that divides the entire vision in three parts, and it is also marked as the culmination of the גדל-development of the horn in three dimensions in vss. 9b-11.[2]

Verse 11a is not followed by *wayyiqtol* clauses but by an *x-qatal* (vs. 11b) and a *qatal-x* clause (vs. 11c). Both of these clauses have nonsequential character. The *x-qatal*

---

[1]Niditch, 225.

[2]See the section "Crescendo of the verbal root גדל and the 'hubris-fall' pattern" above.

clause in vs. 11b could describe either a simultaneous or a circumstantial activity to vs. 11a. The *qatal-x* clause in vs. 11c describes an activity simultaneous to vs. 11b. The simultaneous activities of the removal of the *tāmî d* and the throwing down of the foundation of the sanctuary are most likely a description of how the horn magnifies itself up to the commander of the host. The self-magnification in vs. 11a describes an inward attitude (cf. vs. 25c), while the activities of removing and throwing down in vs. 11b-c are the corresponding outward activities of the horn.

Audition (Daniel 8:12-14)

Different nature of verse 12

Verse 12 is distinct from the previous verses. The primary factor here is that vs. 12 exhibits a different tense. By no longer using *wayyiqtol* or *qatal* forms (past tense) for the narration of what has been seen but *yiqtol* and *w^{e}qatal* forms (future tense) typical for discourse, vs. 12 marks a sudden shift from vision to audition. Second, once more a nonverbal element occupies the clause initial position and introduces here a new actor, the host, which is used by the horn. Thus, in vs. 12 the horn, which was the main actor in vss. 9-11, is no longer directly in view. This change in subject is underlined by the different gender of the verbs in vs. 12, which are now feminine, whereas the gender in vs. 11a-b (with the horn as subject), as well as in vs. 11c, is masculine. Finally, the גדל-pattern came to its climax in vs. 11. Verse 12 does not contribute to the development of the pattern, which would require the downfall of the horn after its self-magnification, but creates tension by recounting the deeds and the success of the horn's host.

Connection between verse 11b-c and verse 12a-b

In principle, the audition is formally different from the vision, and as such has to be understood as a separate structural unit. However, thematically the audition and the climactic part of the vision, the description of the horn, are closely related. Two features link the final part of the vision (vs. 11b and 11c) with the beginning of the audition (vs. 12a and 12b). First, there is the repetition of the *Leitwörter* הַתָּמִיד and שׁלך in the same sequence. הַתָּמִיד is used in vss. 11b and 12a, and the verbal root שׁלך occurs in vss. 11c and 12b. Second, the clause types parallel each other:

11b	*x-qatal*	12a	*x-yiqtol*
11c	*qatal-x*	12b	w^{e}-*yiqtol* (or *yiqtol-x*)

Of course, the tenses/aspects are different—vs. 11 uses perfect and vs. 12 imperfect forms—but the function of the clauses is identical. In both cases, the first clause has a nonverbal element in initial position and is followed by a nonsequential clause in the same tense. These clauses do not continue the sequence of events, but describe two, most likely simultaneous, events. In vs. 12 the setting up of a host against the *tāmîd* (vs. 12a) and the throwing down of truth (vs. 12b) occur at the same time or may even describe the same event. With such a semantic function, vs. 12a-b corresponds to vs. 11b-c.

In view of these connections, the possibility suggests itself that in vs. 12a and 12b the celestial being provides an explanation for vs. 11b and 11c.[1] When in the book of

[1]Hardy notes the parallelism in syntax and regards "truth was thrown to the ground" in vs. 12b as in parallel to "the place of his sanctuary was brought low" in vs. 11c, concluding that the truth about the sanctuary is under attack (282-284). Cf. also Goettsberger who notes that vs. 12 "seems to repeat in part verse 11" (62).

Daniel a celestial being enters into discourse and refers to something in a vision, the comments are usually of an explanatory nature. Verse 12 does not indicate a subsequent action, but an expansion of what was described before in the vision. The final two clauses in the description of the vision are commented upon by the celestial being who suddenly speaks. In other words, to remove the *tāmî d* from the commander of the host (vs. 11b) means to rebelliously place another host against, or in charge over, the *tāmî d* (vs. 12a). And when the horn throws down the foundation of the commander's sanctuary (vs. 11c), it means that truth is thrown down to earth (vs. 12b).[1] The structural relationship may be outlined as follows[2]:

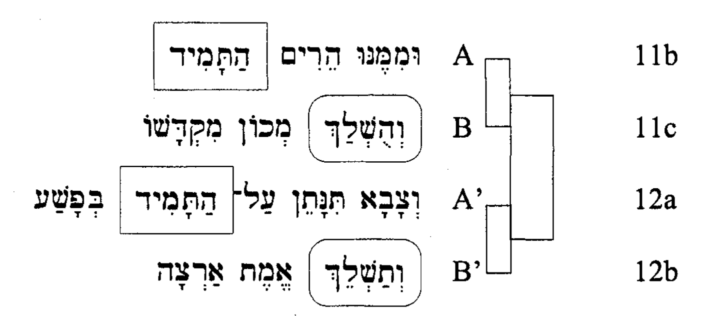
---

[1]One should take note of Ps 89:15 where in the parallel lines חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת "faithfulness and truth" correspond to צֶדֶק וּמִשְׁפָּט "righteousness and justice" which are מְכוֹן "the foundation" of YHWH's throne. At least here, אֱמֶת is conceptually connected with מָכוֹן in the divine realm.

[2]Some of these structural links have been recognized by Langer who suggests a concentric structure of vss. 10-12 with a small concentric substructure of 10a-11a (91):

A	10a: great – host of heaven				—	a
	B	10bc: cause to fall to the earth (host, stars)				} b
		C	11a: great – prince of the host		—	a'
			D	11b: daily sacrifice		
				E 11c: place of sanctuary		
			D'	12a: daily sacrifice (host)		
		C'	12a: wantonness			
	B'	10bc: cast down to the earth (truth)				
A'	12cd: act – successful					

However, this proposal is not convincing. The structure does not seem to be based on verbal repetition. The only lexical correspondences are אַרְצָה (10b, 12b) and הַתָּמִיד (11b, 12a) for the larger, and גדל (10a, 11a) for the smaller concentric structure. Less than obvious is the supposed connection between 10a and 12cd and between 11a and 12a, for which Langer gives no explanation.



The two statements in Dan 8:12a and 12b employ פֶּשַׁע and אֱמֶת as opposite terms (cf. Isa 59:12-15; Mic 7:18-20) to express that what is done in פֶּשַׁע "rebellion" runs counter to אֱמֶת "truth."

Structure of the question in verse 13c

After the holy being has commented upon the successful activity of the horn's host, another holy being poses the inevitable question עַד־מָתַי הֶחָזוֹן to the former one (vs. 13c). Although this angelic cry asks for the temporal limitation of the entire vision, the individual elements mentioned selectively in apposition to הֶחָזוֹן focus on the climax of the vision and take up different parts of the description of the horn (vss. 10-11) and of what the first holy being has said (vs. 12).

The structural question about vs. 13c is in how many parts or small thematic units the seven words after עַד־מָתַי הֶחָזוֹן should be divided, and how these parts are connected with each other and with the previous verses. There is general agreement that הַתָּמִיד and וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם each form a unit. However, the opinions vary widely on how the rest of the words should be divided. A brief overview of suggestions testifies to the difficult nature of structuring the question in vs. 13c. In order to facilitate a comparison of the different

suggestions it is helpful to number the seven words all the way through: הַתָּמִיד = 1; וְהַפֶּשַׁע = 2; שֹׁמֵם = 3; תֵּת = 4; וְקֹדֶשׁ = 5; וְצָבָא = 6; and מִרְמָס = 7.

Several scholars suggest that the words in apposition to הֶחָזוֹן form three thematic units, by either taking וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס as one unit (1+234+567 or 1+23+4567),[1] or by excising one unit, usually וְצָבָא (1+234+57).[2] Others divide the seven words into four units[3] by taking וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס as two units (1+234+5+67)[4] or taking תֵּת as one unit and וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס as another unit (1+23+4+567).[5] Still others suggest five thematic units, taking וְצָבָא מִרְמָס as two units referring to tribulation and trampling (1+23+45+6+7),[6] or taking וְצָבָא מִרְמָס as one unit and תֵּת as a separate unit

---

[1]Three elements and taking תֵּת with the preceding words (1+234+567) have been suggested by Marti, *Daniel*, 59; Charles, 210-211; Nelis, 97; H. Schneider, *Daniel*, 54; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 181; Hasslberger, 105-106; Hartman and Di Lella, 226, 227 (in following Moore [see the next note], Hartman analyzes vs. 13c as three groups, each consisting of a noun with following infinitive, the infinitives being תֵּת, מִרְמָס, and another infinitive [הָרֵם "taking away" or הָסֵר "removing"] supplied after הַתָּמִיד); Schindele, "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8," 9, 14; Bauer, *Daniel*, 172. Three elements and taking תֵּת וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס as one element (1+23+4567) have been suggested by Hävernick, 288; von Lengerke, 383-386; Kliefoth, 260; Bevan, 135 (with serious emendations); Driver, *Daniel*, 118; Montogmery, 341-342; Leupold, 352; Young, *Daniel*, 173; Slotki (1951), 68; Porteous, 119; Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel*, 158; Russell, 147; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 195; Gese, 408-409; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 326, 336; Lucas, *Daniel*, 202. It goes without saying that the individual translations of vs. 13c differ to a large extent.

[2]Moore, "Daniel viii. 9-14," 196; Bentzen, 56. Moore analyzes vs. 13c as three infinitive clauses in apposition to הֶחָזוֹן. He thus prefers to insert הוּסַר (הוּרַם could also be possible) after הַתָּמִיד.

[3]Shea, *Selected Studies* (1982), 80 = (1992), 96. Shea does not decide on the position of תֵּת, whether it belongs to the preceding or to the following words.

[4]Niditch, 217, 220. Niditich reads after each item a participial modifier; where there is none, she assumes one.

[5]Obbink, 111.

[6]Plöger, *Daniel*, 120, 122 (with emendation so that the conjunction *waw* stands before each unit); Delcor, 175.

(1+23+4+5+67),[1] or even six thematic units (1+23+4+5+6+7).[2]

So far, the linguistic analysis in chapter 2 has shown it to be syntactically possible that the infinitive construct תֵּת refers either to the preceding וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם or to the following וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס, while the terminological relation between Dan 8:13c, 11:31c-d, and 12:11 decides in favor of the phrase וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם תֵּת, with הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם as object to תֵּת. Still undecided is whether וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס is one thematic unit of the vision's specification ("and both holy and host to be a trampling") or two ("and holy, and a host to be a trampling"). Hence, the seven last words in vs. 13c either form three parts (1+234+567) or four parts (1+234+5+67).

The division into four parts is preferable for several reasons. First, the different phrases in vs. 13c clearly recapitulate elements of vss. 10-12. The phrase וְצָבָא מִרְמָס refers back to vs. 10, where some of the host (צָבָא) of heaven are trampled (רמס) by the horn. While in the vision צָבָא is linked with the root רמס, the root קדשׁ is not. Thus, if קדשׁ is linked with מִרְמָס it would express something that has not been mentioned as such before. In fact, the recapitulation of the trampling of the host in vs. 10 by וְצָבָא מִרְמָס and the connection of the sanctuary in vs. 11 with קדשׁ suggests that וְקֹדֶשׁ וְצָבָא מִרְמָס in vs. 13c refers to two incidents and should therefore be understood as two parts. Second, the conjunction *waw*, occurring three times in vs. 13c, could be a structural device to

---

[1]Zöckler, 177. At least, this is the grammatical construction for Zöckler. He continues, however, that "מִרְמָס thus qualifies all the last three nouns, the latter two directly as an adj[ective], and the former as an equivalent for the infin[itive]."

[2]Except for וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם, Maier regards each word as an individual reference to something before (308).

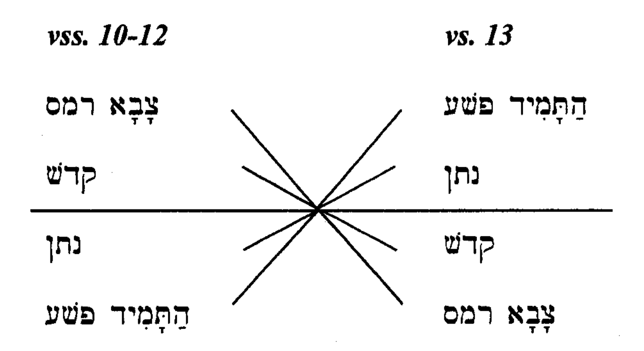
divide the seven words into four phrases. After the conjunction is used twice before a new thematic part—before הַפֶּשַׁע and before קֹדֶשׁ—it would be consistent if it had the same function before צָבָא. Finally, the division into four parts creates the pattern "single noun + phrase + single noun + phrase" in which the single noun expresses a positive entity (הַתָּמִיד and קֹדֶשׁ), whereas the phrase expresses a negative entity (הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם תֵּת and צָבָא מִרְמָס).

The recapitulation of word and roots from vss. 10-12 is a striking feature of the appositional items in vs. 13c. Each of the seven words following the initial question, except for שֹׁמֵם, corresponds to one or more words of the same root in the description of the horn in vss. 10-11 and in the audition in vs. 12:

מִרְמָס	וְצָבָא	וְקֹדֶשׁ	תֵּת	שֹׁמֵם	וְהַפֶּשַׁע	הַתָּמִיד
10c	10a	11c	12a	—	12a	11b
	10b					12a
	11a					

Interestingly, these words refer exclusively to the activities of the horn (vss. 10a-12a), but not to those of the horn's host (vs. 12b-d). Also, none of the words in vs. 13c refer to anything in vs. 9, whereas they recapitulate at least one word or root of each of the seven clauses in vss. 10a-12a. The inference may be that the holy being who poses the question in vs. 13c is especially concerned with the vertical dimension of the horn's activity, which starts in vs. 10a. Thus, the question emphasizes the horn's attack on the host of heaven, on the commander of the host, and on the cult (strongly expressed by cultic language in vss. 11a-12a).

In general, vs. 13c recapitulates words and roots of vss. 10-12 in reverse order.[1] A chiastic arrangement might be possible. Shea notes the reverse order of the four parts cited in the question, taking the first two parts together, as follows: הַתָּמִיד + desolation (vs. 13c1), sanctuary (vs. 13c2), and host (vs. 13c3) in the question correspond to הַתָּמִיד + desolation (vs. 12), sanctuary (vs. 11), and host (vs. 10) in the preceding verses.[2] Likewise, Gane recognizes the reverse order and suggests the following chiastic arrangement:[3]



The chiastic structure functions, however, only under two conditions. Since הַתָּמִיד and צָבָא occur more than once in vss. 10-12, one has to choose a specific occurrence that allows for a reverse order of the words in vs. 13c. For הַתָּמִיד this is vs. 12a (but not vs. 11b) and for צָבָא it is vs. 10a or vs. 10b (but not vs. 11a). Furthermore, if the words in the question are taken individually, the order is not perfectly chiastic, since in vs. 13c as well as in vss. 10-12, הַתָּמִיד occurs before פֶּשַׁע and צָבָא occurs before רמס. That is probably the reason why both Shea and Gane put הַתָּמִיד and פֶּשַׁע together, and also מִרְמָס

[1]A reverse sequence of words in vss. 11-12 and in vs. 13c is noticed by Langer (91-92).

[2]Shea, *Selected Studies* (1982), 80 = (1992), 96.

[3]Gane, "The Syntax of *Tēt Ve* . . . in Daniel 8:13," 377-378, with the graphic on p. 378.

and צָבָא, in order to obtain a chiastic structure, which then consists of phrases and words.

Besides a chiastic structure, two other structural arrangements are possible.[1] First, the four parts appear to be arranged in a double pair of "single noun (positive) + noun phrase (negative)," as mentioned above. Thematically, each pair lists an entity under the horn's attack followed by a result of the horn's activities. In the case of the first pair, the *tāmî d* is attacked, which results in the establishment of a devastating rebellion. The continual service of God is removed and possibly replaced by a rebellious service. If the second pair functions similarly, one would have to conclude that the holy is under attack, which results in a trampled host. The implication would be that קֹדֶשׁ is somehow associated with the host of heaven. To be sure, this does not mean that the only association of קֹדֶשׁ is with the host of heaven. The root association to מִקְדָּשׁ in vs. 11c is evident and links קֹדֶשׁ to the sanctuary as well. The association of קֹדֶשׁ with צָבָא, however, helps one to understand why it is possible for the holy being to answer the question with the single statement in vs. 14c that קֹדֶשׁ is going to be restored, for קֹדֶשׁ relates not only to the sanctuary, but also to the host of heaven. In fact, whatever is

---

[1]Another structural proposal, which however does not take into account the Masoretic text as it stands, is forwarded by Gese who suggests that vss. 11b-12b and the question in 13c (vs. 13bbg for Gese) show a double structure with the *tāmî d* sacrifice on the one side and the sanctuary/priestly service on the other side (408-409):

Vs. 11b-c And from him (God) is taken away the *tāmî d* sacrifice,
and thrown down is his sanctuary place and priestly service.
Vs. 12 It (the horn) places itself over the *tāmî d* sacrifice in sin
and throws down truth to earth (+ conclusion formula).
Vs. 13c (Until when is the vision, namely)
the *tāmî d* sacrifice and the sin שֹׁמֵם,
Setting (asyndeton!) of sanctuary and priestly service for trampling.

As well-balanced as this structure is, it is problematic that Gese takes צָבָא with the meaning "priestly service" and that he relocates וְצָבָא (vs. 12a) to the end of vs. 11.

connected to the commander of the host appears to be קֹדֶשׁ, as illustrated by the intertextually relevant passage in Josh 5:13-15.[1]

Second, if each part of the question relates specifically to one of the activities of the horn, a slightly different arrangement is possible in which הַתָּמִיד refers to the removal of continual service (vs. 11b), הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם תֵּת to the rebellion of setting up a counter-host (12a), קֹדֶשׁ to the destruction of the sanctuary (vs. 11c), and צָבָא מִרְמָס to the destruction of God's people (vs. 10). The obvious difference between the two suggestions is that in the one with four individual parts קֹדֶשׁ refers more clearly to the sanctuary, while in the one with two double pairs it appears to be connected with the host of heaven.

In the end, one has to admit that there is no unambiguous structural arrangement of the seven words in apposition to the question in vs. 13c. In basic agreement with Shea and Gane, I regard a reverse order of these words as likely. A reverse order is also compatible with the suggestion of two double pairs, but does not work equally well with the suggestion of four individual parts, for the first two parts, הַתָּמִיד and הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם תֵּת, are not in reverse order to the respective activities in vss. 11b and 12a.

It is quite possible that the difficulty to structure the question is a sign of another, rhetorical purpose of this series of appositions, that is, to communicate the confusion and the utter astonishment of the holy being over the divine silence in face of the successful activities of the horn. Such an emotional reason for the staccato of appositions cannot be

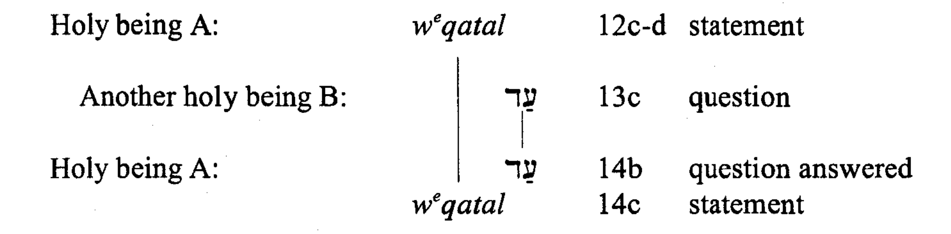
---

[1]The site where the celestial שַׂר־צָבָא appears to Joshua is holy: "The captain of YHWH's host [שַׂר־צְבָא יְהוָה] said to Joshua, 'Remove your sandals from your feet, for the place where you are standing is holy [קֹדֶשׁ]'" (Josh 5:15; cf. Exod 3:5). The cultic overtones cannot be missed. It goes without saying that the sacredness of the ground is not a quality of the ground itself but is brought about only by the presence of the heavenly commander.

excluded and should be seriously taken into account.[1]

Cohesion within the audition

The audition consists of three parts: vs.12, vs. 13c, and vs. 14b-c. These parts are linked formally by the use of *w^e^qatal* forms and the preposition עַד.



The effect of this patterning is that vs. 14b-c connects to both of the previous parts of the audition. Verse 14b answers the question of vs. 13c, עַד־מָתַי "until when?" with "until (עַד) 2300 evening-morning." At the same time וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ with *w^e^qatal* form in vs. 14c takes up the verbal forms that the same holy being used in vs. 12c-d.

Function of the audition

The dialogue at the end of the vision report serves several purposes.[2] First, the sudden entry of the audition in vs. 12 almost interrupts the vision proper and prolongs the dwelling on the activities of the horn. The rhetorical function is to heighten the tension, since the success of the horn and its host has not yet met its fall, contrary to the expectations raised by the hubris-fall pattern in the vision proper.

---

[1]An emotional explanation for the cry in vs. 13c is also put forward by Seow, who regards it as a "stammering" or "sputtering question" with many ellipses between its words (*Daniel*, 125).

[2]For dialogue as stylistic technique, see Alonso Schökel, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics*, 170-177.

Second, the question of the second holy being (vs. 13c) expresses the thoughts of Daniel, and also of the reader. Thus the answer (vs. 14b-c) can be directed toward Daniel. Daniel, as it were, is pulled into the prophetic revelation.[1] In this way the answer in vs. 14 gains importance.

Third, the central position of the vision report is occupied by the directive speech act. It is here in the vision report that one finds the decisive statement of the entire chapter. However, it is not so much the question that is the center of the audition, although "the imagery speech of 8:3-12 serves only to provoke the 'how long?' of 8:13,"[2] which then comes along with full rhetorical force as the central question in chap. 8.[3] Rather, the thematic center of attention is the answer in vs. 14b-c. Its extreme brevity, in contrast to the lengthy expatiation of the horn's activities, serves a literary function: Emphasis is added by extreme brevity.[4] Hence, the audition in the vision report of Dan 8 attests once more to the preeminence of hearing over seeing.[5]

---

[1]Already Gerhard von Rad notes that the visions in the OT merge regularly into an audition and culminate in a personal address to the prophet (*Old Testament Theology*, 2:59).

[2]W. Zimmerli, "Bildverkleidete und bildlos erzählte Geschichte bei Ezechiel und Daniel," in *Isac Leo Seligmann Volume: Essays on the Bible and the Ancient World*, vol. 3, *Non-Hebrew Section*, ed. A. Rofé and Y. Zakovitch (Jerusalem: Rubinstein, 1983), 239.

[3]Bader, "Reale und gedachte Welt," 49-50.

[4]In regard to Dan 12:1-4 as climax in contrast to the overblown wordiness of chap. 11, James L. Lindenberger explains: "It is a rhetorical trick of ancient Hebrew writers to add emphasis by extreme brevity" ("Daniel 12:1-4," *Int* 39 [1985]: 182).

[5]Hans-Joachim Kraus, "Hören und Sehen in der althebräischen Tradition," *Studium Generale* 19 (1966); reprint, *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1972), 89-94 (on vision and audition: 97-101) (page citations are to the reprint edition).

General Conclusion

As the subunits of the vision in Dan 8 follow one another, they build to a climax as the vision report nears its end. The climax consists of two parts: the vision of the horn (vss. 9-11) and the audition (vss. 12-14). Both parts are closely connected by the occurrence of several bridging keywords and *Leitwörter*, as well as by the fact that the beginning of the audition (vs. 12a-b) provides explanatory information to the end of the vision (vs. 11b-c). Hence, the passage in vss. 9-14 exhibits cohesion and coherence.

The vision of the horn should be considered a structural subunit of the vision report and not a part of the section of the he-goat. The factors most decisive for such a structural division are the triple "hubris-fall" pattern of the vision (*Leitwort* גדל), which shows that the horn functions on the same level as the ram and the he-goat, as well as the introduction of a new, prominent character and a sudden change in the course of events and thematic orientation that revolves around the religious and the cultic.

In the audition, a holy being first comments on the final scene of the vision (vs. 12). Only after another angel's pressing question in vs. 13 comes the denouement in vs. 14, and the tension, which was built up by the incomplete third "hubris-fall" pattern, is ultimately resolved.

On the basis of the literary data and the thematic distribution and arrangement, Dan 8:9-14 has to be reckoned as a well-crafted literary piece that exhibits a rhetorically magnificent form, as well as artistic and creative unity.[1] The various literary and

[1]Only a few recognize the rhetorical artistry of Dan 8:9-14. Koch regards the composition of Dan 8 as well-planned, very artistic, and fully capable of creating aesthetic pleasure ("Visionsbericht," 420). With a different position and meaning of וְצָבָא in vs. 12a (see p. 549 n. 1 [above]), Gese finds

structural devices are fit together with consummate skill. The form supports its content. For example, the culmination of the hubristic activities of the horn in vs. 11 is marked formally by the literary devices of gender and poetic-like language.

Most important, however, is the message of vss. 9-14. Although the climactic flow of the vision report is emphasized by thematic intensification through a concentration of nearly synonymous words for destruction, the thematic distribution reveals that the predominant semantic field "power, control, and violence" is shifted to the semantic field "holiness and sanctuary" in vss. 11b-14c. The emphasis of the vision report is on the cult and it becomes clear that the horn and its host actually wage a cultic war. By doing so, the horn enters the role of the archetypal enemy of God. It is characterized as anti-priest, anti-creator, and anti-YHWH. The vision proper ends abruptly, and surprisingly, on a victorious note for the horn, leaving the hubris-fall pattern unfulfilled. However, the audition resolves the tension. The horn's war in the realm of cult is countered and cut short by divine intervention that is carried out in the context of an eschatological Day of Atonement. The thematic analysis, the terminological allusions, and the following intertextual analysis all reinforce that the Day of Atonement functions as the macrotheme, comprising the important themes in 8:9-14, that is, cult, judgment, and creation. At last, terror finds its end, and God's people, the cult, and the sanctuary are restored to their rightful position, and in the final analysis, God himself is vindicated.

---

the structure of vss. 11-13 to be rhetorically brilliant (409).

CHAPTER 4

TEXTUAL RELATIONS

Introduction to Intertextual Analysis

"No text is an island."[1] No text can be read as an isolated unit. This simple dictum, of course, also applies to the text of Dan 8:9-14, which proves to be not only the centerpiece of chap. 8, but is moreover closely linked to Daniel's other revelatory experiences in chaps. 7, 9, and 10–12, and carries some of the major theological strands of the book. The passage also shows themes and motifs taken from other texts of the Hebrew Bible. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the web of textual relations of Dan 8:9-14, that is, the specific text or range of texts with which 8:9-14 holds a dynamic relationship, and to see how these other texts contribute to the understanding of 8:9-14.

The theoretical foundation for this kind of analysis is the concept of intertextuality. One needs to define how the concept of intertextuality is understood,

---

[1]This illustrative formula to express the concept of intertextuality was first used by Peter D. Miscall ("Isaiah: New Heavens, New Earth, New Book," in *Reading between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. D. N. Fewell, Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992], 45). Based on Miscall's line Ulrike Bail elaborates: "Texts, however, are no islands and the reader is no castaway who, without memory and recollection, counts palm trees and categorizes them. For texts are dialogic, they call to memory other texts, remind of things already read, of things already experienced. No text stands in isolation, each one seeks for a place in an already existing world of texts. It is true that texts are closed on a syntagmatic level, but on a paradigmatic level their relations to other texts are unlimited, as it were, resulting in a *regressus ad infinitum*" (*Gegen das Schweigen klagen: Eine intertextuelle Studie zu den Klagepsalmen Ps 6 und Ps 55 und der Erzählung von der Vergewaltigung Tamars* [Gütersloh: Kaiser, Gütersloher, 1998], 100).

which criteria help to identify intertextual relations, and which methodological procedures the present intertextual analysis uses.

The Concept of Intertextuality

As the name implies, "intertextuality" concerns the network and interconnections among texts, in short, the relations between texts.[1] The term "intertextuality" in modern

---

[1]The following presents a selection of recommended studies of the immense literature on intertextuality. For intertextuality in modern literary theory: Manfred Pfister, "Konzepte der Intertextualität," in *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, anglistische Fallstudien*, ed. U. Broich, M. Pfister, and B. Schulte-Middelich, Konzepte der Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, no. 35 (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1985), 1-30; Ulrich Broich, "Formen der Markierung von Intertextualität," in *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, anglistische Fallstudien*, ed. U. Broich, M. Pfister, and B. Schulte-Middelich, Konzepte der Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, no. 35 (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1985), 31-47; Stefan Alkier, "Intertextualität: Annäherungen an ein texttheoretisches Paradigma," in *Heiligkeit und Herrschaft: Intertextuelle Studien zu Heiligkeitsvorstellungen und zu Psalm 110*, ed. D. Sänger, BTS, no. 55 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2003), 1-26. For intertextuality in biblical studies, especially the Hebrew Bible: Ellen van Wolde, *Words Become Worlds: Semantic Studies of Genesis 1-11*, Biblical Interpretation Series, no. 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 160-185; George Aichele and Gary A. Phillips, "Introduction: Exegesis, Eisegesis, Intergesis," *Semeia* 69/70 (1995): 7-18; Patricia Tull Willey, *Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Previous Texts in Second Isaiah*, SBLDS, no. 161 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1997), esp. 57-84; Ellen van Wolde, "Texts in Dialogue with Texts: Intertextuality in the Ruth and Tamar Narratives," *BibInt* 5 (1997): 1-28; Bail, *Gegen das Schweigen klagen*, esp. 98-113; Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66*, Contraversions: Jews and Other Differences (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 6-31; Susanne Gillmayr-Bucher, "Intertextualität: Zwischen Literaturtheorie und Methodik," *Protokolle zur Bibel* 8 (1999): 5-20; Thomas R. Hatina, "Intertextuality and Historical Criticism in New Testament Studies: Is There a Relationship?" *BibInt* 7 (1999): 28-43; Steins, *Die "Bindung Isaaks" im Kanon*, esp. 9-102, 225-235; Patricia K. Tull, "Rhetorical Criticism and Intertextuality," in *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application*, rev. and expanded, ed. S. L. McKenzie and S. R. Haynes (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 156-180; Patricia Tull, "Intertextuality and the Hebrew Scriptures," *CurBS* 8 (2000): 59-90; Beth LaNeel Tanner, *The Book of Psalms Through the Lens of Intertextuality*, StBL, no. 26 (New York: Lang, 2001), esp. 5-47; Yohan Pyeon, *You Have Not Spoken What Is Right About Me: Intertextuality and the Book of Job*, StBL, no. 45 (New York: Lang, 2003), esp. 49-68. See also the following collected essays: *Reading between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Danna Nolan Fewell, Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992); fifteen essays on the theme "Intertextuality and the Bible" in *Semeia* 69/70 (1995), ed. G. Aichele and G. A. Phillips; *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*, ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon, BIS, no. 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1997); *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel: Papers Read at the Tenth Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and Het Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland en België Held at Oxford, 1997*, ed. J. C. de Moor, OtSt, no. 40

literary theory has made its way into biblical studies. In fact, "intertextual studies" have grown so popular in both literary theory and biblical studies that the term "intertextuality" has become a trendy vogue expression.[1] Intertextuality has accumulated a bewildering variety of definitions and uses among literary critics and theorists,[2] and more recently also among biblical scholars.[3] This situation creates an obvious problem. The variety of usages makes it dangerous to employ the term "intertextuality" without knowledge of its history and without further definition, for one could be easily misunderstood or accused of misapplication.

(Leiden: Brill, 1998). Other recommendable literature: Peter Tschuggnall, "'Das Wort ist kein Ding': Eine theologische Einübung in den literaturwissenschaftlichen Begriff der Intertextualität," *ZKT* 116 (1994): 160-178 (introduces the concept of intertextuality to the discipline of theology); and the essays in *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity*, ed. D. R. MacDonald, Studies in Antiquity and Christianity (Harrisburg: Trinity, 2001).

[1]A simple search in the ATLA Religion Index database under Keyword "intertext*" showed for the years 1980-89 30 entries, for 1990-99 232 entries, and for 2000-03 151 entries (June 22, 2005). The same search criteria applied to the WorldCat database yielded 151 references for 1970-79, 439 references for 1980-89 (among them 5 diss./theses in the subject area "Bible"), 1,159 references for 1990-99 (29 diss./theses in "Bible"), and 900 references for 2000-04 (43 diss./theses in "Bible").

[2]Most surveys of intertextuality start with a similar observation like this one: "Intertextuality remains the subject of such a diversity of interpretations and is defined so variously, that it is anything but a transparent, commonly understood term" (Allen, *Intertextuality*, 1). Heinrich F. Plett points out: "It is even worse when scholars use the term 'intertextuality' without having critically examined the concept, only in order to appear up-to-date" ("Intertextualities," in *Intertextuality*, ed. H. F. Plett, Research in Text Theory = Untersuchungen zur Texttheorie, no. 15 [Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991], 4). One has to be aware of a certain self-dynamic here: "The more a term circulates, the more elusive becomes its content. This applies especially to the term intertextuality" (Ulrich Broich, Manfred Pfister, and Bernd Schulte-Middelich, eds., *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, anglistische Fallstudien*, Konzepte der Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, no. 35 [Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985], ix).

[3]Speaking of both areas, literary theory and biblical studies, Tull observes at the beginning of her survey: "The concept of intertextuality represents a battleground of differing emphases and claims, both linguistic and ideological. The most widely made second statement concerning intertextuality is that few agree on how best to understand and use the term" ("Intertextuality and the Hebrew Scriptures," 59). In fact, the meaning of the term "intertextuality" has become "in itself an interesting study in intertextuality" (Patricia K. Tull, "The Rhetoric of Recollection," in *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø, VTSup, no. 80 [Leiden: Brill, 2000], 75).

The uniting factor of the diverse concepts of intertextuality is the fact that an individual text is not one standing totally on its own, but is an integral part of a rich and complex web or network of texts which must be recognized in order to fully comprehend the text at hand.[1] Texts are always interwoven in previous texts and should not, indeed cannot, be read in isolation.

> The act of reading, theorists claim, plunges us into a network of textual relations. To interpret a text, to discover its meaning, or meanings, is to trace those relations. Meaning becomes something which exists between a text and all the other texts to which it refers and relates, moving out from the independent text into a network of textual relations. The text becomes the intertext.[2]

The problem therefore is how this network of textual relations should be understood theoretically.

Different Types of Intertextuality

A brief look into intertextuality and the term's history in literary theory helps to identify two basic concepts of intertextuality.[3] The term "intertextuality" was introduced by Julia Kristeva who attempted to combine the theories of M. M. Bakhtin and of F. de

---

[1]"For no text sets foot on communicative and thus interpretive no-man's-land, respectively is read as if being cut off from all other texts. There always exist texts prior and next to it. This relationship between texts is described with the term *intertextuality*" (Christina Spaller, "Wenn zwei das Gleiche lesen, ist es doch nicht dasselbe! Überlegungen zur gegenwärtigen hermeneutischen Diskussion," *BN* 98 [1999]: 78).

[2]Graham Allen, *Intertextuality*, The New Critical Idiom (London: Routledge, 2000), 1.

[3]It cannot be the purpose here to give a more comprehensive survey of the plethora of definitions and theories of intertextuality. For two excellent general introductions to the idea of intertextuality, the term's history, and its use in different literary theories see Allen, *Intertextuality*; and Mary Orr, *Intertextuality: Debates and Contexts* (Cambridge: Polity; Oxford: Blackwell, 2003). Excellent introductions concerning intertextuality and biblical studies are Tull, "Intertextuality and the Hebrew Scriptures"; and Gillmayr-Bucher, "Intertextualität."

Saussure by transferring Bakhtin's "dialogic concept" to texts.[1] For her, "any text is construed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another."[2] Texts are inseparably interwoven with other texts and should therefore always be viewed in a greater context, the intertext. A text always stands in dialogue with a pre-text, both illuminating the understanding of each other. It is important to understand that in this kind of intertextuality the literary meaning of texts does not depend on the author—Roland Barthes proposes "the death of the author"—but on readers who by finding new textual relations discover multiple meanings within texts and thus rewrite or reweave texts from the threads of innumerable other texts. Barthes therefore designates a text metaphorically as "tissue" or "weaving." In other words, intertextual reading is not limited to the intertext of the author or to that of the intended reader but is concerned with the impact on the reader concerning the interpretative process of a text. The intertext designates the relations between texts the reader is reminded of while reading a given text. Intertextuality understood in this sense is a complex phenomenon. It involves the author, who first is a reader of previous texts, the author's culture and setting, the reader's culture and setting, and connections made by the reader that the author might have never intended. For Kristeva and Barthes, intertextuality is a quasi-guarantee for the unending possibilities to interpret any given text. Texts are not fixed in their meaning but are

---

[1]Julia Kristeva, "Bakhtine, le mot, le dialogue et le roman," *Criticque* 239 (1967): 438-465, esp. 440-441; translated as Julia Kristeva, "Word, Dialogue and Novel," in *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. L. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), 64-91. Interestingly, after "intertextuality" has assumed terminologically irritating proportions, Kristeva discontinued use of the term and substituted it with "disposition."

[2]Ibid., 66. One should note that for Kristeva the term "texts" includes non-literary texts, in particular the life-experience of the reader.

radically open, polyphonic, and polyvalent.[1] This original definition of intertextuality is reader-oriented and synchronic, and in biblical studies closely related to reader-response criticism.

In opposition to Kristeva and Barthes, French literary critics Gérard Genette and Michael Riffaterre independently argue for critical certainty in establishing intertextual relations. For them, intertextuality can be used to produce a stable reading of the text if one introduces historical components, signals or markers to identify intertextual links to specific previous texts.[2] Thus, the radical openness of texts in the original idea of intertextuality is modified and restricted to comparatively few intertextual relations that can be critically established and intersubjectively verified. This second concept of intertextuality emphasizes authorial intention and is text-oriented.

In summary, with some simplification, there are two major and distinct conceptual approaches regarding intertextuality (see table 32).[3] At the center of the debate between

---

[1]Cf. Bail, *Gegen das Schweigen klagen*, 106.

[2]Gerard Genette introduces the term "hypertextuality" which describes "any relationship uniting a text B (. . . the *hypertext*) to an earlier text A (. . . the *hypotext*), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of a commentary" (*Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. C. Newman and C. Doubinsky [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997], 5).

[3]From a New Testament perspective, Steve Moyise speaks of three subcategories of intertextuality: (1) intertextual echo: one text alludes or echoes a previous text (unilinear direction); (2) dialogical intertextuality: interaction between text and subtext operates in both directions; and (3) postmodern intertextuality: the process of tracing the interactions between texts is inherently unstable so that "there is never *only* one way of interpreting a text" ("Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament," in *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, ed. S. Moyise, JSNTSup, no. 189 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000], 17-18). It does not matter too much if one speaks of "subcategories of intertextuality" or "different intertextual approaches" as long as one realizes the distinctiveness of the categories or approaches. It appears that the first two of Moyise's subcategories fall into author-intended or text-oriented intertextuality, whereas his third subcategory is the same as reader-oriented intertextuality.

intertextualists are the questions of who gives meaning to the text—the author or the reader—and how texts are interrelated—by influence theory or by a multifaceted dialogical concept.[1]

Table 32. Two Concepts of Intertextuality

Reader-Oriented Intertextuality	**Author-Intended Intertextuality or Text-Oriented Intertextuality**
Reader constructs intertextual relations	Author constructed (deliberately or involuntarily) intertextual relations
Radically open: unlimited number of intertextual relations	Restricted: limited number of intertextual relations
Free relations	Compulsory relations identified by close reading (text-oriented)
Receptor-oriented: exegete is interested in functions (effect of intertextual relations)	Source-oriented: exegete is interested in sources (purpose of intertextual relations)
Synchronic: all texts can function as intertext	Diachronic: only prior or contemporary texts can function as intertext

Note: Compare the tables in Ellen van Wolde, *Words Become Worlds: Semantic Studies of Genesis 1-11*, BIS, no. 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 165 (cf. her elaborations on pp. 165-169); and idem, "Texts in Dialogue with Texts: Intertextuality in the Ruth and Tamar Narratives," *BibInt* 5 (1997): 5 (cf. 4-7).

Reader-oriented intertextuality focuses on the reader as the center of interpretation. The reader constructs the mutual relevance of different texts as perceived

[1]For an appraisal of these two question see Tull ("Intertextuality and the Hebrew Scriptures," 59-64) who adds as a third issue the dispute over what constitutes a text—a written text or any kind of communication (cf. Gillmayr-Bucher, "Intertextualität," 19). See also the treatment on the concepts "author" and "reader" in Donald C. Polaski, *Authorizing an End: The Isaiah Apocalypse and Intertextuality*, BiblntS, no. 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 35-45, who tries to avoid using these concepts by choosing a social understanding of intertextuality that focuses on a particular text and a particular culture (45-49), which, however, creates its own difficulties in regard to the use of "culture."

by the reader but not necessarily intended by the author. The intertext from which the reader can freely choose intertextual relations is the entire universe of written and non-written texts, which makes this model a truly synchronic approach.

Author-intended intertextuality focuses on the author who intends intertextual relations. It is thus a productional intertextuality that concerns the interrelationship between two or more texts deliberately established or proposed by the author through various markers or signals. The intertextual relations involve the aspect of influence, which makes this model diachronic. As such, author-intended intertextuality requires close reading of the texts and is essentially text-oriented. In fact, since the intertextual markers or signals are to be found in the text and thus demonstrate basically "textual intentionality,"[1] it is possible, and maybe even preferable, to designate this type of intertextuality as "text-oriented intertextuality."

Similar differences in understanding intertextuality are found among biblical scholars. There are those who follow Kristeva's reader-oriented intertextuality,[2] those

---

[1]Edgar W. Conrad believes that "'authorial intentionality' is entirely beyond our grasp. However, 'textual intentionality' refers not to the human mind but to signals and codes that, to some extent, are typical of writing and reading everywhere" (*Reading the Latter Prophets: Toward a New Canonical Criticism*, JSOTSup, no. 376 [London: Clark, 2003], 271).

[2]The essays in *Semeia* 69/70 (1995); Bail, *Gegen das Schweigen klagen* (shorter, but exceptionally clear: Ulrike Bail, "Psalm 110: Eine intertextuelle Lektüre aus alttestamentlicher Perspektive," in *Heiligkeit und Herrschaft: Intertextuelle Studien zu Heiligkeitsvorstellungen und zu Psalm 110*, ed. D. Sänger, BTS, no. 55 [Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener, 2003], 94-121); Steins, *Die "Bindung Isaaks" im Kanon*, esp. 84-102 (proposes in detail a new exegetical method called "canonical-intertextual reading" within the scope of reception theory; cf. idem, "Der Bibelkanon als Denkmal und Text," 177-198; Childs, "Critique of Recent Intertextual Canonical Interpretation," 173-178); Kirsten Nielsen, "Intertextuality and Hebrew Bible," in *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø, VTSup, no. 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 17-31, esp. 31 (proposes the concept of "responsible exegesis" in which exegesis is understood as response to texts and intertexts, including historically later intertexts).

who opt for intentional intertextual relations[1] and specifically reject radical openness,[2] those who argue for the validity and use of both approaches,[3] and finally those who prefer the one over the other.[4]

---

[1]Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985); cf. idem, "Inner-Biblical Exegesis," in *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, vol. 1, *From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (until 1300)*, pt. 1, *Antiquity*, ed. M. Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 33-48. He argues for a diachronic approach he calls "inner-biblical exegesis," in which he defines the earlier content of a recoverable biblical tradition as *traditum* and the later tradition which comments or interprets an identifiable *traditum* as *traditio*. "Inner-biblical interpretation" instead of Fishbane's "inner-biblical exegesis" is used by Scott L. Harris to suggest "a far broader traditioning process" that can include any type of textual relation (*Proverbs 1–9: A Study of Inner-Biblical Interpretation*, SBLDS, no. 150 [Atlanta: Scholars, 1996]).

[2]Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, "Intertextuality: Allusion and Vertical Context Systems in Some Job Passages," in *Of Prophets' Visions and the Wisdom of Sages: Essays in Honour of R. Norman Whybray on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. H. A. McKay and D. J. A. Clines, JSOTSup, no. 162 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 257-280; James H. Charlesworth, "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3 and the *serek ha-yaḥad*," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*, ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon, BIS, no. 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 197-224; Wolde, "Texts in Dialogue with Texts," 1-28; and Craig C. Broyles, "Traditions, Intertextuality, and Canon," in *Interpreting the Old Testament: A Guide for Exegesis*, ed. C. C. Broyles (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001), 167-171, esp. 167.

[3]Tull, "Rhetorical Criticism and Intertextuality," 165 (intertextuality is "a phenomenon that manifests itself on all levels from the general and untraceable to specific quoting"); Antoon Schoors, "(Mis)use of Intertextuality in Qoheleth Exegesis," in *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø, VTSup, no. 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 45-59, esp. 59; Richard L. Schultz, "The Ties That Bind: Intertextuality, the Identification of Verbal Parallels, and Reading Strategies in the Book of the Twelve," *SBLSP* 40 (2001): 39-57, esp. 43-45.

[4]Lyle Eslinger argues for a synchronic approach: inner-biblical allusion can only be studied as inner-biblical exegesis when textual precedence can be established ("Inner-Biblical Exegesis and Inner-Biblical Allusion: The Question of Category," *VT* 42 [1992]: 47-58). However, if there is not enough historical data the literary connections must be read "atemporally and without assumptions about vectors of dependence," and then inner-biblical allusion should be studied as what it is, and not as inner-biblical exegesis (56). Eslinger suggests a study of inner-biblical allusion that "can turn again to the sequence of events actually described or implied in much of biblical literature and follow the chain of reverse trajectory allusions through from creation to apocalypse." Matters of history and historicity are then "simply bracketed or even rejected as beyond verification" (58). Benjamin D. Sommer argues that there is a basic distinction between intertextuality and allusion and that both Fishbane's diachronic (inner-biblical allusion and influence theory) and Eslinger's synchronic approach (intertextuality) are valuable in their own respect ("Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible: A Response to Lyle Eslinger," *VT* 46 [1996]: 479-489; idem, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 6-10). However intertextuality should be restricted to a synchronic approach: "The study of

In conclusion, the broad definition of reader-oriented intertextuality makes it difficult to use for the interpretation of texts. If the interrelation between texts is only perceived in the mind of today's reader but was not intended by the author and/or the community that produced and received the book of Daniel, there are no limits to intertextual relations, which then could include anything in and outside of the biblical text.[1] In fact, the definition of this type of intertextuality prevents any valid controls to be established. In the intentional intertextuality, the endless openness of the text, in contrast to reader-oriented intertextuality, disappears in the background in favor of verifiable procedures to establish concrete intertextual relations.[2] From a text-oriented viewpoint the concept of intertextuality must be methodized for each individual interpretation. Thus, the approach used in the present study builds on the restricted and limited concept of intertextuality. Needless to say, preferring a restricted intertextuality does not entail the broader concept to be irrelevant.

Criteria for Intertextual Relations and Methodological Considerations

Like in any other area of exegesis, intertextuality should have "internal controls

---

intertextuality is synchronic, the analysis of allusion diachronic or even historicist" ("Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality," 487). Pyeon, in following the theoretical foundation laid by Sommer, proposes two levels of intertextuality: a synchronic level interested in words, phrases, motifs from one another, and a diachronic level interested in words, phrases, and motifs from other biblical texts (*You Have Not Spoken What Is Right About Me*, 43-44).

[1]This is not to say that reader-oriented intertextuality is otiose. For some possible benefits of this type of intertextuality from the viewpoint of a practitioner of author-oriented or text-oriented intertextuality see Moyise, 37-40.

[2]Cf. Wolde, *Words Become Worlds*, 164; idem, "Texts in Dialogue with Texts," 4. Schultz uses the term "*intentional* interrelationships" (40 [emphasis his]), although one may doubt whether all verbal parallels need to indicate conscious authorial intention.

against incautious or fallacious methodological procedures."[1] Protection from methodological arbitrariness is especially important in the area of intertextuality since one could easily get the feeling that exegetes have been given carte blanche in their intertextual endeavors. A call for careful consideration of intertextual criteria is necessary.[2]

The foundation of intertextual devices is similarity or repetition. Similarity can function on the level of vocabulary, specific word constructions, structure, theme, and content.

A major factor in identifying an intertextual relation is verbal and/or thematic correspondence in two passages. The intertextual study of Dan 8:9-14 focuses therefore on the lexical and thematic links of this text with other parts in the book of Daniel. Every occurrence of the lexemes of this passage in other places in the book of Daniel is noted. To help in this effort, a "word/word group concordance" of Dan 8:9-14 is constructed (see Appendix 1).

However, a "word/word group concordance" does not automatically display intertextual relations. Adele Berlin cautions that verbal correspondence does not indicate an authorial or compositional device since comparisons between texts are generated by the reader. She continues that "verbal correspondence *may* indicate an allusion but does not necessarily do so. To confirm an allusion we would generally need more than the

---

[1]Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 288.

[2]Adele Berlin pleads that "it is worth thinking through the criteria more carefully than has been done thus far, both in the interest of developing sound exegetical principles and in the interest of untangling the literary history of the Bible" ("Literary Exegesis of Biblical Narrative," 128).

correspondence of a single term or usage."[1]

There are two factors that help to establish an intertextual relation between two texts on the lexical and the thematic level: first, a "cluster of parallel terms,"[2] that is, the density of lexical correspondences between two texts in a relatively short textual range, which includes the repetition of relevant semantic fields,[3] and second, the correspondence of rare or unique words and phrases. Obviously, the more links that exist between two passages, the more likely an intertextual relation exists between them. Two further criteria play a role in identifying an intertextual relation and make it even more probable: if lexical correspondences happen to occur in "analogous contexts"[4] and show a similarity in theme or genre, and if a similarity in structure, structural elements and units, or sequence exists.[5]

By these criteria Dan 8:9-14 reveals a number of texts which form the intertextuality of the focal text. These other texts may provide syntactic, structural, or

---

[1]Ibid. (emphasis hers). In larger text sections, random verbal correspondence happens more easily, which is why intertextual "verbal correspondence *between* stories, and between story cycles, is more difficult to prove conclusively" (Joel Rosenberg, *King and Kin: Political Allegory in the Hebrew Bible*, ISBL [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986], 203]).

[2]Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 287.

[3]This is one of the two major methodological points argued by Paul R. Noble: "A catalogue of individual, *unrelated* points of resemblance between two texts is not, in general, a sufficient criterion for identifying a probable authorial or redactional allusion of one text to the other" ("Esau, Tamar, and Joseph: Criteria for Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," *VT* 52 [2002]: 251; emphasis mine). His second major point is that "discovering a common pattern in two texts *is* a sufficient criterion" (251; emphasis his). Such "shared patterns of interconnected resemblances" (252) could be designated as thematic-structural similarities (on this criterion see below).

[4]Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation*, 287.

[5]Compare the list of similarities that possibly could function as markers or signs of intertextual relations set forth by Wolde ("Texts in Dialogue with Texts," 7-8); cf. Schultz, 44-45.

semantic data which should be considered and could be of vital importance towards a better understanding of Dan 8:9-14. The focus therefore is how these texts impact the understanding of Dan 8:9-14.

There are certain delimitations of the present intertextual analysis. One can only select a portion of the intertextual web for analysis. The entire book of Daniel itself is considered a suitable intertext of Dan 8:9-14, including chaps. 9–12, since the author of Daniel put all its chapters together intentionally.[1] However, the intertextual analysis will not systematically deal with texts of the Hebrew Bible beyond the book of Daniel.[2] There are several reasons for such a decision. First, while from a formal point of view the vision reports in the book of Daniel are found to be in the tradition of the prophetic vision reports,[3] the thematic contents differ markedly.[4] Hence, terminological links between Dan 8:9-14 and other texts in the Hebrew Bible are expected to be rare. Second, texts

---

[1]I do not differentiate here between author or final redactor since I do not perceive such a question to make any difference in the analysis of the intertextuality of the final text. To be sure, reading the interconnections of Dan 8:9-14 to other parts in Daniel without regard for the issues of history, or even historicity, should not be understood as a rejection of historical study. See the methodological considerations by Eslinger for the study of inner-biblical allusion ("Inner-Biblical Exegesis," 56-58).

[2]One could also distinguish between these two possible intertexts by the concepts of intertextuality and intratextuality, although the latter term needs to be defined as clearly as the previous one in order to avoid confusion. If one wants to employ both terms, a possible definition could be the following: While intertextuality denotes external links, that is, the interaction of a given text with texts from a different author, the term "intratextuality" denotes internal links, that is, the interaction of a given text with texts from the same author, often standing within the same book. The former has also been designated as "hetero-intertextuality" and the latter as "auto-intertextuality" (Holthuis, cited in Alkier, 14). However, in the present analysis the term "intertextuality" includes both types of intertextuality, without distinguishing them, and therefore does not necessarily imply different authors.

[3]Behrens, 333-345.

[4]This is one of the reasons why the book of Daniel is classified as apocalyptic literature.

within the book of Daniel should in general be more decisive for the intertextual understanding of Dan 8:9-14. And third, possible intertexts elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible that shed light on the meaning of words and phrases and on the thematic meaning of Dan 8:9-14 or its parts have already been discussed in the linguistic analysis, for example, the passage where the commander of YHWH's host appears to Joshua (Josh 5:13-15), and in the literary analysis, for example, the connection of the vision in Dan 8 to the Day of Atonement.[1]

Also, this study is not concerned with the valid question whether parts of Dan 8:9-14 have been influenced by elements of ancient mythology or draw motifs from extra-biblical sources.[2] Neither will the reception history of the text be considered, although this has recently been a fruitful and legitimate exercise in itself,[3] however, not for an intertextual analysis that concentrates on the meaning of the text under consideration and deals with author-intended or text-oriented intertextuality. This means that intertestamental literature, including the texts from Qumran, as well as literature dating to

---

[1]If one wants to undertake further study of intertextual links between Dan 8:9-14 and other texts in the Hebrew Bible the following texts might yield profitable results: Isa 6:11 (עַד־מָתַי "how long?"); Isa 14:12-15 (terminological links: נפל "fall" [vs. 12], אֶרֶץ "earth" [vs. 12], כּוֹכָב "stars" [vs. 13], שָׁמַיִם "heaven" [vs. 13], and רום hif. "rise" [vs. 13]); Isa 16:4-5 (רמס "trample" [vs. 4] אֶרֶץ "earth" [vs. 4], אֱמֶת "truth" [vs. 5], צֶדֶק "righteousness" [vs. 5]); and the three visions in Zech 1:8-2:17 that also show celestial beings in conversation (the angelic cry of עַד־מָתַי "how long?" [1:12]; צָבָא "host" always in יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת "YHWH of hosts" [1:12, 14, 16, 17; 2:12, 13, 15]; קֶרֶן "horn" [2:1, 2, 4]; אַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם "the four winds of the heaven" [2:10]; קֹדֶשׁ "holy" [2:16, 17]).

[2]For such analyses see, e.g., John J. Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War," 596-612.

[3]For example, see the six essays on the reception of Daniel in Judaism and Christianity in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, 2:421-571.

C.E., like the New Testament, are excluded from this study.[1]

Finally, one should not overlook previous biblical research which has studied aspects of the intertextuality of Dan 8:9-14, albeit by other names and methods. A new name on the scene of methodology—intertextuality—does not imply that previous work has produced nothing worthwhile with regard to intertextuality. Similarly, several "modern" intertextual studies are merely traditional approaches clothed in new terminology.[2]

The procedure of this analysis follows two steps: first, an analytical, descriptive one, then a synthetic, interpretative one. In the analytical and descriptive step, I will identify the correspondences and similarities between two texts. These signals of textual relation include lexical correspondences, thematic similarities, and structural similarities. In the second, synthetic and interpretative step, I will discuss in what way another text influences, shapes, or adds to the meaning of Dan 8:9-14.[3]

In general, similarities emphasize specific aspects of Dan 8:9-14 and confirm the understanding of the text, whereas dissimilarities—additions or absences—can enhance

---

[1]This has indeed to be regarded as a delimitation since texts that originated post-biblically could in some sense be viewed as possible intertext. Cf. Michael Fishbane, "Types of Biblical Intertextuality," in *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø, VTSup, no. 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 39-44.

[2]That is why Hatina claims that the intertextual approach of "even the more astute Old Testament scholars is largely indistinguishable from that of traditional historical criticism" (28 n. 2).

[3]This procedure is quite similar to what Peter D. Miscall describes as a "two-staged process": comparing and contrasting texts followed by an assessment of the parallels. In contrast to such a process Miscall describes what he refers to as true intertextual reading, which is more in line with reader-oriented intertextuality ("Texts, More Texts, a Textual Reader and a Textual Writer," *Semeia* 69/70 [1995]: 247-260, esp. 248).

or offer additional nuances to the understanding of its meaning, as well as reveal the different characteristics of the texts.

The order in which texts from within Daniel will be intertextually discussed moves from the visionary to the narrative part of the book. Those texts which are immediately contiguous to the vision report in Dan 8 precede the others in the order of intertextual study. First and foremost, the interpretation of the vision in chap. 8 (8:23-26) is considered, then the immediately preceding chap. 7, which is structurally close to chap. 8 and employs the same symbol of a horn. Next follows the analyses of the subsequent chap. 9 and of the concluding part of the visionary material in Daniel, the long visionary experience in chaps. 10–12. Finally, the narratives (chaps. 1–6) are investigated for intertextual relations. Suffice it to say that the order of analysis does not necessarily reflect a gradation of intertextual significance.

When comparing Dan 8:9-14 with other parts in the book of Daniel, first the corresponding data will be presented as a list of lexical similarities (distinguishing keyword links, thematic word links, and incidental correspondences), thematic similarities, and structural similarities. Then follows the discussion on relevant intertextual questions, always bearing in mind that a more comprehensive exegesis of these other passages will not be attempted. In the case of the interpretation of the horn vision in Dan 8:23-26, a synoptic comparison of the vision and the interpretation in chap. 8 will be included.

Intertextual Relations between Daniel 8:9-14 and Daniel 8:23-26

The comparative data between the climax of the vision in Dan 8:9-14 and the climax of the interpretation in Dan 8:23-26 are presented in the following list.

Lexical correspondences
Keyword links
גדל (9b, 10a, 11a, 25)
שַׂר (11a, 25 [2x])
פֶּשַׁע (12a) and פשׁע (23)
עשׂה (12c, 24)
צלח (12d, 24, 25)
אֱמֶת (12b, 26)
קָדוֹשׁ (13a, 13b, 24)
חָזוֹן (13c, 26)
עֶרֶב (14b, 26)
בֹּקֶר (14b, 26)

Thematic word links
קֶרֶן (9a) // מֶלֶךְ (23)
רמס (10c, 13c), שׁלך (11c, 12b), שׁמם (13c) // שׁחת hif. (24 [2x], 25)
מִן־הַצָּבָא וּמִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים (10b) // עֲצוּמִים וְעַם־קְדֹשִׁים (24), רַבִּים (25)
14b-c // מַרְאֵה (26)
עַד עֶרֶב בֹּקֶר אַלְפַּיִם וּשְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת (14b) // לְיָמִים רַבִּים (26)

Incidental correspondences
אמר (13b, 14a, 26)

Thematic similarities
Self-magnifying, anti-divine power (*Himmelsstürmer*)
Attack on saints and opposition to God
Success in its doings
End of anti-divine power by divine action (*passivum divinum*)

Structural similarities
Basic elements of the vision report are repeated in the angelic interpretation.

The structural correspondence is illustrated by table 33, which presents a synoptic comparison of the vision report and the angelic interpretation.

Table 33. Lexical and Thematic Links between Vision and Interpretation in Daniel 8

Vision Report (8:3-14)	Interpretation (8:20-26)
3 Then I lifted my eyes and ***looked***, and behold, ***a ram which had two horns*** was standing in front of the canal. Now the two horns were long, but one was longer than the other, with the longer one coming up last. 4 I saw ***the ram*** butting westward, northward, and southward, and no other beasts could stand before him nor was there anyone to rescue from his power, but he did as he pleased and magnified himself.	20 "***The ram which you saw with the two horns***
	represents the kings of Media and Persia.
5 While I was observing, behold, ***a*** *male* ***goat*** was coming from the west over the surface of the whole earth without touching the ground;	21 ***The*** *shaggy* ***goat***
	represents the kingdom of Greece,
and ***the goat*** had a *conspicuous* ***horn between his eyes.***	***and the large horn that is between his eyes***
	is the first king.
6 He came up to the ram that had the two horns, which I had seen standing in front of the canal, and rushed at him in his mighty wrath. 7 I saw him come beside ***the ram***, and he was enraged at him; and he struck ***the ram*** and shattered his two horns, and ***the ram*** had no strength to withstand him. So he hurled him to the ground and trampled on him, and there was none to rescue ***the ram*** from his power. 8 Then the male ***goat*** magnified himself exceedingly. But as soon as he was mighty, ***the large horn was broken***; ***and in its place*** *there came up* ***four*** conspicuous horns toward the four winds of heaven.	22 ***The broken horn*** and ***the four*** horns *that arose* ***in its place***
	represent four kingdoms which will arise from his nation, although not with his power.
	23 In the latter period of their rule, When the **transgressors** have run their course,

Table 33—*Continued.*

9 And from the one of them *went forth* one *horn* from littleness and it ***grew*** exceedingly toward the south, toward the sunrise (east), and toward the beauty.	*a king will arise*, insolent and skilled in intrigue. 24 His power will be mighty,
	but not by his own power,
10 And *it **grew** up* to the *host of heaven* and caused to fall to earth *some of the host and some of the stars*, and *it trampled them.*	*and he will destroy* to an extraordinary degree ***and prosper and perform his will***; *he will destroy mighty men and the holy people.*
	25 And through his shrewdness He will cause deceit ***to succeed*** by his influence;
11 ***And he magnified himself***	and ***he will magnify himself*** *in his heart*, and he will destroy many while they are at ease.
up to ***the commander*** *of the host*;	*He will even oppose* ***the Prince*** *of princes*,
and from him it took away the *tāmî d*, and the foundation of his sanctuary was thrown down. 12 And a host will be set against the *tāmî d* in **rebellion**; and it will throw down ***truth*** to the earth ***and it will do and will succeed.***	
13 And I had heard one holy one *speaking*, and another holy one said to the previous one who had been *speaking*, "Until when is ***the vision***? (Concerning) the *tāmî d* and the giving of the devastating crime and (the) holy and a host to be trampled?"	
14 And he ***said*** to me, "Until ***evening-morning*** two thousand three hundred, then (the) holy *will be restored.*"	
	but he *will be broken* without human agency.
	26 *The vision of* ***the evenings and mornings*** *which* ***has been told*** *is* ***true***; but keep ***the vision*** secret, for it pertains *to many days in the future.*"

Note: Lexical links are boldface; thematic word links are italicized.

Similarities

The structural parallels are obvious and not surprising since the angelic interpretation is expected to follow at least the basic outline of the vision to be interpreted. Hence the main actors, as well as the sequence in which they are mentioned, correspond between the vision and its interpretation.

The nature of 8:20-26 as interpretation is also the reason for the relatively numerous lexical links, both keyword links and thematic word links, to the vision. From 8:9-14 the key verbal roots גדל (9b, 10a, 11a, 25), עשׂה (12c, 24), and צלח (12d, 24, 25) are taken up. The main target of the horn/king's attack is a prince (שַׂר in vss. 11a, 25). And with "holy" (קָדוֹשׁ, vss. 13a, 13b, 24) and "truth" (אֱמֶת, vss. 12b, 26), two conceptually important words from the audition in vss. 12-14 are used again, as well as the reference to the vision (חָזוֹן in vss. 13c, 26) and the "evening-morning" (עֶרֶב and בֹּקֶר in vss. 14b, 26).

Thematic Similarities

There are also a number of thematic word links. Based on the correspondence of horns and kings, which is already established by identifying the great horn as the first king (vs. 21), it is clear that the king in vs. 23 corresponds to the horn of the vision in vs. 9a. The destructive activities of that horn (רמס in vss. 10c, 13c; שׁלך in vss. 11c, 12b; שׁמם in vs. 13c) are expressed in the interpretation by the military term שׁחת hif. "ruin, destroy" (vss. 24, 25), which indicates intent to ruin. The self-magnification (הִגְדִּיל, vs. 11a) finds its correspondence in the magnifying of the king's heart (בִּלְבָבוֹ יַגְדִּיל, vs. 25).

The attack on the host and the stars (vs. 10b) seems to be taken up in a similar double expression of the mighty ones and the people of holy ones (vs. 24). The vision, or part of it, is not only referred to as חָזוֹן, but also as מַרְאֵה "appearance" (vs. 26). Finally, the time span of "2300 evening-morning" (vs. 14b) seems to be alluded to by the "many days" (לְיָמִים רַבִּים, vs. 26) that the vision will cover or after which the vision will be of current interest.

Thematic similarities between the vision and the interpretation of the horn/king are restricted to two of the various isotopies of vss. 9-14, since only these two are extant in vss. 23-25. One is the isotopy of power, control, and violence, the other is the isotopy of presumption and judgment. The theme of power, control, and violence runs throughout vss. 23-25 (כֹּחַ, עצם, the military term שׁחת hif., and עמד עַל). The king's movements are successful as if God himself is blessing him. The king attacks the people of God, and in self-magnification he even opposes the "prince of princes." However, after such presumption "he will be broken." The passive voice in vs. 25 (יִשָּׁבֵר) corresponds to the passive in vs. 14c (וְנִצְדַּק). It appears that both refer to the same divine intervention that, at last, reacts to the blasphemous and mind-boggling activities of this human power in the final days.[1]

Another parallel between vision and interpretation is the noticeable emphasis on the horn/king in relation to the previous powers. In the interpretation, the importance of the king is perceived by the structure, the style of language, and the introduction of the

---

[1]Furthermore, וּבְאֶפֶס יָד "and not by hand" (8:25) reminds one of לָא בִידַיִן "not by hands" in 2:34, 45 and links the crushing of the world kingdoms by the stone with the breaking of the king (8:25) and the restoration of holy to its rightful place (8:14c).

king. In the structure of the interpretation, the correlate to the first part of the vision report (vss. 3-8) takes a few words (vss. 20-22; 30 words), whereas the climax of the vision report is explained more extensively (vss. 23-25; 39 words).[1] The ram, the he-goat, the large horn, and the four (horns) are merely identified as the kings of Media and Persia and of Greece, without commenting on their activities as described in the vision. Neither is any evaluation of these political powers given. It is evident that the interest of the interpretation is not on these powers—they function merely as backdrop—but on the following king who represents the last horn in the vision.[2]

This structural division goes hand in hand with a change in style of language. Daniel 8:23-26 is one of the recognized poetic passages in the visionary part of the book of Daniel.[3] The poetic character of these verses aligns with the subject of the king, thus enhancing the significance of this section of the interpretation and marking it as the climax of the interpretative section. A similar change to elevated language for the sake of literary emphasis is detectable in vs. 11.

Finally, the passage regarding the king is emphasized by its altered introduction. Whereas in vss. 20-22 the symbols of the vision report (ram, he-goat, horns) are repeated before their interpretation is given, the symbol of the horn is not at all mentioned in vs. 23. Rather, the final power is directly designated as "a king." This can hardly be

---

[1]Cf. Delcor, 168; Porter, *Metaphors*, 11.

[2]Cf. Bader, "Reale und gedachte Welt," 54.

[3]Segert examines the poetic elements of Dan 8:23-26 and finds prosodic regularity, features of parallelism in almost all the verses, word pairs, and repetition ("Poetic Structures," 265-267).

accidental since the pattern "symbol + interpretation" is used no less than four times in vss. 20-22. What significance does this structural disruption have? Besides pointing out that the king is an important entity independent from the previous powers, the direct introduction as king, without referring to the symbolic horn, indicates specifically that he is of a different nature. He is structurally set apart from the previous powers. In the vision, the horn differs from the previous powers most clearly by its cultic interests. However, the cultic elements seem to be absent in the interpretation. The sudden mention of "a king" in vs. 23 appears to convey an emphasis on the human element in contrast to the beasts and horns mentioned before. In fact, vss. 23-25 avoid any animal imagery in relation to this king. The phrases וּבִלְבָבוֹ "and in his heart" and, to some degree, בְּיָדוֹ "in his hand"[1] (both vs. 25) reinforce the idea that the king is deliberately portrayed as being human. Thus, one may find in vss. 20-25 a contrast between humanity and beasts, between the human portrayal of the king (vs. 23-25) and the beastly representations of the previous powers (vs. 20-22). Such a contrast is reminiscent of Dan 4, where king Nebuchadnezzar is transformed into an animal-like being and after "seven times" becomes human again, and of Dan 7, where the "one like a son of man" stands in contrast to the imagery of beasts. The implications of these findings will be discussed in the analysis of Dan 7 as intertext below.

Specific Phrases

A few phrases in the vision are enlightened by the interpretation. First, Dan 8:24f

[1]Of course, יָדוֹ "his hand" occurs in this chapter also in reference to the power of the ram (Dan 8:4) and the he-goat (8:7).

mentions that the king will destroy עֲצוּמִים וְעַם־קְדֹשִׁים "mighty/numerous and a people of holy ones."[1] The juxtaposition of the "mighty" or "numerous" and the "people of holy ones" resembles the juxtaposition of the "host" and the "stars" in 8:10b. The clauses in which these phrases appear correspond syntactically and thematically: Both mention two personal objects of the destructive activity of the horn/king. The "host of heaven" and the "stars" in the vision are obviously referred to by the "mighty" and the "people of holy ones" in the interpretation. Furthermore, in both vison and interpretation the attack of the horn/king climaxes after these statements with the attitude against the "prince of the host" and the "prince of princes," respectively.[2]

Similar to the discussion of the relationship between the terms in 8:10b, so in 8:24f the question is whether the עֲצוּמִים should be understood as another designation for the עַם־קְדֹשִׁים,[3] or do the two expressions stand for two different entities, either in the sense that עַם־קְדֹשִׁים refers to God's people and עֲצוּמִים to Gentile rulers or enemies of the king,[4] or in the sense that עַם־קְדֹשִׁים, being the more comprehensive group, includes

---

[1]If the MT is to be trusted (so, e.g., Montgomery, 350; Lucas, *Daniel*, 208). Others consider עַם־קְדֹשִׁים to be misplaced from vs. 25a which should read וְעַל־קְדֹשִׁים שִׂכְלוֹ (Bevan, 139; Marti, *Daniel*, 62; Charles, 219; Plöger, *Daniel*, 123; Niditch, 218, 221; Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 327, 341; Stahl, *Weltengagement*, 177), which, however, does not affect the meaning of the "people of holy ones."

[2]Dequeker, "The 'Saints of the Most High,'" 175.

[3]So, e.g., von Lengerke, 401; Kliefoth, 279; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 401; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 208, 218; Gowan, *Daniel*, 122; Lucas, *Daniel*, 221.

[4]Calvin, 126; Hitzig, 141; Bevan, 140; Marti, *Daniel*, 62; Montgomery, 350; Charles, 219; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 192; Delcor, 182; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 341; Miller, *Daniel*, 235. Some understand עֲצוּמִים to be mighty ones in general, both Gentile and Jewish: Hävernick, 306; Keil, 318.

the smaller group of עֲצוּמִים?[1] A semantic analysis of the two expressions will help to decide the question of their relationship.

In almost all of its thirty-one occurrences in the Hebrew Bible the adjective עָצוּם is used in reference to the number, might or strength of human beings, often referring to people, nations, or multitudes, but never in reference to celestial beings.[2] The conclusion therefore is that עֲצוּמִים should be understood to refer to human beings. Considering that עָצוּם can also mean "countless" or "numerous," this by itself suggests that יַשְׁחִית רַבִּים "he will destroy many" in vs. 25 expresses the same idea as וְהִשְׁחִית עֲצוּמִים "he will

---

[1]Since elsewhere a nominally used עָצוּם may denote a distinguished group among a people or nation, that is, "the mighty ones," one might understand them in 8:24f as a distinguished group among the "people of holy ones" (Maier, 316: the mighty are the high priests). With such an interpretation and with reference to Dan 12:3, where a special group of believers is singled out and compared to the brightness of the expanse of heaven and of the stars—however, they are not symbolically represented as stars—there seems to be some reason to suggest that the "stars" in Dan 8:10b represent also a distinguished group among the "host of heaven." Since both the "mighty ones" and the "people of holy ones" (8:24f) denote believers (see below), the symbolic meaning of the "host" and of the "stars" in such a view should also be identified as denoting believers: the "host" as the large group of the covenant people and the "stars" as a distinguished group among them. The main problem with this interpretation is that in regard to the literal meaning the "host of heaven" and the "stars" in vs. 10b refer to the same entity, viz. celestial bodies (see chapter 2 above), and subsequently they should refer to the same also in regard to their symbolic meaning. So if there is no apparent distinction between the "stars" and the "host of heaven" in vs. 10, then in vs. 24 both the "mighty ones" and the "people of holy ones" should refer to the same entity, both designating the people of God. See also below.

[2]The adjective עָצוּם refers to humans in a nominative or attributive sense in 28 instances (Gen 18:18; Exod 1:9; Num 14:12; 22:6; Deut 4:38; 7:1; 9:1, 14; 11:23; 26:5; Josh 23:9; Isa 8:7 ["mighty waters of the Euphrates" figuratively for the people from Mesopotamia]; 60:22; Joel 1:6; 2:2, 5, 11; Mic 4:3, 7; Zech 8:22; Pss 10:10; 35:18; 135:10; Prov 7:26; 18:18; Dan 11:25 and thus also in Isa 53:12 and Dan 8:24), twice for animals (Num 32:1; Prov 30:26), and once for sins (Amos 5:12). Aside from Dan 8:24, עָצוּם is used nominally four times and in each instance denotes a distinguished group among a people or nation (Isa 53:12; Ps 10:10; Prov 7:26; 18:18). Nineteen times עָצוּם occurs in adjectival relation to עַם "people" (Exod 1:9; Num 22:6; Joel 2:2, 5; Ps 35:18; Prov 30:26) or to גּוֹי "nation" (Gen 18:18; Num 14:12; Deut 4:38; 7:1; 9:1, 14; 11:23; 26:5; Josh 23:9; Isa 60:22; Joel 1:6; Mic 4:3, 7; Zech 8:22), of which 8 times the covenant people are meant (for Israel in Gen 18:18; Exod 1:9; Num 22:6; Deut 26:5; Isa 60:22; Mic 4:7; and for a possible new covenant people through Moses in Num 14:12; Deut 9:14).

destroy the numerous," particularly since both clauses use the same verb (שׁחת hif.).[1] In fact, עָצוּם and רַב occur frequently juxtaposed in parallel thought.[2] The meaning of רַבִּים in 8:25 becomes a pointer to the meaning of עֲצוּמִים in vs. 24. In the book of Daniel the term רַבִּים "many" refers always to human beings when it is not used in an adjectival relationship.[3] This would indicate that both עֲצוּמִים "numerous" and רַבִּים "many" refer to the same group of human beings, that is, God's people.

The second expression in 8:24, עַם־קְדֹשִׁים "people of holy ones," is also a reference to the people of God. In the book of Daniel עַם "people" always refers to human people, most often to the people of God.[4] Since in 8:24 עַם stands in a construct relation with קְדֹשִׁים "holy ones," it is clear that the people belong to the realm of holiness and therefore are the people of God. The construct phrase itself is usually understood in either of two ways, that is, either with epexegetic or with possessive (or subjective) function: either the people consist of holy ones, in which case the phrase could also be understood as "holy people" (cf. 12:7),[5] or the people are belonging to the holy ones in

---

[1]The parallel of עֲצוּמִים and רַבִּים is pointed out by Rosenmüller, 276; von Lengerke, 401; Behrmann, 57; Seow, *Daniel*, 131.

[2]Exod 1:9; Num 32:1; Deut 7:1; 9:14; 26:5; Isa 8:7; 53:12; Joel 2:2, 11; Amos 5:12; Mic 4:3; Zech 8:22; Pss 35:18; 135:10; Prov 7:26. In addition, the verb עצם and the adjective רַב are used in expressing parallel thoughts in Isa 31:1; Ps 40:6; the verb עצם and the noun רֹב in Jer 30:14, 15; and the verbs עצם and רבב in Pss 38:20; 69:5; Jer 5:6.

[3]Dan 8:25; 9:27; 11:14, 18, 26, 33, 34, 39, 44; 12:2 (רַבּוֹת in 11:41 functions as an adjective to the elliptical אֲרָצוֹת; cf. vs. 40).

[4]In Daniel, עַם refers to the people of God in 8:24; 9:6, 15, 16, 19, 20, 24, 26; 10:14; 11:14, 15, 32, 33; 12:1, 7; and to other people in 9:26 (note that in the discourse of chap. 9, after vs. 6, the people of God are always designated specifically as "my people" or "your people"; its different use in vs. 26 suggests it refers to another people); 11:15.

[5]So most of the commentators.

one way or another, in which the "holy ones" could designate celestial beings.[1] Recently Seow suggested as third alternative a partitive function ("'the people of the holy ones,' that is, the human elements among the holy ones").[2] In any case, similarly to the "host of heaven" in 8:10, the "holy ones" may refer to yet another, celestial dimension in the battle of the king, which would make it a cosmic battle.

In conclusion, the "mighty" or "numerous," the "people of the holy ones," and the "many" all refer to one and the same, that is, the people of God.[3] The conjunction *waw* between the first two expressions should be understood as a *waw explicativum*: "the mighty/numerous, *that is* the people of God."[4] The clause in Dan 8:24f therefore supports several conclusions drawn from 8:10b: the understanding that וּמִן־הַכּוֹכָבִים is explanatory

---

[1]John J. Collins believes that עַם־קְדֹשִׁים either refers to the angelic holy ones or the human "people of the holy ones," but according to his interpretation of the "host of heaven" (8:10) and the "holy ones" (8:13) it should be understood as the angelic host (*Daniel* [1993], 341; cf. idem, "The Son of Man and the Saints of the Most High in the Book of Daniel," *JBL* 93 [1974]: 59-61; idem, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 138-141). The understanding of the "host of heaven" in 8:10 is Collins's starting point to interpret Dan 8:24, which then functions as key to the understanding of the "holy ones of the Most High" in Dan 7 (see ibid.). For Smith-Christopher, the phrase עַם־קְדֹשִׁים in 8:24 "suggests actual persons in league with the angelic forces," though he does not exclude the possibility that angels are intended (117). Seow also interprets the "people of holy ones" as "both the celestial host and the terrestrial one" (*Daniel*, 131).

[2]Seow, "The Rule of God," 242.

[3]It is not possible to determine the exact relationship between the four expressions for the people of God in Dan 8:10b and 8:24f. There may be no specific connections involved at all. Then again the relation between them could be interpreted as one of parallel order or one of reverse order. If they are in parallel order (ab//a'b'), the "host" is taken up by the phrase "the mighty" and the "stars" by "the holy people." Whereas if the relation of the two objects of aggression is one of reverse order (ab//b'a'), the "host" is taken up by the "the holy people" and the "stars" by "the mighty." The latter would lend itself to see a connection between the terms clearly referring to God's people ("stars" and "mighty/numerous") and the ones that in addition to their reference to God's people could also point to an involvement of the celestial beings ("host of heaven" and "people of holy ones"). The idea of a reverse order in 8:24f finds some support by the immediately preceding וְהִצְלִיחַ וְעָשָׂה which reverses the order of וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה in 8:12c-d.

[4]Goldingay, *Daniel*, 199; Lucas, *Daniel*, 208.

with *waw explicativum*, that both the "host of heaven" and the "stars" refer to the people of God, and furthermore that there is an indication of the involvement of the celestial world, since both the "host of heaven" and the "holy ones" in the phrase "people of holy ones" could also denote angels.

A second significant phrase in the angelic explanation is שַׂר־שָׂרִים "prince of princes" in 8:25, which refers in all probability to the same figure who is designated by שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in 8:11a.[1] This is evident from several pointers: the lexical link of שַׂר, the appearance of this figure in close proximity to a group that is attacked by the horn/king and ("mighty men," "holy people," "many"), and the figure being the final and climactic personal target of the king's assault. The construct word group שַׂר־שָׂרִים uses the same root twice, the first in singular and the second in plural, and thus refers in a superlative sense to the highest and greatest prince.[2] Since the term שַׂר is never used in the Hebrew Bible in reference to God, and in the book of Daniel, apart from its use for human beings, always designates chief angels, the שַׂר־שָׂרִים should be understood to refer to the commander-in-chief of these angels, most likely Michael who in 12:1 is called in a similar expression הַשַּׂר הַגָּדוֹל "the "great prince."[3] Obviously the term שַׂר contrasts the use of מֶלֶךְ, for kingship is a "symbol of negative ruling power,"[4] not only in chap. 8 but

---

[1]Cf. the discussion on שַׂר־הַצָּבָא in chapter 2 (above).

[2]Similarly, in Dan 11:36 the king of the North exalts himself above the אֵל אֵלִים "God of gods"; cf. Dan 2:47 where Nebuchadnezzar calls Daniel's god a אֱלָהּ אֱלָהִין וּמָרֵא מַלְכִין "God of gods and Lord of kings" and Ezek 26:7 where Nebuchadnezzar is called מֶלֶךְ מְלָכִים "king of kings."

[3]Cf. Dan 10:13. Dörfel argues that the שַׂר־שָׂרִים is the *primus inter pares* (151).

[4]Langer, 99. For Langer that is the reason why "God is portrayed as prince (if not the supreme angel is meant) and not as king" (ibid.)

particularly in chap. 11.

Third, the expressions of time in 8:17 (עֶת־קֵץ "time of the end"), 8:19 (מוֹעֵד קֵץ "the appointed time of the end"), and 8:26 (יָמִים רַבִּים "many days") take up the central question of the vision report—עַד־מָתַי הֶחָזוֹן "until when is the vision?" (8:13c)—and provide in addition to vs. 14c extended answers to it.[1] The time span of "2300 evening-morning" is equal to "many days" and its end must be associated with the "time of the end." The multiple temporal references by the angel point to the importance given to the question in vs. 13c. Indeed, Bader believes that the question עַד־מָתַי structures the second part of Dan 8, treating the theme of knowledge, perception, and ignorance.[2]

Fourth, it is interesting to note that עשׂה and צלח are used in 8:24-25 in reference to activities of the king, whereas in vs. 12 they described the success in the doings of the horn's host. Accordingly, the conclusion must be that what the host of the horn does can be attributed to the workings of the horn/king. The host set up in 8:12a is indeed the horn's host and functions under its command.

Fifth, the magnification of the horn in vs. 11a is indeed to be considered as self-magnification since it occurs "in his heart" (vs. 25). As with the description of the horn's activities, the king's self-magnification occurs at the climax of his presumptuousness, just as it was with the ram and the he-goat (8:4, 8, 11a, 25; all גדל-hif.).

Finally, the interpretation does not in any way refer to transgressions on the part of the mighty or the holy people, thus being compatible with the view that פֶּשַׁע in vs. 12a

---

[1]Bader, "Reale und gedachte Welt," 50-51; cf. Pfandl, *Time of the End*, 244-246, 265-268.

[2]Bader, "Reale und gedachte Welt," 49-56 (cf. Bader, ed., 169).

refers to the horn and not to the host of heaven. One should not appeal to הַפֹּשְׁעִים "the transgressors" (8:23)[1] as a possible indicator for the sins of God's people since the king/horn arises only when the transgressors have reached or are reaching the full measure (כְּהָתֵם) as the climax of the transgression. There are basically two opinions regarding the identity of the "transgressors." One is that they are the unfaithful people of God, usually apostate Israelites.[2] The other is that they are heathen sinners, usually the powers oppressing the people of God, often including the brazen-faced king as the climax of the transgression.[3] Several considerations favor the latter interpretation.

There are two time indicators in 8:23 that refer to the rise of the king (little horn): וּבְאַחֲרִית מַלְכוּתָם "in the end of their reign" and כְּהָתֵם הַפֹּשְׁעִים "when the transgressors are finished/completed." In the book of Daniel the noun אַחֲרִית refers to the end or the final period of something.[4] In 8:23 it refers either to the final regnal period of the powers mentioned in vs. 22 or to their end: "in/at the last time of. . . ."[5] Thus the presumptuous

---

[1]There is no need to read the Hebrew as "sins" (הַפְּשָׁעִים) with the Greek versions ("their sins") and the Peshitta ("sins"), which might be an assimilation to 8:12, 13 (the reading of the Greek is preferred by Montgomery, 349; Charles, 217; Niditch, 218, 221; Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 327). The Hiphil of תמם can be used with an intransitive meaning and be accompanied by a Qal participle, as Isa 33:1 illustrates: כַּהֲתִמְךָ שׁוֹדֵד תּוּשַּׁד "when you have ceased to destroy you will be destroyed" (so Montogmery, 353; Gzella, 42-43). Furthermore, in the book of Daniel the noun פֶּשַׁע "sin" is used only in the singular (8:12, 13; 9:24); hence הַפֹּשְׁעִים could be intentionally distinguished from these to designate the transgressors (Goldingay, *Daniel*, 199).

[2]See, e.g., Hävernick, 303; von Lengerke, 399; Kliefoth, 278; Keil, 317; Knabenbauer, 219; Behrmann, 57; Maier, 314; Miller, *Daniel*, 234.

[3]See, e.g., Hitzig, 141; Meinhold, "Daniel," 311; Bevan, 138; Marti, *Daniel*, 62; Charles, 217-218; Rast, 182; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 217; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 339; Seow, *Daniel*, 130.

[4]"The end of the indignation" (8:19); "the end of the days" (10:14); "the end of these" (12:8).

[5]Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 315.

king is somehow linked with the world powers mentioned previously. The second temporal phrase contains the infinitive construct כְּהָתֵם with the preposition כ, which implies that the action of the infinitive construct occurs just before the events described in the main clause: "the moment when . . ." or "as soon as. . . ."[1] The infinitive clause has not a causal function. If the author would have liked to express a causal function in 8:19—that is, the king came up *because* the transgressors have completed (their course)—he would probably have used one of the following prepositions before the infinitive construct: ב, מִן, יַעַן, or עַל.[2] Hence, the king did not come up as a covenant curse because of any transgressions. He rather represents the climax of the transgressors, the ultimate rebel. Possible translations of the infinitive clause are "as the transgressors come to an end"[3] or "when the rebels reach full measure."[4] This second temporal phrase therefore refers to the same time as the first one.

Taking both temporal expressions together, the presumptuous king is linked to the previous powers (in whatever way), comes at their end and represents the climax of the rebellion: "At the last time of their rule, at the moment when the rebels reach full measure, a brazen-faced king will arise" (8:23).

Such an interpretation is confirmed by a possible intertextual link between Dan 8:23 and Isa 33:1. The two texts are lexically, syntactically, and thematically in close

---

[1]*BHRG*, 157 (§20.1.5[ii]).

[2]See Waltke and O'Connor, 604.

[3]Lucas, *Daniel*, 203.

[4]Goldingay, *Daniel*, 195.

parallel. Both use a similar construction: "preposition כ + infinitive construct of תמם hif. + Qal participle (though with different syntactic function) + *yiqtol* form." Insofar as Isa 33:1 is a woe-oracle concerning a faithless destroyer (referred to by the Qal participle form), one may argue that in Dan 8:23 the Qal participle "transgressors" should also refer to the oppressors of God's people.[1]

Two further arguments can be advanced. First, the definiteness of הַפֹּשְׁעִים points to the fact that its referent is known from the context. The preceding context to the "transgressors" in Dan 8:23 clearly speaks of the other world powers, but not of God's people.[2] Second, the theological motif hinted at in 8:23-25 is that sin must reach full measure before God punishes it. The concept of reaching the full measure of sin in the Hebrew Bible more likely applies to Gentiles whom God grants forbearance until their iniquity is complete before the divine punishment must be carried out (cf. Gen 15:6; 2 Macc 6:14). In contrast, the people of God are the object of God's chastising and disciplinary action.[3]

In sum, הַפֹּשְׁעִים may indeed refer to other transgressors besides the brazen-faced king, though it is much more plausible that he is to be understood as the climax of the rebels. It is unlikely that in this context הַפֹּשְׁעִים refers to God's people who have not even been mentioned yet in Gabriel's interpretation. Thus, the reference of הַפֹּשְׁעִים to the

---

[1]Noted also by Gzella, 42-43.

[2]For its position in the chronological sequences of events in 8:20-23 and its plural number, it is unlikely that הַפֹּשְׁעִים in 8:23 refers exclusively to the horn and its host which act in פֶּשַׁע in 8:12-13.

[3]Meinhold, "Daniel," 311; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 217; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 339; Seow, *Daniel*, 130.

rebels and oppressors of God's people and the entire text in Dan 8:23-25, which like vss. 9-11 describes only the activities of the king/horn, is consistent with the view that פֶּשַׁע in vs. 12a refers to the horn's rebellion.

Differences

There are also several points of difference between the vision of the horn and its interpretation, which are significant for the understanding of Dan 8:9-14. First, whereas the vision report describes the activities of the horn without explicitly mentioning the nature of the horn or the means it uses, the interpretation adds a qualitative dimension by attributing "wisdom" characteristics to the king: he is מֵבִין חִידוֹת "understanding riddles" (vs. 23) and exhibits שֶׂכֶל "insight" (vs. 25). The language used here is wisdom terminology.[1] Even that the king is depicted as עַז־פָּנִים "strong of face" or "shameless" (vs. 23) is reminiscent of the "wisdom" context (Prov 7:13; Eccl 8:1),[2] as does the motif

[1]Lebram, "König Antiochus," 738-743; followed, among others, by Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 339; Lucas, *Daniel*, 221; Gzella, 153. On the association of חִידָה and wisdom see also Hans-Peter Müller, "Der Begriff 'Rätsel' im Alten Testament," *VT* 20 (1970): 465-489 (on Dan 8:23 see p. 479).

[2]The exact same phrase עַז־פָּנִים occurs elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible only in Deut 28:50, and may be borrowed from there, where it refers to a callous nation that YHWH will bring against his people as one of the covenant curses (עַז־פָּנִים occurs also Postbiblical Hebrew *b. ʾAbot* 5.20; *Ber.* 16b; Šabb. 30b; *Beṣah* 25b). One should however be careful not to infer that the final king in Dan 8 represents a divinely initiated covenant curse (Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 339). Rather the main point is the hard-hearted and cold-blooded nature of those who are depicted as עַז־פָּנִים. The phrase simply refers to the insensibility to any kind of humanness. For one, מֶלֶךְ עַז־פָּנִים in Dan 8:23 also reminds one of the only other occurrence of the phrase מֶלֶךְ עַז in Isa 19:4 where God will bring Egypt into the cruel mastership of a מֶלֶךְ עַז "strong king," which obviously is not to be understood as a covenant curse. More importantly, in the sphere of wisdom terminology in Dan 8:23-25 the phrase עַז־פָּנִים is reminiscent of the use of הֵעֵזָה פָנֶיהָ "she makes her face strong" for the seductress, the antagonist to wisdom, in Prov 7:13 (so Lebram, "König Antiochus," 741-742; Otto Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia)*, BKAT, vol. 17 [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1984], 74; Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 339). Further evidence for עַז־פָּנִים being used in a wisdom context is found in the praise of the wise man in Eccl 8:1. Whereas in Eccl 8:1b it is said that wisdom illumines the wise man and changes or brightens up עֹז פָּנָיו "the severity of his face," using here the noun עֹז of which עַז is a by-form, in Dan

of success (וְהִצְלִיחַ וְעָשָׂה in Dan 8:24) that is part of the thematic pattern of "wisdom-success-pride-fall."[1] The description of a sacrilegious king distinguished by wisdom that in the end will lead to destruction is also found in Isa 10:13 and Ezek 28:2-5, 12, 17. Although wisdom is a typical motif of royal ideology,[2] in the context of the book of Daniel the wisdom motif in 8:23-25 carries further implications. The root שׂכל illustrates the point. The noun שֶׂכֶל "insight" is used only for the king (8:25). The verb שׂכל appears a number of times: insight is given by God, the source of intelligence, to Daniel and his friends (1:17; 9:22, 25), who used their insight to understand God's revelations (7:8; 9:22, 25) and whose insight could be perceived by others (1:4; 5:11, 12, 14). God also gives insight to the מַשְׂכִּילִים, the wise men (11:33, 35; 12:3, 10; cf. 1:4). God's people failed to have insight into God's truth, though they were expected to have done so (9:13). It is therefore quite strange that the blasphemous king, as the only one among the opposing powers, is attributed insight (8:25). It appears the king's insight is intentionally contrasted to the insight of God's people. The same effect is achieved by the root בין "understand" and its noun בִּינָה "understanding." In the book of Daniel, understanding is

---

8:23 the "wise" king is and remains bold-faced (עַז־פָּנִים). One should note the relationship between the interpretative competence of the wise man in Eccl 8:1a and the role of Daniel (Thomas Krüger, *Qoheleth: A Commentary*, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004], 151-152). Against the backdrop of the praise of the wise in Eccl 8:1 it is clear that the king in Dan 8:23 is portrayed as not truly led and influenced by wisdom that originates from God. In sum, the expression עזז פָּנִים in whatever form means "to be devoid of proper human sensibilities, such as the capacity for mercy (Deut 28:50), humility (Qoh 8:1, cf. 2a), and shame (Prov 7:13)" (Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 1-9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB, vol. 18A [New York: Doubleday, 2000], 245) and in association with wisdom terminology in Dan 8:23-25 it depicts the king as the negative counterpart of a truly wise man.

[1]Lebram, "König Antiochus," 739.

[2]See Goldingay, *Daniel*, 217; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 339.

a gift from God (2:21), often given through his angel Gabriel (8:16-17; 9:22-23; 10:11-14). Daniel exhibits understanding (1:4, 17, 20; 8:5, 15; 9:2, 10:1; although sometimes even he does not understand: 8:27; 12:8); so do the מַשְׂכִּילִים (11:33; 12:10). And again, understanding is one of the characteristics of the king (8:23). It is also used for the king of the north (11:30, 37). The effect of using the same wisdom vocabulary for the king in 8:23-25 that in the book of Daniel is a characteristic of God and his people[1] is that the king appears as if blessed by God, even though indeed he is a "pious" evil one.[2] He also prospers and performs as he wishes (וְהִצְלִיחַ וְעָשָׂה; 8:24), again using terms usually attributed to God's favored ones. In short, the blasphemous king "stylized in wisdom tradition" is typified as the "negative pendant to the pious sage."[3] Such a portrayal of the king gives rise to the same perplexity that the angelic comment וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה produced in 8:12c-d, where the horn's host appears to be granted divine success, resulting in the pleading question by another celestial being (8:13). Thus, the interpretation gives correlating support for the purposive function of וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה in the audition to evoke feigned alleged, supposed, and ostensible divine approval. The interpretation helps to clarify that the horn/king is not blunt in his attack, but intelligent and working with wisdom and מִרְמָה "deceit" or "fraud" (vs. 25), placing the focus of attention on the treacherous terrorization of truth.

---

[1]One may add another parallel: the king is מֵבִין חִידוֹת "understanding riddles" (8:23) corresponds to Daniel is capable of מְשָׁרֵא קִטְרִין "loosening magical knots" (5:12).

[2]As Baldwin points out: "Intellectually gifted, this ruler will have a great capacity for good or evil" (160).

[3]Lebram, "König Antiochus," 742.

Second, the interpretation contains an enigmatic reference to the king's strength: וְלֹא בְכֹחוֹ "but not with/by his power" (8:24b). In the case that the phrase is original and not a misplaced duplication of the same phrase in vs. 22,[1] it could be understood in different ways. Either the pronominal suffix refers to someone other than the king, which is rather unlikely,[2] or it refers to the king. In the latter case, וְלֹא בְכֹחוֹ could indicate that the king's rise takes place "not by his power" but by his wisdom and intrigues which are mentioned frequently in these verses.[3] Another possibility is that the origin of the king's mighty power mentioned in vs. 24a lies somewhere else.[4] Although it is not explicitly indicated who strengthens the king, his rise to power could be by permission from God[5] or by the infusion of demonic powers.[6] Beside the text-critical solution, the best option

---

[1]So, e.g., von Gall, 51; Montgomery, 349-350, 354; Charles, 218; Plöger, *Daniel*, 123; Niditch, 221; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 327, 340; Gzella, 43; as option considered by Bevan, 139; and Goldingay, *Daniel*, 199.

[2]The suggestion that the power in vs. 25b refers to the power of the first king in vs. 21 so that the horn/king does not reach that level of strength (Kamphausen, 34; Hasslberger, 67, 76; Maier, 315) is unconvincing since the antecedent is far away. Rather, כֹּחוֹ in vs. 25a refers to the insolent king, and the present king is the climax of the interpretation and seems to display more power than those before him. Equally unlikely would be the suggestion that his power is not like the divine power implied at the end of vs. 25, for the pronominal suffix would refer several clauses ahead to an entity not even mentioned explicitly.

[3]Von Lengerke, 400; Kliefoth, 278; Behrmann, 57; Driver, 123.

[4]Thus Langer, who does not identify the king's source of power (93).

[5]For a long tradition of commentators it implies that the king gains power by the permission of God, usually corresponding to their interpretation of vs. 12a in the sense of divine retaliation: Theodoret, Ephrem Syrus, Rashi, and Ibn Ezra (all cited in Lacocque, *Daniel*, 170); Hävernick, 305; Rosenmüller, 276; Hitzig, 141; Rohling, *Daniel*, 245; Knabenbauer, 220; Prince, *Daniel*, 150; Delcor, 182; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 170; Lucas, *Daniel*, 208, 221.

[6]If the power by which the king arises is referred to as supernatural origin, it "would come from Satan, the prince of darkness" (Miller, *Daniel*, 234) and the deeds of the king need to be understood "as deeds performed by demonical strength" (Keil, 317).

remains to understand the might of the king as transferred by another, probably supernatural power, perhaps by the unmentioned archenemy of the prince of princes. This would allow for the idea that the war waged by the horn/king is indicative of a cosmic war that is fought on two levels, the earthly and the heavenly—an observation that supports the similar conclusion drawn after the analysis of the vision.

Finally, a few important elements present in Dan 8:9-14 are missing in the interpretation. While cultic terminology is a central emphasis of the vision, it seems to be totally absent in the interpretation. Similarly absent is creation terminology. The following explanation seems to account for this. The synoptic table shows that the interpretation breaks off once it reaches the climax of activities of the horn in the vision: the self-magnification unto the prince of the host or the prince of princes. The interpretation gives the impression of being only concerned with the vision itself, but not with the audition, since neither the horn's host nor the restoring activity that begins at the end of the "2300 evening-morning" is mentioned.[1] It does refer to the "evening-morning" in vs. 26, but only to say that the "vision of the evening-morning" is true, giving no interpretation whatsoever about the time. One gets the impression that the interpretation is almost intentionally cut short and incomplete, creating a sense of frustration (possibly also responsible for Daniel's lack of understanding in vs. 27) as well as expectation. At

[1]The absence of the horn's host should not be too surprising. The mention that the king is successful in its doings (וְהִצְלִיחַ וְעָשָׂה) mirrors the statement that the host performs and prospers (וְעָשְׂתָה וְהִצְלִיחָה) and confirms that the king/horn and his/its host have a close relationship, the king/horn acting by means of this host. Naturally, the host is part of the horn power, and the king has an army that follows his instructions. It seems that as the commander of the host of heaven is its leader, so the horn is the leader of its own host.

the same time the interpretation shows the self-magnification of the horn/king in its true light by placing it last, immediately before the divine retributive action, as the real climax of the effrontery to YHWH.

Conclusion

The intertextual contribution of the angelic interpretation to the understanding of Dan 8:9-14 can now be summarized. Several themes expressed in Dan 8:23-25 support the analysis and interpretation of 8:9-14. The more important ones include the prominence of the king, who, like the horn in the vision, is the center and climax of the interpretation, his attack against both the holy people and God, his self-magnification and final fall. The most significant shift in language is the surprising absence of cultic terminology and the employment of wisdom terminology, developing the idea previously expressed in the vision that the horn not only appears to be blessed by God and takes over the position of the pious sage but indeed usurps God's position. These differences do not provide enough reason, however, to regard the interpretation in 8:23-25 as "strikingly independent" from the vision in 8:9-14.[1] Rather the two correspond to and supplement each other so that the understanding of the vision of the horn benefits greatly from consideration of the corresponding angelic interpretation.

Intertextual Relations between Daniel 8:9-14 and the Vision and Interpretation in Daniel 7

At the outset one should acknowledge that there are some differences between

---

[1]*Pace* Gzella, 153.

chap. 7 and chap. 8. The most obvious is that Dan 7 is written in Aramaic, while Dan 8 is written in Hebrew. The two chapters are also somewhat different in style and language use.[1] Nevertheless they invite comparison. Although Dan 7 is written in Aramaic, correspondences not only in theme but also in terminology can be noted.[2] Lexical links are constituted both by usage of the same and similar terms.

Lexical correspondences

Keyword and thematic word links

בִּשְׁנַת חֲדָה לְבֵלְאשַׁצַּר מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל "in the first year of Belshazzar king of Babylon" (7:1) // בִּשְׁנַת שָׁלוֹשׁ לְמַלְכוּת בֵּלְאשַׁצַּר הַמֶּלֶךְ ""in the third year of Belshazzar king of Babylon" (8:1)

מֶלֶךְ "king" (7:1, 17, 24 [2x]) // (8:1, 20, 21 [2x], 23, 27)

דָּנִיֵּאל "Daniel" (7:1, 2, 15, 28) // (8:1, 15, 27)

חֱזוּ "vision" (7:1, 2, 7, 13, 15, [20]) // חָזוֹן "vision" (8:1 [2x], 2, 13, 15, 17, 26)

חזה "see, look" (in) a vision (7:1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11 [2x], 13, 21) // ראה "see, look" (in) a vision (8:1 [2x], 2 [3x], 3, 4, 6, 7, 15, 20)

אמר "speak" (7:1, 2, 5, and with a celestial being as subject in 7:16, 23) // always with a celestial being as subject (8:13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 26)

שְׁמַיָּא "heaven" (7:2, 13, 27) // שָׁמַיִם "heaven" (8:8, 10)

אַרְבַּע רוּחֵי שְׁמַיָּא "four winds of heaven" (7:2) // לְאַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמָיִם "four winds of heaven" (8:8)

אַרְבַּע "four" (7:3, 6, 17 [2x]) // (8:8)

אֲרַע "earth" (7:4, 17, 23 [2x]) // אֶרֶץ "earth" (8:5 [2x], 7, 10, 12, 18)

לְבַב "heart" (7:4), בְּלִבִּי "in my heart" (7:28) // בִּלְבָבוֹ "in his heart" (8:25)

יְהִיב peil "be given" (7:4, 6, 11, 12, 14, 22, 25, 27) // נתן nif. "be set" (8:12)

תַּקִּיפָא "strong" (7:7) // כֹּחַ "strength" (8:24)

רפס "tread down" (7:7, 19); יָכְלָה לְהוֹן "defeat them" (7:21); דוש "tread down"(7:23), דקק "crush" (7:7, 19, 23); בלא "wear out" (7:25) // נכה "smite" (8:7); שלך "throw down" (8:7, 11, 12); רמס "trample" (8:10, 13); שחת "ruin" (8:25) (especially רפס "tread down" // רמס "trample")

קֶרֶן "horn" (7:7, 8 [4x], 11, 20 [2x], 21, 24) // (8:5, 9)

---

[1]Niditch notes that in general Dan 7 uses chains of synonymous terms, while Dan 8 uses more brief clauses (224-226).

[2]The comparison between the Hebrew of Dan 8 and the Aramaic of Dan 7 allows one to detect intertextual relations and literary coherence of the MT, but this is not to suggest that Dan 8 had originally been written in Aramaic.

קֶרֶן אָחֳרִי "another horn" (7:8); אָחֳרָן "another" (7:20, 24) // קֶרֶן־אַחַת "another horn" (8:9)
זְעֵירָה "little" (7:8) // מִצְּעִירָה "from littleness" (8:9)
אתה "come" (7:13) // בוא "come" (8:5, 6)
קַדִּישִׁין "holy ones" (7:18, 21, 22 [2x], 25, 27) // קְדֹשִׁים "holy ones" (8:24), קָדוֹשׁ "holy one" (8:13 [2x])
נפל "fall" (7:20) // (8:10, 17)
מַלְכוּ "kingdom" (7:14 [2x], 18 [2x], 22, 23 [2x], 24, 27 [4x]) // מַלְכוּת (8:1, 22, 23)
עַם קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין "the people of the holy ones of the Most High" (7:27) // עַם־קְדֹשִׁים "people of holy ones" (8:24)

Thematic similarities
- Horn power
- Self-magnifying, anti-divine power
- Attack on saints, opposition to God
- End of anti-divine power by divine action
- Time factor
- Judgment
- Creation
- Cult

Structural similarities
- Close structural correspondence exhibiting basic elements of a vision report.

General Assessment of the Intertextual Relation

A close relationship between Dan 7 and Dan 8 is recognized immediately. Since chap. 8 comes after chap. 7, both textually and chronologically, this relationship is usually seen in those terms of chap. 8 which amplify or elaborate chap. 7.[1] The connection is so strong, that Collins regards Dan 7 and 8, even if produced by different

[1]Daniel 8 has been qualified in reference to Dan 7 as "continuation" (Doukhan, *Secrets of Daniel*, 121), "sequel" (Davies, *Daniel*, 57), "companion piece" (Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 86), "supplement" (Gese, 406), "answer" and "complement" (Gzella, 72), "explication" (Delcor, 184), "contextualization" (Seow, *Daniel*, 118), "midrash" (L. Dequeker, "The 'Saints of the Most High,'" 109), "Hebrew targum" (Kratz, "The Visions of Daniel," 100), and "reduplication" (Jan-Wim Wesselius, "Discontinuity, Congruence and the Making of the Hebrew Bible," *SJOT* 13 [1999]: 31, 57).

authors, as "a coherent literary work." This coherency is created by agreement of form and content, both chapters sharing "the same conceptual and symbolic world."[1] In particular the sequence of animals symbolizing successive empires and the description of a single horn functioning as the climax of earthly powers give the impression that both visions cover more or less the same ground.

The major part of both chapters is designated as "vision." In chap. 7 it is called "night vision(s)," "visions of the head," and "dream," while in chap. 8 it is simply referred to as "vision."[2] Both chapters follow the basic pattern of a vision report,[3] even

---

[1]Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 87; cf. Lebram, *Daniel*, 92. Recently, Porter argued for a literary unity of the two chapters (*Metaphors*, esp. 6-12).

[2]Cf. בְּחֶזְוִי עִם־לֵילְיָא "in my vision at night" (7:2) and בְּחֶזְוֵי לֵילְיָא "in visions of the night" (7:7, 13) with חָזוֹן "vision" (8:1, 13, 15, 17, 26) and בֶּחָזוֹן "in the vision" (8:2 [2x]). Daniel 7 also uses the phrases חֶזְוֵי רֵאשֵׁהּ/רֵאשִׁי "visions of his/my mind" (7:1, 15) and חֵלֶם "dream" (7:1 [2x]). There appears to be no specific reason why "vision" in Dan 7 is used both in the singular (vs. 2) and in the plural (vss. 1, 7, 13, 15).

[3]For Collins, both Dan 7 and Dan 8 belong to the genre of symbolic dream visions (*Daniel*, FOTL, 6-8; *Daniel* [1993], 54-55). It is usually suggested that there is a difference of mode between a symbolic dream vision (the recipient is asleep) and a symbolic vision (the recipient is awake), although Shaul Bar gives evidence that there may not have been such a meticulous distinction between dreams and visions (*A Letter That Has Not Been Read: Dreams in the Hebrew Bible*, HUCM, no. 25 [Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2001], 143-182 [see 143-145, esp. n. 9, on חָזוֹן "vision" in Daniel and 168-169 on מַרְאָה "vision" and מַרְאֶה "appearance" in Daniel]). Goldingay reasons that Dan 8 is not a dream vision by pointing out that the characteristic terminology, as used in 7:1, 2, 7, 13, is absent in chap. 8 (*Daniel*, 201), a fact that Collins also acknowledges (*Daniel*, FOTL, 86). However, in spite of different terminology, the visionary experience in Dan 7 and Dan 8 is quite close. First, the difference between dreaming and being awake while receiving a vision does not seem so much to affect the literary form of the vision report (cf. the close structural affinity between Dan 7 and Dan 8 as well as the frequent use of the verb ראה "see" and the root חזה in both chapters) than it has an effect in terms of the authority of the revelation. A vision that is received in the state of full consciousness surprises certainly more than a dream in a deep or trancelike sleep that is associated more closely with the supernatural (see Niditch, 224, 232). Second, and to some extent *pace* Bar, the difference in terminology between חֵלֶם "dream" in 7:1 and חֵזוּ "vision" in 7:1, 2, 7, 13, 15 or חָזוֹן "vision" in chap. 8 may be due to different literary associations they convey. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible חֲלוֹם and the verb חלם are found predominantly in epic literature and חָזוֹן in prophetic and apocalyptic works (so Robert Karl Gnuse, *The Dream Theophany of Samuel: Its Structure in Relation to Ancient Near Eastern Dreams and Its Theological Significance* [Lanham: University Press

if Behrens has recently argued that Dan 7 does not constitute or contain a prophetic vision report.[1]

---

of America, 1984], 60; idem, *Dreams and Dream Reports in the Writings of Josephus: A Traditio-Historical Analysis*, AGJU, no. 36 [Leiden: Brill, 1996], 70, where he adds that "there is indeed a difference between the two words, though we can no longer discern it," similar to the view of Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich, *Der Traum im Alten Testament*, BZAW, no. 73 [Berlin: Töpelmann, 1953], 6, 47). Thus, חֵלֶם in 7:1 could be an indicator of the association of chap. 7 with the narrative material in chaps. 2–7, while חֱזוּ and חָזוֹן would associate the vision in chap. 7 with Daniel's other prophetic revelations. This would underscore the central structural position of chap. 7 in the book. Third, the specific terminology for the visionary experience in Dan 7 seems to be intentionally used to distinguish it from the king's dreams in Dan 2 and 4, since Daniel's "dream" is also called "vision of the night" (7:2, 7, 13), an expression already used for the revelation to Daniel "in a vision of the night" (בְּחֶזְוָא דִי־לֵילְיָא) in 2:19. Thus, James E. Miller argues that Daniel did not have a dream in chap. 7 but a "nocturnal revelation" ("Dreams and Prophetic Visions," *Bib* 71 [1990]: 402), and Jean-Marie Husser, recognizing also the deliberate distinction between the dreams in chaps. 2 and 4 and the mode of revelation in chap. 7, concludes that the vision in Dan 7 is a classic example for the assimilation of dreams with visions in apocalyptic literature, since chap. 7 is presented as a dream but then "has all the stylistic traits and layout of a vision," underlining again the "pivotal position" of chap. 7 between the tales with its dreams and the apocalyptic visions (*Dreams and Dream Narratives in the Biblical World*, trans. J. M. Munro, The Biblical Seminar, no. 63 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999], 120-122, 150). The distinction between Dan 7 and the dreams in Dan 2:1-45 and 4:4-33 is also supported by a form-critical comparison. Wolfgang Richter, who studied the dreams in the Joseph narrative (Gen 40, 41, and 37:5-11), the Jacob narrative (Gen 20:3; 28:11-22; 31:10-13), and Judg 7:13-14, establishes the following formal criteria of symbolic dream reports: (1) announcement of the dream (חֲלוֹם חָלַמְתִּי), (2) introductory dream formula (וְהִנֵּה), (3) dream corpus, (4) interpretation of the dream (formula of interpretation, identification of the symbols, and meaning of the symbols), and (5) dream fulfillment ("Traum und Traumdeutung im AT," *BZ* 7 [1963]: 202-220). Gnuse follows the internal structure of dream reports explicated by Richter, and also provides a form-critical analysis of the two dreams in Dan 2 and 4 (*Dreams and Dream Reports*, 73-78, 86-92). In light of Gnuse's analysis, one can observe that Dan 7 differs markedly from them in the formal interpretation of the dream, lacks completely a dream termination formula before its interpretation (2:36; 4:19) and a formula of interpretative certitude (2:45; 4:24), and shows formal features not extant in visual symbolic dream reports, e.g., a dialogue between the visionary and the interpreter. Cf. Ehrlich, who points out that Dan 7 is apocalyptic in genre and does not show a frame narrative like the symbolic dreams in Dan 2 and 4 (*Der Traum im Alten Testament*, 90 n. 2); and the classification of biblical dreams by Frances Flannery-Dailey, who concludes that Dan 7 and 8 "combine dream types in more complex ways than do earlier dreams, including Daniel 2 and 4" (*Dreams, Scribes, and Priests: Jewish Dreams in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras*, JSJSup 90 [Leiden: Brill, 2004], 38-47, citation on p. 45). Cf. Roberto Fornara, *La visione contraddetta: La dialettica fra visibilità e non-visibilità divina nella Bibbia ebraica*, AnBib, no. 155 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 48-56, 63-67, 308 n. 11.

[1]The principal pattern of a "prophetic vision report" as defined by Behrens consists of two parts, a vision and a dialogue, both exhibiting their peculiar linguistic features (32-60, 377-378). The vision part opens with a form of the verbal root ראה followed by וְהִנֵּה + nominal clause functioning as a "surprise clause"; the dialogue part is introduced by a *wayyiqtol*-form of אמר, starts with its first

The structural correspondence between the two chapters comprises the following components (see table 34)[1]: an introduction indicating the circumstances with a chronological reference to King Belshazzar (7:1-2a; 8:1-2), a description of the vision introduced by the term "behold" (7:2b-14; 8:3-11), a request for interpretation (7:16, 19-20; 8:15a-b), an interpretation provided by an angel (7:17-18, 23-27; 8:19-26), and a concluding statement mentioning the distressed reaction of the seer (7:28; 8:27). Structural differences between the two accounts can be considered minor in the overall structural pattern. They concern two additional parts in chap. 7 and one in chap. 8. In chap. 7, the visionary's reaction is not only stated after the interpretation but also after the vision, before the dialogue with the *angelus interpres*. And secondly, Daniel request and receives further interpretation after the initial interpretation by the angel. These features are not present as structural components in chap. 8. To be sure, the reaction of the seer

---

direct speech in the form of a question or an imperative, and ends with a comment by YHWH or his messenger. In the case of Dan 7, it is obvious that it reports a vision, but it does not do so in the form of a 'prophetic vision report' with all its constituent elements, as defined by Behrens. On the basis of formal criteria, Behrens therefore regards Dan 7 to be *sui generis* (317). However, the vision proper of Dan 7 shows all the peculiar linguistic features listed by Behrens: it opens with חזה followed by וַאֲרוּ + nominal clause which starts the description of the vision. The dialogue part does not have first a direct speech in the form of a command or a question, as Behrens demands. It opens, however, with a perfect form of אמר in vs. 16 (there are no sequential or consecutive imperfect forms in BA) and ends with a comment by YHWH's messenger in vss. 23-27. In my view it is doubtful whether the difference in just the form of the dialogue's opening speech is reason enough to exclude Dan 7 from the genre of "prophetic vision reports." Since Dan 7 coheres with Behrens's formal linguistic criteria in all the other aspects, it may be suggested that it at least constitutes a variant form of this genre.

[1]For structures of Dan 7 see those provided in commentaries as well as Ziony Zevit, "The Structure and Individual Elements of Daniel 7," *ZAW* 80 (1968): 385-396, esp. 388-389; Gerda Altpeter, *Textlinguistische Exegese alttestamentlicher Literatur: Eine Dekodierung*, Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 23, Theologie, no. 110 (Bern: Lang, 1978), 106-113, 118; Helge S. Kvanvig, "Struktur und Geschichte in Dan. 7,1-14," *ST* 32 (1978): 95-117, esp. 99-106; Arthur J. Ferch, *The Son of Man in Daniel Seven*, AUSDDS, no. 6 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1979), 136-145 (followed by Shea, *Selected Studies* [1982], 95-97 = [1992], 112-114); Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 74-78; Raabe, 267-275.

and the interpretation by the angel are described in chap. 8, however just once. Also distinct from chap. 7, in chap. 8 a description of the epiphany of the angelic interpreter is inserted before the interpretation. Thus, in Dan 7 the interpretation is given "in" the vision, while in Dan 8 the interpretation is introduced by an epiphany of the angelic interpreter.

Table 34. Basic Structural Components in Daniel 7 and Daniel 8

Structural Component	**Daniel 7**	**Daniel 8**
Introduction: indicating time and place	1-2a	1-2
Description of the vision	2b-14	3-11
Dialogue		12-14
Visionary's reaction	15	
Visionary's request for interpretation	16	15a-b
Epiphany of the angelic interpreter		15c-18
Angelic interpretation	17-18	19-26
Clarification	19-27	
Visionary's request for interpretation	19-20	
Visionary's elaboration of vision	21-22	
Further angelic interpretation	23-27	
Concluding statement: visionary's reaction	28	27

Further links are the prominence of water in relation to the visionary experience. In chap. 8 the location of the vision is by the canal Ulai (8:2; cf. the location of Daniel's other visions near a river: 10:4; 12:5), while in chap. 7 the vision itself starts with the great sea (7:2-3). The mention of the "four winds of heaven" is striking (7:2; 8:8; see

also 11:4). Finally in 8:1, the statement "a vision . . . subsequent to the one which appeared to me previously" explicitly refers to the vision in chap. 7. Having established the intertextual relationship between chap. 7 and chap. 8, it is now time to examine how the intertext of chap. 7 helps the understanding of 8:9-14.

Focal Position of the Little Horn in Daniel 7

As in Dan 8:9-14 and in 8:23-25, the power symbolized by the little horn occupies a special position in the vision of Dan 7. Attention is directed to the little horn by means of vocabulary, syntax, and structure.[1] First, the little horn is introduced differently from any of the other scenes (see table 35).[2] In vs. 8, the introductory formula מִשְׂתַּכַּל הֲוֵית with the verb שׂכל "consider" is used instead of the formula חָזֵה הֲוֵית with the verb חזה "see," which occurs elsewhere in the chapter (7:2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11a, 11b, 13, 21). The verb שׂכל occurs in BA only here in 7:8, supporting the idea that it is used intentionally.[3] Also,

---

[1]For most of the following observations see Dequeker, "The 'Saints of the Most High,'" 115-116; Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 129-131; idem, *Daniel*, FOTL, 76-77; idem, *Daniel* (1993), 279. Whereas Dequeker holds that the variation in vs. 8 verifies its secondary character (so also Hölscher, 120; Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 11; Reinhard G. Kratz, *Translatio imperii: Untersuchungen zu den aramäischen Danielerzählungen und ihrem theologie-geschichtlichen Umfeld*, Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und neuen Testament, no. 63 [Neukirchen: Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991], 23), Collins believes that it "should be understood as a stylistic device to focus attention" on the little horn (*Daniel* [1993], 279; similarly also Raabe, 269-270 n. 9; Lucas, *Daniel*, 164, 166-167).

[2]Already in vs. 7 the fourth beast, on which the little horn comes up, is structurally marked different from the previous three beasts by the introduction בָּאתַר דְּנָה חָזֵה הֲוֵית בְּחֶזְוֵי לֵילְיָא וַאֲרוּ "after this I kept looking in the visions of the night and behold." The major division of sections in the vision by the long formula חָזֵה הֲוֵית בְּחֶזְוֵי (עִם) לֵילְיָא וַאֲרוּ (vss. 2, 7, 13) is argued by Zevit ("Daniel 7,"388) and Kvanvig ("Struktur," 104).

[3]Ferch, *Son of Man*, 121-123. Zevit assumes that the use of שׂכל is "due to the fact that no change of scene takes place; rather, the author is focusing his attention on the activities of the horns which are so important to him" ("Daniel 7," 388 n. 16). However, the little horn, being different from the ten horns, appears to constitute a new scene.

the scene of the little horn employs the word וַאֲלוּ "and behold" twice, instead of the structural refrain וַאֲרוּ "and behold" that introduces each of the four beasts as well as the "one like a son of man" (7:2, 5, 6, 7, 13).

Table 35. References to the Visionary Activity in Daniel 7

"Behold" (+ Verb Form)	Reference to Night Vision	Verbal Element	Temporal Deixis	Verse
(+ ptc.) וַאֲרוּ	בְּחֶזְוִי עִם־לֵילְיָא	חָזֵה הֲוֵית		2
		חָזֵה הֲוֵית עַד דִּי		4
(+ ptc.) וַאֲרוּ				5
(+ nom. cl.) וַאֲרוּ		חָזֵה הֲוֵית	בָּאתַר דְּנָה	6
(+ ptc.) וַאֲרוּ	בְּחֶזְוֵי לֵילְיָא	חָזֵה הֲוֵית	בָּאתַר דְּנָה	7
(+ perfect) וַאֲלוּ		מִשְׂתַּכַּל הֲוֵית		8a
(+ nom. cl.) וַאֲלוּ				8b
		חָזֵה הֲוֵית עַד דִּי		9
		חָזֵה הֲוֵית בֵּאדַיִן		11a
		חָזֵה הֲוֵית עַד דִּי		11b
(+ ptc.) וַאֲרוּ	בְּחֶזְוֵי לֵילְיָא	חָזֵה הֲוֵית		13
		חָזֵה הֲוֵית		21

A syntactic difference is that וַאֲלוּ in vs. 8a is followed by a perfect instead of a participle as elsewhere following וַאֲרוּ in this chapter (vss. 2, 5, 7, 13; a nominal clause follows in vs. 6). In fact, the perfect סִלְקַת "it came up" in vs. 8 is the only finite verb form that describes an activity on the part of the beasts and horns. Elsewhere in describing the animals of the vision only participles (vss. 2, 3 [2x], 5 [2x], 7 [5x], 11) and

finite passive forms are used (vss. 4 [4x], 5, 6, 11 [3x], 12).[1] The same phenomenon occurs in the brief recounting of the vision in vss. 19-22, where the only two finite verbs describe activities in relation to the upcoming of the little horn (vs. 20), whereas otherwise only participles are used (vss. 19 [4x], 20, 21 [2x]). Elsewhere in the vision and interpretation finite verb forms occur in the description of the activities of the Ancient of Days (vss. 9, 22), the celestial host (vss. 10, 13?), and the one like a son of man (vss. 13, 14) and those who serve him (vss. 14, 22). It seems possible that the use of finite verbs is a syntactic device to contrast the activities of the little horn with the activities on the part of the celestial world.

It is also conspicuous that the little horn is not incorporated into the schematic number of ten horns. It is singled out as a different, "eleventh" horn (cf. vs. 24). The little horn therefore represents a structural unit of its own.

Finally, in the interpretation and clarification much more space is devoted to the fourth beast and its little horn, covering eight verses (vss. 19-26), than to the other beasts, which are explained in a single verse (vs. 17).[2] This is indicative of the specific focus of the vision.

It is therefore evident that in Dan 7 the little horn receives particular emphasis. As Collins concludes, the little horn "is not included as one of the ten horns but is the subject of a distinct scene in the vision, and the change in vocabulary and syntax all have

---

[1]The two imperatives used in the direct speech in vs. 5 do not belong to the verb forms in the narrative line of the vision.

[2]See Porter, *Metaphors*, 11.

the effect of attracting attention to the little horn, and we must assume that the effect is intentional."[1] These devices distinguish the appearance of the little horn as the "climax of the vision of the beasts."[2] Intertextually, the focus on the little horn in Dan 7 and its structural and syntactic differentiation from the other powers affirms the previous conclusion that the horn in Dan 8:9-11 needs to be distinguished from the previous animal powers and constitutes a structural unit of its own.

Relationship between the Little Horn in Daniel 7
and the Little Horn in Daniel 8

Before focusing on how the scenes of the little horn in Dan 7 help to interpret Dan 8:9-14, it is important to clarify the relationship between the little horn in chap. 7 and the one in chap. 8. Do they have the same referent or not? In answering this question, first the similarities and then the differences between the horns will be observed and evaluated.

Similarities

Several lexical, thematic, and structural similarities between the two horns are evident (see table 36).[3] On the lexical level both are called קֶרֶן "horn": קֶרֶן אָחֳרִי

---

[1]Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 279.

[2]Lucas, *Daniel*, 164; cf. 166-167.

[3]For a list of similarities and differences, including an assessment thereof, see, e.g., Michael J. Gruenthaner, "The Four Empires of Daniel," *CBQ* 8 (1946): 203-205; Young, *Daniel*, 276-277; H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel: A Historical Study of Contemporary Theories* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1959), 124-128; Maier, 307; Shea, *Selected Studies* (1982), 30-31 (followed by Süring, "Horn-Motifs," 338-339); Shea, "Unity of Daniel," 187 (followed by Moskala, 126); Doukhan, *Secrets of Daniel*, 123-125.

"another horn" (7:8a) and קֶרֶן־אַחַת "one horn" (8:9). Both have the characteristic of a small beginning: זְעֵירָה "a little one" (7:8) and מִצְּעִירָה "from littleness" (8:9a). One of their targets is designated as עַם קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין "the people of the holy ones of the Most High" (7:27) and עַם־קְדֹשִׁים "people of the holy ones" (8:24). Thematic links include their growth from smallness to large dimensions (7:20; 8:9-11) with accompanying hubris (in chap. 7 expressed in terms of speaking arrogant words [7:8, 11, 20, 25], in chap. 8 in terms of self-magnification [8:11, 25]), their attack on God (7:8, 11, 20, 25; 8:11-12, 25) and divine principles (7:25; 8:11-12), as well as their attack on divine associates, that is, the holy ones and the host of heaven (7:21, 25; 8:10, 13, 24), their apparent success (7:21, 25; 8:12, 25), the prophetic delimitation of their activities (7:25; 8:14; note that both time spans are preceded by the preposition עַד), and eventually their supernatural destruction (7:11, 26; 8:25).[1] Finally, the structural place of the small horn in both visions is the same: the horn comes after a series of beasts, representing the climax of human, wicked power, and remains viable until the end brought about by God.

Differences

The differences between the little horn in Dan 7 and the one in Dan 8 that are usually pointed out fall into two categories. The first category is differences of activities

[1]Some would include intelligence in the list of similarities, referring to the "eyes like eyes of a man" in 7:8 and the wisdom terminology in 8:23-25 (Shea, "Unity of Daniel," 187; Moskala, 126). However, it is not clear whether in chap. 7 the horn's eyes which are like human eyes connote intelligence. Most consider the human eyes as one of the personality traits, the other being the mouth, or as another indication of the horn's haughtiness (Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 299). Another alleged similarity that R. P. Denis Buzy calls a "symbolic analogy" ("Les symboles de Daniel," *RB* 15 [1918]: 418) is the rooting out of three horns before the small horn in 7:8 and the extensive growth of the horn toward three directions in 8:9b.

Table 36. Similarities of the Little Horns in Daniel 7 and Daniel 8

Similarity	Horn in Dan 7	Horn in Dan 8
Name	קֶרֶן אָחֳרִי "another horn" (7:8)	קֶרֶן־אַחַת "one horn" (8:9a)
Smallness	זְעֵירָה "a little one" (7:8)	מִצְּעִירָה "from littleness" (8:9a)
Growth	larger in appearance than its associates (7:20)	grew (8:9-11)
Hubris	"mouth uttering great" (7:8, 20) "boastful words" (7:11) "speak out against the Most High" (7:25)	"magnified itself up to the commander of the host" (8:11a) "magnify in his heart" (8:25)
Attack on God	against the Most High (7:8, 11, 20, 25)	against the commander of the host and against the prince of princes (8:11-12, 25)
Attack on divine principles	on times and law (7:25)	on *tāmîd* (8:11b, 12a) and truth (8:12b)
Attack on God's associates	on the holy ones (7:21, 25) עַם קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין "people of the holy ones of the Most High" (7:27)	on the host of heaven (8:10, 13, 24) עַם־קְדֹשִׁים "people of the holy ones" (8:24)
Success	overpowering the holy ones (7:21); they are given into his hand (7:25)	succeeds (8:12c-d, 25)
Time factor	"until [עַד] time, times, and half a time" (7:25)	"until [עַד] 2300 evening-morning" (8:14b)
Supernatural destruction	beast was slain, destroyed, given to the fire (7:11); horn's dominion will be taken away, annihilated and destroyed forever (7:26)	broken without human hand (8:25; implied in vs. 14c)
Structural position	final power in a series of beasts, before the divine intervention	final power after two animals, before the divine intervention

the horn is involved in, that is, activities that are mentioned in one vision but not in the other. The prime example may be that the horn in chap. 8 engages in anti-cultic activities, while nothing comparable seems to be said in chap. 7. However, this is not necessarily a reason to adduce that the two horns are different since the cultic orientation of the horn in chap. 8 could be interpreted as supplemental to its activities already mentioned in chap. 7. The same could be said for other so-called dissimilarities, which on a closer look should not be regarded as differences but simply as variant forms of description, more detailed elaborations, or the mention of a different aspect.[1] In fact, such variation between two visions, which basically cover the same ground but obviously also have a slightly different focus, should be expected.

The second category of alleged differences concerns the origin of the little horn of chap. 7 and that of chap. 8. In chap. 7 the little horn is connected to the fourth beast and grows up among ten horns of which three are uprooted by the little one (7:8, 24). The little horn in chap. 8 is generally believed to be connected to the he-goat and to come forth from one of his four horns without mentioning any conflict among the horns (8:8-9).

Suggestions of Relationship

Two main suggestions have been offered to explain the relationship between the two horns, one focusing on their dissimilarity, the other on their similarity. These suggestions also bear consequences on the relationship between the four beasts of Dan 7,

---

[1]For example, the horn in chap. 7 is judged, while explicit judgment of the one in chap. 8 is missing; or the idea that the horn in chap. 7 appears geographically unlimited, while that in chap. 8 seems to operate in geographical locations.

on the one hand, and the ram and the he-goat of Dan 8, on the other hand.

The first suggestion is based on the logical assumption that if the little horn in chap. 7 and the one in chap. 8 are of different origin they cannot refer to the same power and hence do not appear at the same time. Scholars taking this line of thought conclude that different historical realities are involved,[1] though the similarities between the horns often lead them to a view usually expressed in terms of pattern, prefiguration, or type (little horn in Dan 8) and antitype (little horn in Dan 7).[2] In this case the animal symbols correspond as shown in table 37.

The main problem with such an interpretation is that it is difficult to comprehend why the same symbol of the "small horn" occurring in two structurally and thematically closely linked visions would represent two different powers.

The other suggestion is that, in spite of the differences, the similarities in the

---

[1]So already Hippolyt, *In Danielem* IV 7 and 26 (between 200 and 204 A.D.) in Hippolyt, *Kommentar zu Daniel*, 208-211, 254-257. Cf. more recently, Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 161-163, 175.

[2]In the typological approach the horn in Dan 8 is understood to symbolize Antiochus IV who becomes a type for the power symbolized by the horn in Dan 7. The horn in Dan 8 therefore has a historical typological fulfillment (Antiochus IV) as well as a further antitypical fulfillment (usually argued to be an eschatological Antichrist). For such an argumentation, expressed in varying terminology, see, e.g., Carl August Auberlen, *The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations of St John, Viewed in Their Mutual Relation: With an Exposition of the Principal Passages*, trans. A. Saphir (Edinburgh: Clark, 1856), 54-56, 185 ("model," "prototype"); David Zündel, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Abfassungszeit des Buches Daniel* (Basel: Bahnmaier, 1861), 74-93, 117-120 ("model," "prototype"); Kliefoth, 252-253, 258-259, 266-267, 281-285 ("parallel"); Rohling, *Daniel*, 218-219 ("model"); Baldwin, 162 ("recurring historical phenomenon"); Archer, 7:99 (type/antitype); Wood, 212 ("prefiguration"); Maier, 307-309 ("model"); Miller, *Daniel*, 225 n. 22 (both horns are "satanically inspired" and share similar qualities); Ford, *Daniel and the Coming King*, 104-105 (type/antitype); Andrew E. Steinmann, "Is the Antichrist in Daniel 11?" *Bsac* 162 (2005): 203-204 ("foreshadowing"). For a viewpoint that holds the two horns to be different but rejects a typological relation see, e.g., Young, *Daniel*, 171, 276-279.

Table 37. Correlation of Daniel 7 and 8 with the Little Horns Designating Different Powers

Interpretation	Daniel 7	Daniel 8
Babylon	Winged Lion	—
Medo-Persia	Bear	Ram
Greece Antiochus IV	Winged Four-headed Leopard —	He-goat └ Little Horn
Rome	Fourth Beast	—
Power after Rome (Antichrist)	Little Horn	—

Table 38. Correlation of Daniel 7 and 8 with the Little Horns Designating the Same Power (A)

Interpretation	Daniel 7	Daniel 8
Babylon	Winged Lion	—
Media	Bear	Ram's Horn 1
Persia	Winged Four-headed Leopard	Ram's Horn 2
Greece Antiochus IV	Fourth Beast └ Little Horn	He-goat └ Little Horn

portrayal of the small horns indicate that the horns have one and the same referent.[1] Most scholars maintain that the he-goat of Dan 8 can be equated with the fourth beast of Dan 7 since both are assumed to constitute the origin of the little horn (see table 38).[2]

[1]See, e.g., Bentzen, 73; Ford, *Daniel*, 168; Lebram, *Daniel*, 93, 95; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 207; Doukhan, *Secrets of Daniel*, 123-124; Redditt, 144; Lucas, *Daniel*, 214-215.

[2]For similar tables see Goldingay, *Daniel*, 207; Redditt, 143.

Objections to this view lie mainly in the fact that the descriptions of the little horn's origin in chap. 7 and the one in chap. 8 vary too much to be harmonized. Furthermore, according to this view the ram is understood to denote two separate kingdoms that correspond to two animals in the vision of chap. 7. There is however no textual reason why two horns of one animal in the vision of chap. 8 should refer to two different animals in the corresponding vision of chap. 7.

In sum, both suggestions have considerable weaknesses and a third, alternative suggestion is desirable. The linguistic and literary discussion of Dan 8:9-14 in the previous two chapters has provided enough evidence that the small horn in chap. 8 does not grow from the he-goat. This would resolve the perceived differences in origin between the little horn in chap. 7 and the one in chap. 8 and would open the possibility that both horns refer to one and the same power. As will be shown subsequently, the evidence from chap. 7 lends additional support for the decision to separate the horn in 8:9-11 from the he-goat.

Origin and Starting Point of the Little Horn

The close parallel between the vision in Dan 7 and the one in Dan 8 invites a comparison, not only of the little horns but also of the other animals (see below). Although there are not many lexical or thematic points of contact between the animal powers of the two visions, it seems that a few possible links corroborate the idea that the horn in Dan 8 does not originate from the he-goat or from one of his four horns.[1]

---

[1]The starting point of the horn's movement expressed by וּמִן־הָאַחַת מֵהֶם in Dan 8:9a has been found syntactically ambiguous, that is, on grounds of syntax alone one cannot decide whether the

In Dan 7, it is explicitly stated that the little horn is connected to the fourth beast as it comes up from among the beast's ten horns (7:8). Some suggest that this fourth beast and the he-goat in Dan 8 refer to the same entity, which would give reason to believe that the horn originates from the he-goat (see table 38). The only textual argument that could be forwarded for this view is that both the fourth beast and the he-goat engage in "trampling."[1] The fourth beast trampled down (רפס) "the remains" (7:7, 19), and the he-goat trampled (רמס) on the ram (8:7). However, the activity of trampling could also indicate a relationship between the fourth beast in Dan 7 and the horn in Dan 8, since the horn and its host also "trample" (רמס; 8:11c, 12b).[2] At the least, this double reference to trampling should strongly caution against identifying the he-goat with the fourth beast on the basis of a single occurrence of רמס.[3]

---

horn comes from one of the he-goat's four horns or whether it goes out from one of the four winds of heaven. Other reasons, particularly the structural outline of the vision report, led to the conclusion that the horn probably comes forth from one of the four winds of heaven.

[1]See Gzella, 109. A thematic comparison of the representation of the fourth beast and of the he-goat is undertaken by Young (*Daniel*, 287-288) with the conclusion that they differ in the description of activities, as well as in origin, nature, and destiny of the beasts.

[2]Lucas notes: "The statement that the horn 'trampled' on the stars brings to mind the actions of the fourth beast of Dan. 7:7" (*Daniel*, 216).

[3]C. C. Caragounis advances two reasons why Persia and Greece in chap. 8 correlate to the third and fourth empires in the schemes of chaps. 2 and 7 ("History and Supra-History: Daniel and the Four Empires," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL, no. 106 [Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993], 388-390). First, the amount of space devoted to the different empires, that is, the number of words used for their description, marks the fourth empire as climax. Second, and similarly, the emphasis on the second empire in chap. 8 is comparable to the emphasis on the fourth empire in chaps. 2 and 7. Both arguments are based on the word count for the various empires which shows an emphasis on the fourth power in chaps. 2 and 7 and seemingly also on the Greek empire in chap. 8 (in the vision of Dan 8: 125 words used for the he-goat, 34 words for the ram; in the interpretation: 61 words used for Greece, 8 words for Medo-Persia). The statistical argument, however, is flawed since Caragounis decided already beforehand that the power represented by the small horn or the defiant king in chap. 8 should be taken as part of Greece. If the horn/king

It is striking that the other lexical and thematic similarities of the visions in Dan 7 and 8 link the second beast with the ram, and the third beast with the he-goat.[1] Both the second beast in Dan 7 and the ram in Dan 8 are described with only one physical characteristic that happens to be quite similar: The second beast was higher on one side than the other (7:5) and the ram had two horns, "one higher than the other" (8:3).[2] Furthermore, both animals are portrayed superior to other beasts: The second beast had three ribs—obviously from one or more animals—in its mouth and is commanded to devour much flesh (7:5); the ram was butting in three directions—westward, northward, and southward[3]—and no other beast could withstand it (8:4).[4]

The third beast in Dan 7 and the he-goat in Dan 8 also share two similarities. The

---

represents a separate power, the word count in chap. 8 shows this power to be at least equally emphasized (in the vision: 74 words used for the he-goat, 65 words for the horn [with the audition included]; in the interpretation: 22 words used for Greece, 39 words for the king). In the end, the statistical data are of secondary importance and should not substitute terminological and thematic data.

[1]See Shea, "Unity of Daniel," 185-186; cf. Moskala, 125-126. Comparing Dan 7 with Dan 8–12, Richard D. Patterson lines up the bear with the ram and the leopard with the he-goat ("The Key Role of Daniel 7," *GTJ* 12 [1991]: 249, 257).

[2]Hubert Junker (41) and Ernst Haag ("Der Menschensohn und die Heiligen [des] Höchsten: Eine literar-, form- und traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Daniel 7," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL, no. 106 [Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993], 161-162 n. 13) understand "one side" as referring to a cardinal direction, not to the side of the beast, and interpret the raising up of the bear-like animal "on one side" as the preparation of an attack towards one cardinal direction. However, each of the other beasts is first described in their characteristics before any activity is mentioned. It is therefore more natural to take the mention of the raising up on "one side," which is the first specification of the bear, as a description of the bear's features rather than a preparation for activity.

[3]So the MT. 4QDan[a] adds ומזרחה "and eastwards" after "westwards."

[4]In 8:4c וְאֵין מַצִּיל מִיָּדוֹ "and there was none to rescue from his power" refers in light of the previous clause (vs. 4b: "no beast could withstand him") to other beasts. Compare also the indirect reference to other beasts when the he-goat overpowers and defeats the ram and the comment is made that וְלֹא־הָיָה מַצִּיל לָאַיִל מִיָּדוֹ "and there is none to rescue the ram from his power" (8:7).

first relates to their ability of movement: The third beast has four wings upon its back and thus apparently has the ability to fly (7:6); the he-goat comes over the surface without touching the ground as if he would fly (8:5). Both the image of wings and the image of not touching the ground express the idea of swift attack.[1] The second similarity lies in the mention of the number "four": the third beast has four heads (7:6), while the he-goat has four conspicuous horns (8:8)[2] (see table 39).

The similarities appear to be more than mere coincidence and suggest that the bear-like beast and the ram represent the same kingdom, and the leopard-like beast and the he-goat represent the same, yet another kingdom.[3] This has implications for the origin

---

[1]Cf. Eggler, "Iconographic Motifs," 280. Related to the imagery of the swift-attacking eagle in the Hebrew Bible when God brings judgment on various nations (Deut 28:49; Jer 4:13; 48:40; 49:22; Ezek 17:3; Hos 8:1; Hab 1:8; Lam 4:19) seems to be Isa 41:3 (ibid., 280 n. 875). Isaiah 41:2-3 describes that YHWH's helper is victorious over kings and nations (vs. 2) and "his feet do not touch the ground" (so the translation by Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40-55*, 195; cf. Baltzer, 87), an image "usually understood as referring to speed" (Jerome T. Walsh, "Summons to Judgement: A Close Reading of Isaiah xli 1-20," *VT* 43 [1993]: 355). This text is sometimes linked with Dan 8:5 (see the discussion in D. R. Ap-Thomas, "Two Notes on Isaiah," in *Essays in Honour of Griffithes Wheeler Thatcher 1863-1950*, ed. E. C. B. MacLaurin [Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967], 50-51, who concludes that the imagery in Isa 41:3 rather denotes "the overwhelming and all-engulfing nature of Cyrus's advance" [54] and could be best translated with "keeping to no footpath" [55]).

[2]The number "four" (אַרְבַּע) occurs in Dan 7 only in relation to the "four winds of heaven" (7:2), the "four beasts" (7:3, 17 [2x]), and the third beast that has "four heads" and "four wings," whereas in Dan 8 it occurs only in relation to the "four (horns)" of the he-goat (8:8, 22) and the "four winds of heaven" (8:8).

[3]Since the ram represents Medo-Persia (8:20) and the he-goat represents Greece (8:21), the bear-like beast should be identified with Medo-Persia and the leopard-like beast with Greece. In support one can note that elsewhere the book of Daniel presents Media and Persia together (5:28; 6:9, 12, 16). Although such a historical interpretation of the beasts in Dan 7 goes against the predominant view of those who identify the small horn with Antiochus Epiphanes (see table 38), it has found its adherents among them who then identify the fourth beast as the Seleucid empire: e.g., M. J. Lagrange, "Les prophéties messianique de Daniel," *RB* 1 (1904): 494-520; Buzy, 403-431; Lattey, xxx-xxxi; Wendelin Kellner, *Der Traum vom Menschensohn: Die politisch-theologische Botschaft Jesu* (Munich: Kösel, 1985), 32-46, 201-206. The suggestions to explain the imagery of the fourth beasts with its horns by Seleucid coins that depict the king with horns as a regnal emblem (Siegfried Morenz, "Das Tier mit den Hörnern, ein Beitrag zu Dan 7,7f.," *ZAW* 63 [1951]: 151-154) and to identify the

Table 39. Lexical and Thematic Correspondences between the Animals of the Visions in Daniel 7 and 8

Daniel 7	Daniel 8
First beast (lion)	—
Second beast (bear) two sides: "raised up on one side" (7:5) "three ribs in its mouth" (7:5) "devour much flesh!" (7:5)	**Ram** two horns: "one higher than the other" (8:3) "butting west, north, and south" (8:4) "no other beasts could stand against it" (8:4)
Third beast (leopard) "four wings of a bird" (7:6) "the beast had four heads" (7:6)	**He-goat** "without touching the ground" (8:5) "four conspicuous [horns] to the four winds of heaven" (8:8) רמס "to trample" (8:7)
Fourth beast רפס "to tread down" (7:7, 19)	—
Horn (see also table 36)	**Horn** (see also table 36) רמס "to trample" (8:11c, 12b)

---

fourth beast with the Seleucid battle elephant might even help such an interpretation. However, those who regard the fourth beast as a battle elephant usually hold that it is used as a sort of "heraldic animal" for the Macedonian empire, supporting the sequence Babylonia–Media–Persia–Macedonia: Urs Staub, "Das Tier mit den Hörnern: Ein Beitrag zu Dan 7,7f.," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 25 (1978): 389-396; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 163 (probable); Haag, *Daniel*, 58; idem, "Menschensohn," 162; Bauer, *Daniel*, 151-152 (Hellenistic war elephant); Othmar Keel, "Die Tiere und der Mensch in Daniel 7," in *Hellenismus und Judentum*, by O. Keel and U. Staub, OBO, no. 178 [Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000], 16-17; a proposal John J. Collins finds "very interesting," "illuminating," and "quite persuasive" (review of *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2-14*, by Jürg Eggler, and *Hellenismus und Judentum*, by Othmar Keel and Urs Staub, *JBL* 121 [2002]: 157) in contrast to his previous comment (*Daniel* [1993], 299 n. 194); identifying the fourth beast with the Syrian or Seleucid battle elephant, but understanding the four animals in Dan 7 as representing four contemporaneous kingdoms lying to the four cardinal points from a Judaean point of view—Egypt (south), Persia (east), Rome (west), and Syria (north)—is suggested by K. Hanhart, "The Four Beasts of Daniel's Vision in the Night in the Light of Rev. 13.2," *NTS* 27 (1980-81): 576-583. However, a difficulty remains if the fourth beast represents the Seleucid empire: one would have to explain why the Seleucid empire, one of the Greek Diadoch empires, is represented by a separate beast from the Greek empire represented by the third beast (cf. Gruenthaner, "The Four Empires of Daniel," 210).

of the horn in Dan 8. Since the little horn in Dan 7 originates from the fourth beast and the fourth beast apparently does not refer to the same entity as the he-goat in Dan 8, it must be inferred that the horn in Dan 8, being equal to the little horn in Dan 7, cannot come from the he-goat. Indeed, an equivalent to the fourth beast from which the horn originates in Dan 7 does not appear in Dan 8, at least not as an independent entity. Inasmuch as both the fourth beast in Dan 7 and the horn in Dan 8 are described as "trampling" others, the hypothesis could be put forth that the horn in Dan 8 is not only identical to the little horn in Dan 7 but, maybe in the sense of a synecdoche, encompasses the fourth beast of Dan 7. In the end, two options of correlating the horn of Dan 8 to the symbols of Dan 7 seem possible: Either the horn of Dan 8 stands for what is symbolized in Dan 7 by the little horn *and* by the fourth beast that carries the horn (option 1),[1] or the horn of Dan 8 represents what is symbolized in Dan 7 by the little horn alone, while the fourth beast has no counterpart in Dan 8 and should not be regarded as included in the horn symbol (option 2).[2] The correlation of the animal imagery in the visions of Dan 7

---

[1]Sims equates the horn vision of Dan 8 with the fourth beast vision of Dan 7 and regards both as referring to Antiochus IV (37-40; cf. also Ford, *Daniel and the Coming King*, 106). Hasel suggests on the basis of verbal gender change that the horn of Dan 8 symbolizes two phases of Rome: the political-pagan phase (8:9-10) equivalent to the fourth beast of Dan 7 (masculine verbs) and the ecclesiastical-papal phase (8:11-12) equivalent to the little horn of Dan 7 (feminine verbs) ("'Little Horn'" [1986], 394, 399; cf. Gerhard Pfandl, *Daniel: The Seer of Babylon* [Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 2004], 78, 83 n. 7). Shea also suggests two phases of the horn, however, with the turning point already in vs. 10 on the basis of the direction in which the horn of Dan 8 moves: an imperial phase of Rome in 8:9 (horizontal movement) and a religious phase in 8:10-12 (vertical movement) ("Spatial Dimensions," 506-520; cf. "Unity of Daniel," 189-190).

[2]Doukhan regards the link between the "four winds of heaven" in 8:8 and in 7:2 as crucial for the understanding of the origin of the little horn in chap. 8. He suggests that "in mentioning that the horn comes from one of the winds, [the author] is implying that it originates in one of the beasts [of the vision in chap. 7]" and that the omission of that beast in chap. 8 is deliberate "to keep the attention of his readers solely on the ram and the goat" (*Secrets of Daniel*, 125).

and Dan 8 can thus be presented as shown in table 40.

Table 40. Correlation of Daniel 7 and 8 with the Little Horns Designating the Same Power (B)

Daniel 7	**Daniel 8** (option 1)	**Daniel 8** (option 2)
Winged Lion	—	—
Bear	Ram	Ram
Winged Four-headed Leopard	He-goat	He-goat
Fourth Beast └ Little Horn	} Little Horn	— └ Little Horn

In conclusion, the vision in Dan 7 supports the conclusion arrived at previously that the horn in Dan 8:9-11 does not originate from the he-goat, or from one of his four horns, but that the starting point of its expansion is one of the four winds of heaven (8:8). At the same time the proposal that the little horn in Dan 7 and the one in Dan 8 refer to the same power is substantiated since the apparent difficulty of their different description of origin has been shown to be nonexistent.

Thematic Similarities

At this point the two descriptions of the little horn in chaps. 7 and 8 can be compared more closely (cf. table 36). In relationship to the horn, they show important thematic similarities which concern the horn's attitude, its action, and its nature.

Attitude: Self-magnifying, Anti-divine Power (*Himmelsstürmer*)

In Dan 7 the keyword רַבְרְבָן "great" occurs eight times, four times with respect to the little horn: from the great sea (7:2) come up great beasts (7:3, 17), the fourth, which is different from the three beasts before, has great iron teeth (7:7), and the horn is speaking great words (7:8, 11, 20) and is in appearance greater than its companions (7:20).

It is immediately after the horn utters great things (7:8) that the judgment scene sets in (7:9-10). Right after the judgment scene, Daniel refers again to the great words that the horn speaks (7:11), immediately followed by the destruction of the fourth beast. The great words of the horn frame the judgment scene, almost like an *inclusio*, and the literary effect is that the judgment of the horn and the fourth beast is triggered by the great words of the horn.[1] So in Dan 7 the theme of hubris before the fall is evoked, which in Dan 8 becomes the structural theme in the vision report.

Action: Attack on the Holy Ones and Opposition to God

The horn launches an attack on the "holy ones" (7:21, 25b) and blasphemes God by uttering great words and assuming a divine-like position (7:25; cf. the end of vs. 8). This twofold target of the horn's attack seems to correspond to the twofold object of the horn's attack in Dan 8, that is the host of heaven and the commander of the host. It would appear that the "holy ones" in Dan 7 and the "host of heaven" in Dan 8 should be

---

[1]The continuity of perception expressed in 7:9a (חָזֵה הֲוֵית עַד דִּי "I kept on looking until"), 7:11a (חָזֵה הֲוֵית בֵּאדַיִן "I kept looking"), and 7:11b (חָזֵה הֲוֵית עַד דִּי "I kept looking until") without a presentative formula (אֲרוּ "behold") suggests that the judgment has to be perceived as being in process while the horn is speaking "great words."

interpreted to refer to the same. Hence, the understanding of one of the phrases does affect the understanding of the other one, as well as vice versa.

The referential meaning of the "holy ones" in Dan 7 is a controversial issue. Two different interpretations have been proposed. The traditional one is that the "holy ones" refers to the faithful people of God.[1] The other understands the "holy ones" to be angels, a view that gained wider support only after M. Noth's article in 1955, which revived an idea by O. Procksch.[2] A third one, which sometimes appears to be a variant to the angelic view, is a more composite interpretation which sees in the "holy ones" an ambiguous term that includes both an angelic and a human dimension.[3]

---

[1]Major advocates of this traditional understanding after Noth's alternative proposal (see the following note) include C. H. W. Brekelmans, "The Saints of the Most High and Their Kingdom," in כה*: 1940-1965*, OtSt, no. 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 305-329; Robert Hanhart, "Die Heiligen des Höchsten," in *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner*, VTSup, no. 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 90-101; Mertens, 53-55; Gerhard F. Hasel, "The Identity of 'The Saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7," *Bib* 56 (1975): 173-192; V. S. Poythress, "The Holy Ones of the Most High in Daniel vii," *VT* 26 (1976): 208-213; Alexander A. Di Lella, "The One in Human Likeness and the Holy Ones of the Most High in Daniel 7," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 1-19 = Hartman and Di Lella, 85-102; Maurice Casey, *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (London: SPCK, 1979), 40-45.

[2]O. Procksch, "Der Menschensohn als Gottessohn," *Christentum und Wissenschaft* 3 (1927): 428-429; idem, "Christus im Alten Testament," *NKZ* 44 (1933): 80; Martin Noth, "'Die Heiligen des Höchsten,'" *NTT* 56 (1955): 146-161 = idem, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*, TB, no. 6 (Munich: Kaiser, 1957), 274-290 = idem, "The Holy Ones of the Most High," in *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas (Edinburgh: Olivers & Boyd; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966), 215-228; L. Dequeker, "Daniel VII et les Saints du Très-Haut," *ETL* 36 (1960): 353-392; J. Coppens, "Les Saints du Très-Haut sont-ils à identifier avec les Milices célestes?" *ETL* 39 (1963): 94-100; idem, "La vision daniélique du Fils d'Homme," *VT* 19 (1969): 171-182; Dequeker, "The 'Saints of the Most High' in Qumran and Daniel," 108-187; John J. Collins, "The Son of Man and the Saints of the Most High," 50-66; idem, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 123-152; Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, 236-239; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 312-318; Haag, "Menschensohn," 169-170, 173-174.

[3]Lacocque, *Daniel*, 127-128; John Goldingay, "'Holy Ones on High' in Daniel 7:18," *JBL* 107 (1988): 495-501 (the "holy ones" may denote God's people but primarily refers to angels or glorified believers); Lucas, *Daniel*, 192; Seow, "The Rule of God," 236-240.

Comparative arguments have often been advanced in favor of the view that the term "holy ones" designates angels, but they are not compelling enough. First, in the Hebrew Bible the substantive use of קָדוֹשׁ refers most often to celestial beings,[1] with the notable exception of Ps 34:10.[2] However, Ps 34:10 and other, debatable texts (Deut 33:3; Ps 16:3; Prov 9:10; 30:3) are evidence that קְדֹשִׁים referring to human beings is not unprecedented outside of Daniel.[3]

Second, the extra-biblical usage of "holy ones" in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, which earlier in the discussion was put forward as evidence for the angelic meaning,[4] shows that "holy ones" can refer to angels as well as to human beings.[5]

Third, elsewhere in the book of Daniel the substantive use of the BA adjective קַדִּישׁ designates a heavenly watcher (4:10, 14, 20) and the substantive use of the BH

---

[1]Exod 15:11; Deut 33:2; Ps 89:6, 8; Job 5:1; 15:15; Zech 14:5; not so clear are Deut 33:3; Ps 16:3; Prov 9:10; 30:3.

[2]This is Noth's original argument for the angelic meaning ("The Holy Ones of the Most High," 217-218).

[3]Brekelmans, 308; Poythress, 211.

[4]Dequeker, "Daniel VII et les Saints du Très-Haut," 371-392; idem, "The 'Saints of the Most High,'" 133-173.

[5]Brekelmans, 309-326 (finds statistically that the equation of "holy ones" with the faithful people of God is more frequent than with angels); R. Hanhart, 94-97; Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran*, SUNT, no. 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), 83, 90-93; S. Lamberigts, "Le sens de Qdwšym dans les textes de Qumrân," *ETL* 46 (1970): 24-39; Mertens, 53-55, 104-105, 113; Hasel, "The Identity of 'The Saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7," 183-185. Collins still argues that the angelic sense of the "holy ones" prevails in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (*Daniel* [1993], 314-317).

adjective קדוֹשׁ refers to a celestial being (8:13a, 13b).[1] However, this does not mean that the "holy ones" in Dan 7 needs to be angels, for in 8:24 the occurrence of the plural קְדֹשִׁים—the equivalent to BA קַדִּישִׁין in Dan 7—in the construct phrase עַם־קְדֹשִׁים "people of holy ones" refers to human beings.[2] Also, one should not completely disregard other uses of the root קדשׁ in Daniel.[3] In the Aramaic part, קדישׁ occurs in adjectival use always in the phrase רוּחַ אֱלָהִין קַדִּישִׁין "spirit of the holy gods" (4:5, 6, 15; 5:11). In the Hebrew sections, קדוֹשׁ is never used adjectivally. The noun קֹדֶשׁ "holy" occurs on its own (8:13, 14; 9:24 [2x], 26) or in construct relation, always as postconstructus, with הַר "mountain" (9:16, 20; 11:45), עִיר "city" (9:24), בְּרִית "covenant" (11:28, 30 [2x]), and עַם "people" (12:7). The last occurrence is significant since עַם־קֹדֶשׁ "holy people" clearly refers to human beings. In short, in Daniel the root קדשׁ is connected with celestial beings as well as with human beings.

Fourth, arguments built upon a specific literary and redactional history of Dan 7, which excises crucial verses from a supposedly original layer of Dan 7,[4] have correctly been identified as in danger of circular reasoning and should not be used to establish or

---

[1]This was Procksch's original reason for the suggestion to understand the "holy ones" as heavenly beings ("Christus im Alten Testament," 80) and is also the major argument used by Collins (*Daniel* [1993], 317).

[2]Noth leaves the "textually most uncertain passage" in Dan 8:24 out of consideration ("The Holy Ones of the Most High," 216 n. 8), while R. Hanhart believes that in this text, "even on condition of textual corruption, the people of the saints or the saints can hardly be conjectured away from those affected by the oppressor's destructive measures" (93). For the referential meaning of עַם־קְדֹשִׁים see the intertextual analysis of Dan 8:23-25.

[3]Cf. ibid.

[4]See, e.g., Dequeker, "The 'Saints of the Most High,'" 111-133.

prove the meaning of the text.[1]

Thus far the Hebrew Bible, including Daniel, and the extra-biblical literature (Qumran, Apocrypha, and Pseudepigrapha) show that the term קַדִּישִׁין itself could refer to humans or to angels. If there are two options of interpretation, one needs to avoid the statistical fallacy of choosing the referential meaning that occurs more often in the Hebrew Bible or in extra-biblical literature.[2] Like with the semantic analysis of words and phrases in Dan 8, the meaning of the "holy ones" in Dan 7 must primarily be determined by its context.[3]

The expression קַדִּישִׁין "holy ones" occurs six times in Dan 7, two times on its own and four times in the construct phrase קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין "the holy ones of the Most High"[4] (see table 41). Although the term קַדִּישִׁין "holy ones" is not mentioned in the

---

[1]Collins, "Son of Man," 53-54, esp. n. 23; idem, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 126. Interestingly, both Noth ("The Holy Ones of the Most High," 226-227) and Dequeker ("The 'Saints of the Most High,'" 179) admit that when reading Dan 7 at the supposedly final stage of its *Redaktionsgeschichte*, that is, the text as is, the "holy ones" must necessarily be understood as God's faithful people. Hence, both argue that vss. 21-22, respectively vss. 21 and 25, which in their opinion lead to the conclusion that the "holy ones" are the saints, must be a later redactional insertion that changed the meaning of the "holy ones" to refer to God's people (Noth, "The Holy Ones of the Most High," 228) and therefore "can no longer be invoked as unequivocal arguments against the 'angelic' interpretation" (Dequeker, "The 'Saints of the Most High,'" 180). This type of argumentation can serve as an illustration of circular reasoning.

[2]Poythress, 211-212; *pace* Noth who declares the comparative material to be decisive for the interpretation of the "holy ones" in Dan 7 ("The Holy Ones of the Most High," 221).

[3]Time and again the decisiveness of the context has been pointed out by advocates of both positions: Brekelmans, 326; Dequeker, "The 'Saints of the Most High,'" 110; Poythress, 211-212; Di Lella, "One in Human Likeness," 7; Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 126; idem, *Daniel* (1993), 317.

[4]Goldingay's suggestion to interpret קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין as an indeterminate phrase with a genuine plural עֶלְיוֹנִין that is epexegetical or adjectival ("'Holy Ones on High' in Daniel 7:18," *JBL* 107 [1988]: 495-501; so already indicated by Procksch, "Menschensohn als Gottessohn," 429) is difficult to maintain in light of the substantive use of the Hebrew עֶלְיוֹן and the Aramaic cognate עִלָּי which refer unambiguously to God and hence function as an epithet of the Deity (Goldingay also mentions

vision, it functions as *Leitwort* in the dialogue between the *angelus interpres* and Daniel in the second half of Dan 7.[1] All three parts of the dialogue speak of the "holy ones": the first angelic interpretation (7:17-18), the visionary's request for interpretation and elaboration of the vision (21-22), and the second angelic interpretation (23-27). The order of the three events that involve the "holy ones" is the following: the horn battles against the "holy ones" (7:21, 25), the judgment given in favor of the "holy ones" (7:22b), and the transference of the kingdom into the possession of the "holy ones" (7:18, 22c), or the "people of the holy ones" respectively (7:27). Similar to vs. 21 and vs. 25, which describe the same occurrence in different words, so the last three clauses describe the same final event in the course of revelation. This last event is also linked by the use of the keyword מַלְכוּתָא/ה "kingdom" or "kingship" in each of the three dialogue parts, as well as by the verb חסן haf. "take possession of" in the first two parts of the dialogue.[2]

Because of these terminological connectors there is no contextual reason here to identify עַם קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין in 7:27 with an entity different from קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין in 7:18 or

---

that a partitive sense is within the realm of possibility, translating the phrase with "holy ones [among ones] on high" [similar to Procksch, "Menschensohn als Gottessohn," 429; and Helge S Kvanvig, *The Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man*, WMANT, no. 61 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988), 573]). Rather, the plural עֶלְיוֹנִין should be understood as plural of manifestation or majesty, similar to the Hebrew אֱלֹהִים. For a refutation of Goldingay's proposal, see Douglas MacCallum Lindsay Judisch, "The Saints of the Most High," *CTQ* 53 (1989): 96-103; cf. also Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 312.

[1]Because the war against the holy ones is not mentioned in the vision of Dan 7, Dequeker assumes that the attack on the holy ones in the interpretation (7:21, 25) is not original but must be an insertion made by the Maccabean author of chap. 8 ("The 'Saints of the Most High,'" 180).

[2]It is not necessary here to distinguish between the giving of the kingdom to the holy ones (7:27), their reception of the kingdom (7:18), and finally their continuous possession of the kingdom (7:18, 22c). All are part of the act of transference of kingdom and kingship with its logical results.

Table 41. "Holy Ones" in Daniel 7

Part of Dialogue	Text	Expression	Order of Events + Clause Translation
Angelic interpretation (7:17-18)	7:18	קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין	Event ❸: *the holy ones of the Most High* will receive the kingdom and possess (חסן) the kingdom (מַלְכוּתָא) forever
Visionary's request and elaboration (7:19-22)	7:21	קַדִּישִׁין	Event ❶: the horn was waging war with *the holy ones*
	7:22b	קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין	Event ❷: judgment was given for/to *the holy ones of the Most High*
	7:22c	קַדִּישִׁין	Event ❸: *the holy ones* took possession (חסן) of the kingdom (מַלְכוּתָא)
Angelic interpretation (7:23-27)	7:25	קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין	Event ❶: he [king=horn] shall wear out *the holy ones of the Most High*
	7:27	עַם קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין	Event ❸: the kingship (מַלְכוּתָה), the powers and the greatness of the kingdoms (מַלְכְוָת) under the whole heaven will be given to *the people (of) the holy ones of the Most High*

קַדִּישִׁין in 7:22c. The "people of the holy ones of the Most High" are therefore the same group as the "holy ones of the Most High."

Still, the phrase עַם קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין in 7:27 can be grammatically analyzed in two ways. A possessive understanding of עַם קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין "the people *who belong* to the holy ones of the Most High," which is favored by advocates of the angel view, is possible,[1] while the explicative or appositional sense of עַם קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין "the people

[1]The possessive understanding is supported by Coppens, "Vision danielique," 179; Dequeker, "Saints of the Most High," 181; Collins, "Son of Man," 62; idem, *Daniel* (1993), 322; Lucas, *Daniel*, 194. For a similar construction cf. עַם אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם "the people of the God of Abraham" in Ps 47:9.

who are the holy ones of the Most High" seems to be the more natural understanding.[1] Several points need to be considered. First, the possessive understanding presupposes two groups: the people (עַם) and the angelic holy ones of the Most High (קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין), while of this point in chap. 7 there was only one group in view. If all the references of "holy ones" would mean angels, the sudden mention of the "people" in 7:27 represents an "intrusion."[2] Second, there seems to be an intertextual relationship between the "holy ones" under attack in 7:21 and 7:25 and the "holy people" under attack in 8:24 and 12:7 (see table 42). Each text uses a verb of physical violence and a form of the root קדשׁ for the group assaulted. Daniel 7:25 and 12:7 are also connected by the similar temporal expression of "time, times and half (a time)."

It is quite likely therefore that the "holy ones" in 7:21, 25 and the "holy people" in 8:24 and 12:4 refer to one and the same group. As a result, the "people of the holy ones of the Most High" in 7:27, which uses עַם like the expressions in 8:24 and 12:4, should also be understood to refer to that same group. The term עַם, which neither in the Hebrew Bible nor in the Dead Sea Scrolls is used to designate angels, indicates that the "holy

---

[1]The epexegetical or appositional understanding is held by Noth, "The Holy Ones of the Most High," 223 (yet, he interprets the phrase in Dan 7:27 as a reference to heavenly beings [224-225]); Di Lella, "One in Human Likeness," 12, who also enlists the Greek versions and the Peshitta for support; Hasel, "The Identity of 'The Saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7," 186-187; M. Casey, 41; Keel, "Die Tiere und der Mensch in Daniel 7," 22. For appositional constructions of the noun עַם followed by a plural noun cf. עַם בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל "people of the sons of Israel" in Exod 1:9; עַם שְׂרִידֵי חָרֶב "people of the escapers of the sword" in Jer 31:2; and עַם מִבְחָרָיו "people of his choicest ones" in Dan 11:15.

[2]Poythress, 212.

Table 42. "Holy Ones" under Attack in the Book of Daniel

Text	Verb	Object	Other Links
7:21	עבד קְרָב "wage war"	קַדִּישִׁין "holy ones"	
7:25	בלא pael "wear out"	קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין "holy ones of the Most High"	3½ times
8:24	שׁחת hif. "destroy"	עַם־קְדֹשִׁים "people of holy ones" = "holy people"	
12:7	נפץ piel "smash"	יַד־עַם־קֹדֶשׁ "power of the holy people"	3½ times

ones" are implied to be human beings.[1] In the Hebrew Bible, Israel is frequently referred to as "holy people" (cf. Dan 12:7). This serves as a "secondary support for the equation 'holy ones' = Israel."[2]

There are also other arguments for the view that the "holy ones" are human beings. First, the physical nature of the description of the attack on the holy ones, which is expressed by the verbs עֲבְדָה קְרָב עִם "waging war with" (vs. 21) and יְבַלֵּא "will wear out" (vs. 25), implies that they are human beings.[3] Second, the eschatological kingdom is

[1]Brekelmans, 323, 329; Poythress, 209-211; E. Lipiński, "עַם ᶜ*am*," *TDOT*, 11:177. Apparently to avoid the force of this argument, Noth suggests again a change of meaning and translates עַם with "host" and applies it to angels ("The Holy Ones of the Most High," 223-224). However, his proposal lacks persuasiveness (Hasel, "The Identity of 'The Saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7," 186-188).

[2]Poythress, 211. So also Hasel, "The Identity of 'The Saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7," 179-180; Norbert Lohfink, "Der Begriff des Gottesreichs vom Alten Testament her gesehen," in *Unterwegs zur Kirche: Alttestamentliche Konzeptionen*, ed. J. Schreiner, QD, no. 110 (Freiburg: Herder, 1987), 82 n. 125.

[3]Poythress, 209; Di Lella, 'One in Human Likeness," 12. The suggestion by Noth to understand the intensive form of בלא in Dan 7:25 in the sense of "to greatly offend" or "to hurt seriously" with reference to Arabic balā(w) "to put to the test" ("The Holy Ones of the Most High," 224-225) is not convincing (see Hasel, "The Identity of 'The Saints of the Most High" in Daniel 7,"

promised to God's people but not to the angels.[1] The chapter of Dan 7 would have less tangible relevance for the original addressees if it would outline the struggle and final victory of the angels.[2] And third, in the book of Daniel angels are in general easily identifiable, making it difficult to perceive why they would be referred to in Dan 7 by the "holy ones of the Most High."[3] Furthermore, in Dan 7 the angels are already depicted as a multitude of heavenly attendants standing at the throne of the Ancient of Days (7:10).[4]

In conclusion, the "holy ones (of the Most High)" in Dan 7 is a reference to the faithful humans. As such, the "holy ones" in the angelic interpretation of Dan 7 depicts the same group that is symbolically represented by the "host of heaven" or the "stars" in the vision of Dan 8 (8:10). Thus, the contextual identification of the "holy ones" as humans supports the interpretation of the "host of heaven" as humans and strengthens the intertextual connection between Dan 7 and Dan 8.[5]

185-186). The traditional meaning of "to wear out" with humans as the object has support from BH with בלה piel in Lam 3:4 and 1 Chr 17:9, and בלה qal in Gen 18:12; Pss 32:3; 49:15.

[1]Brekelmans, 326-328; Poythress, 209.

[2]Di Lella, "One in Human Likeness," 7. The hypothesis that angels who would possess the kingdom are guardian angels ruling over God's people (so Dequeker, "The 'Saints of the Most High,'" 185-187) is not convincing, for in Daniel the concept of national guardian angels is not limited to the time of eschatological fulfillment. Angels are presented as already "ruling" over different kingdoms (cf. Dan 10), and there is one who rules over God's people (Dan 10:21; 12:1).

[3]Poythress, 209; Di Lella, "One in Human Likeness," 10-11.

[4]Di Lella, "One in Human Likeness," 11.

[5]To some extent, this line of reasoning differs markedly from that by Collins ("Son of Man," 58-61; "Apocalyptic Eschatology as the Transcendence of Death," *CBQ* 36 [1974]: 31-32; *Apocalyptic Vision*, 142; *Daniel* [1993], 320, 322). The major starting point for his interpretation of the "holy ones" in Dan 7 is his understanding of the "host of heaven" in Dan 8:10. Collins pleads to understand 7:21 in parallel with 8:9-12, and 7:25 in parallel with 8:10. Because of his angelic interpretation of the host in 8:9-12, Collins is able to argue that the "holy ones" in chap. 7 should also

Finally, one might propose a relationship between the one like a son of man in Dan 7 and the commander of the host in Dan 8.[1] Of course, it is not explicitly expressed in Dan 7 that the horn would attack the one like a son of man. In an indirect way, though, the horn, having eyes and a mouth like the eyes and mouth of a human, resembles in these two characteristics the one who appears entirely as human. Furthermore, the realm of the little horn is succeeded by the realm of the son of man whom all human beings serve (7:14). Being the final earthly power, the little horn takes dominion which should only be given by God. Thus, the horn can be seen as attempting to take the place of the one like a son of man to whom God finally gives dominion and kingdom. Such an endeavor is paralleled by the horn's attempt to usurp the place of the commander of the host in Dan 8. Hence, it would appear that the two figures in Dan 7 and Dan 8 refer to the same entity.

Nature: Religious Interest

A first indicator of the different nature of the horn is the term שְׁנָא "be different."

---

be allowed to have an angelic interpretation. The parallel to chap. 8 is his only argument for the meaning of קַדִּישִׁין in 7:25, and a major factor for his understanding of קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין in 7:21. In fact, Collins seems to use an argumentative chain. After establishing that the "host of heaven" and the "stars" in 8:10 as well as the "holy ones" in 8:13 represent angels, Collins argues that therefore the "powerful people" or "holy ones," as he reconstructs the text, and the "mighty" in 8:24 are a reference to angels (*Daniel* [1993], 341; cf. "Son of Man," 59; *Apocalyptic Vision*, 138-141). Both texts in the vision and in the interpretation of chap. 8 function as argument for him that the 'holy ones" in chap. 7 must refer to angels ("Son of Man," 59). Thus, the pivotal point of Collins's angelic interpretation is his understanding of 8:10. However, if the "host of heaven" and the "stars" in 8:10 are not understood to be angels, as argued in chapter 2 (above), Collins's argumentation to interpret the "holy ones" in 7:21, 25 correspondingly is critically weakened.

[1]Cf. Lacocque, *Daniel*, 162; Shea, "Unity of Daniel," 217-219. A collateral identification is given by Anderson who identifies both the commander of the host in 8:11 and the one like a son of man in 7:13-14 with Michael, although he does not compare the two directly with each other ("Michael Figure," 420-424).

Already the fourth beast, from which the little horn arises, is different (שׁנא peal/pael in 7:7, 19, 23), and the author offers no zoological comparison for it. The little horn then "will be different" (שׁנא peal) from the previous horns (vs. 24). An external distinction is its size, since it "was larger in appearance than its associates" (vs. 20). However, the differences manifest themselves particularly in the horn's interests and activities. The verbal root שׁנא links the different nature of the horn (7:24) with its attempt to change (שׁנא haphel) times (זִמְנִין) and law (7:25), which in the book of Daniel is known as a prerogative of God himself, who alone changes (שׁנא haphel) times and seasons (זִמְנַיָּא) (2:21). The continuation in 7:25 after the declaration that the horn "will be different" (vs. 24) leads to the conclusion that the idiosyncratic nature of the horn lies in its activities against the holy ones and against God and also in its assumption of divine status in that it intends to change times and law.

The different nature of the little horn is also indicated by using human features in its description. It has two facial organs: eyes like the eyes of a man (7:8), and a mouth that can utter intelligible words (7:8). Only the first lion-like animal had human features, but they were given to the beast, apparently using a *passivum divinum* to describe this process, whereas the little horn is characterized by human features that it possesses and which are not given to it. In contrast to the first three beasts there is no divine passive used in the description of the fourth beast and its little horn.[1] They are thus both portrayed as independent of God. In sum, the little horn distinguishes itself from the previous symbolic powers in that its activities are directed against God and it actually

[1]Already pointed out by Haag, "Menschensohn," 150, 163; cf. Lucas, *Daniel*, 198.

pretends to replace God.

The human features in the description of the little horn subtly underline this conclusion. To suggest that the human traits of the little horn function only to identify it as an individual[1] is inconsistent in light of the use of human imagery in the vision of Dan 7. It is possible to associate "eyes" with haughtiness,[2] especially as they appear together with a boastful mouth, but this does not seem to exhaust their symbolic function. For there is a basic contrast between human and beast in the vision of Dan 7, which is perceived most clearly in the transformation of the first beast and in the contrast between the beasts and "the one like a son of man."

The human imagery in 7:4 often receives a symbolic interpretation, and probably rightly so. The gradual transformation of the winged lion into an upright being with a human heart suggests a positive metamorphosis of the first beast and "is presumably influenced by the conversion of Nebuchadnezzar in the earlier chapter."[3] This observation is supported by the lexical correspondence of the terms יהב "give" and לְבַב "heart" which links Dan 7:4 ("a heart of a human was given to it") with Dan 4:13 ("a heart of a beast shall be given to him"). D. Bryan distinguishes two stages in the transformation process: first, the plucking out of the wings transforms the extremely

---

[1]So, e.g., Montgomery, 291: "It is universally accepted that these two human traits, the most expressive of the individual person, interpret the little horn as an individual."

[2]For example, suggested by Collins who refers to Isa 2:11; 5:15; Ps 101:5 (*Daniel* [1993], 297). It is however far-fetched when Kellner surmises that the "eyes" represent "people spying and listening" for the king throughout his kingdom (46), as may have been the practice in the Persian empire (Herodotus, *Histories*, 1.100; cf. the use of "King's Eye" in 1.114).

[3]Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 297; cf. von Gall, 93-94; Meadowcroft, *Aramaic Daniel*, 236; Keel even believes that the link to Dan 4 "cannot be missed" ("Die Tiere und der Mensch in Daniel 7," 18).

unclean *Mischwesen* into an unclean lion, and second, the change of the lion's posture and heart transforms the unclean lion into a "converted lion," similar to a human being. Taking the beast as a symbol for Nebuchadnezzar, Bryan regards the first stage as referring to an early stage of the Babylonian king's conversion, probably found in his reaction to the miraculous deliverance of the three Jews in Dan 3, while the second stage symbolically describes what happened to Nebuchadnezzar in Dan 4.[1] Whether vs. 4 should be understood as a general reference to Nebuchadnezzar's conversion or as a more detailed two-stage transformation, the symbolic picture is one of change from negative to positive.[2]

The understanding of Dan 7:4 is a typical example, almost a key, for how to

---

[1]David Bryan, *Cosmos, Chaos and the Kosher Mentality*, JSPSup, no. 12 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 235-237.

[2]Besides a positive understanding of the lion's metamorphosis, there is also the tradition of a negative interpretation, regarding it as an act of judgment (so Lucas, *Daniel*, 178-179). U. Worschech argues that the author of Daniel uses and contorts the neo-Assyrian image of the lion man (*Löwenmenschen*) in order to polemicize against Babylon, exposing its frightening lion metaphor as being just human. For him, Dan 7:4 plays on the contrast between the lion metaphor for the realm of the gods and the human imagery denoting a weak lion that is stripped of all power conveying the message that Babylon behaves like a winged lion, but in the eyes of YHWH there is nothing like a human miserable effort as a human dancing in a lion's hide ("Der assyrisch-babylonische Löwenmensch und der 'menschliche' Löwe aus Daniel 7,4" in *Ad bene et fideliter seminandum: Festgabe für Karlheinz Deller zum 21. Februar 1987*, ed. G. Maurer and U. Magen, AOAT, no. 220 [Kevalaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988], 321-333). The ingenious proposal by Worschech, which is based more on iconographic data than on the text itself, fails to convince for at least two reasons. First, the metaphor in 7:4 is not that the winged lion with its divine prerogatives is unmasked as nothing but human, as Worschech suggests, but that the winged lion is gradually transformed under God's influence (note the four passive forms) into a humanlike being. Daniel 7:4 is not about the masquerade of the first beast but about a change of its nature and character. There is a true transformation process involved. Second, human imagery in the vision of Dan 7 can hardly be considered to denote weakness. The human mouth of the little horn seems to be a rather powerful instrument (cf. 7:11, 25)—the human eyes of the little horn do not receive a specific explanation in Dan 7—and the "one like a son of man" is undeniably the recipient of power and dominion. It would be inconsistent to suggest a symbolic meaning of weakness for the human imagery in 7:4.

understand the function of the imagery of beasts and human in Dan 7. It is clear that the beasts are contrary to the divine creation order. The allusion to creation in 7:2 (winds, great sea), the divine judgment in vss. 9-10 that reestablishes order, and the Adamic figure in vss. 13-14 all adumbrate the fact that the four beasts represent violations of the creation order.[1] Being *Mischwesen*, they should in all likelihood be seen as "intensified unclean creatures."[2] Human features, on the other hand, represent positive elements.[3]

The contrast between beasts and human can also be seen in the figure of the "one like a son of man."[4] The deliberate thematic opposition is evident: whereas the beasts signify earthly powers and their kingdoms are merely evanescent, the "one like a son of man" stands in relationship with God, the "Ancient of Days," and receives the eternal dominion from him. A structural-terminological contrast exists in that the "four winds of heaven" bring about the rise of the four beasts and the "one like a son of man" appears "with the clouds of heaven."[5] That the "one like a son of man" is a foil to the four beasts

---

[1]See the section on "Creation" below.

[2]Bryan, 239. The portrayal of the foreign powers in Dan 7 by both unclean and hybrid creatures and its significance for a Jewish audience against the backdrop of the Pentateuchal dietary laws in Lev 11 and Deut 14 and the implied forbidden junction (*Kilʾayim*) in Gen 1 has already been pointed out by J. Massyngberde Ford, "Jewish Law and Animal Symbolism," *JSJ* 10 (1979): 204-206. Lucas also sees a connection between the hybrid animals in Dan 7 and the Mosaic food laws, while stressing that this does not explain the bizarre nature of the imagery ("Daniel: Resolving the Enigma," 69; *Daniel*, 171, 178). The basic notion of the beasts' uncleanness is also recognized by Seow, "The Rule of God," 231.

[3]So, e.g., Bryan, 238; Meadowcroft, 236.

[4]The second beast, too, has been suggested to carry a certain human likeness because of its standing upright like the "converted lion" (Keel, "Die Tiere und der Mensch in Daniel 7," 15, following a suggestion by Klaus Koch).

[5]Kellner, 52-53; Haag, "Menschensohn," 166; Otfried Hofius, "Der Septuaginta-Text von Daniel 7,13-14: Erwägungen zu seiner Gestalt und seiner Aussage," *ZAW* 117 (2005): 76.

is also marked formally in that the lion and the leopard as well as the son of man are introduced by the preposition כ "like."[1] The same preposition is used to describe the eyes of the horn as being like (כ) the eyes of man, creating a contrast between the little horn's partial human likeness and the full human likeness "of the one like a son of man." Furthermore, the term אֱנָשׁ "man" in chap. 7 is used only for the transformation of the first beast, the son of man, and the human eyes of the little horn.

Finally, one should not overlook that the figure for God in 7:9-10 is visualized as a human being, too. He has hair, wears a white vesture, and sits on a throne. The phrase "Ancient of Days" evokes venerableness and wisdom, which in the human world comes with age and experience and is the best prerequisite for being a judge who acts with sagacity.

The contrast between human and beastly imagery could be considered one of the most important aspects of the animal symbolism in Dan 7. While the beasts represent the Gentile powers and the rule of human kings, which often are hostile to God, the human element seems to evoke a spiritual or religious nature. The main point according to R. Bartelmus is this: "Only a being like a son of man is entitled to eternal dominion as quasi-divine potency, but not animals, for animals are beings of inferior importance."[2] The

---

[1]K. Seybold believes that the specific use of the preposition כ in the vision in Dan 7 marks the "one like a son of man" as "a figure standing in visual and thematic contrast to the fantastic animals just described" ("כְּ *k*[e]," *TDOT*, 7:7; cf. Seow, "The Rule of God," 234). For the second beast the participle דָּמְיָה "be like" is used which is found elsewhere only in Dan 3:25 when Nebuchadnezzar describes the appearance of the fourth person in the furnace as being like (דָּמֵה) a son of the gods.

[2]Rüdiger Bartelmus, "Die Tierwelt der Bibel II: Tiersymbolik im Alten Testament exemplarisch dargestellt am Beispiel von Dan 7, Ez 1/10 und Jes 11,6-8," in *Gefährten und Feinde des Menschen: Das Tier in der Lebenswelt des alten Israel*, ed. B. Janowski, U. Neumann-Gorsolke, and U. Gleßmer (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1993), 294. As a source of this allegory

human element becomes an indication of "the knowledge and recognition of the sovereignty and supremacy of God," which expresses itself in the act of ruling obliged and bound to God.[1] Thus, the human becomes a metaphor or symbol for the relation to the heavenly, in a sense for the religious aspect in dominion.[2]

Consistency in symbolic imagery would suggest interpreting the human elements in the description of the little horn in 7:8 in light of the use of human imagery in vss. 4, 9, and 13-14 and the intentional contrast between beast and human in the vision.[3] But how can a symbolically positive element that implies a religious aspect or a relationship to God be understood in connection with the little horn? The solution seems to be that the little horn is religiously interested and mimics to some extent the one like a son of man. Furthermore, Bryan notices a progression of uncleanness in the imagery of the vision: from the humanized 'clean lion' to the unclean bear, to the *Mischwesen* leopard, to the chaos of unparalleled form in an indescribable monster—iron teeth, bronze claws, ten

---

Bartelmus recognizes "the messianic claim of Israel to be chosen as bearer of the eternal divine dominion." Thus, Israel "as humanlike being is destined for dominion," while "beast-like beings, that is, the nations who use animal symbols for representation of themselves, are in the end without real power" (294). Bartelmus detects a similar idea conveyed in Ezek 1 and 10, where "YHWH, who is thought to be humanlike, rules over the other powers who are presented in animal form" (303).

[1]Keel, "Die Tiere und der Mensch in Daniel 7," 27-28 (cf. 21).

[2]Morna D. Hooker comes to a similar conclusion after examining Dan 7:4 in relation to Dan 4: "The fundamental basis of the antithesis between human and beastly in Daniel would thus seem to be man's attitude to God. Those who recognize his dominion and are subservient to his will can be described as having human characteristics, while those who rebel against his authority are akin to beasts" (*The Son of Man in Mark: A Study of the Background of the Term "Son of Man" in Its Use in St Mark's Gospel* [London: SPCK, 1967], 17).

[3]It seems incoherent to take the human imagery in 7:8 differently; *pace*, e.g., Kvanvig, who takes the human imagery in 7:2-7 in reference to reception of the kingdom, while in vs. 8 it denotes for him a historical person ("Struktur," 109).

horns, and another horn with human eyes and a filthy mouth—which in its little horn "blasphemously combines human characteristics with the most confusing disordered creature."[1] It is specifically the combination of the bestial with human components that brings this crescendo of abhorrence to the climax: "The combination of the 'image of God' with the bestial represents a most daring and high-handed abominable mixing."[2]

The contrast between beast and human is a motif that can be found at several places in the book of Daniel. This "central distinction" is clearly recognizable in Dan 4, 5, and 7.[3] J. Doukhan concludes that in the symbolic language of the book of Daniel "the animal symbolizes the political dimension of the earthly kingdoms while the human symbolizes the religious dimension of the kingdom of heaven."[4] A similar attribute to human imagery can be detected to a certain extent when celestial beings are described in

---

[1]Bryan, 239.

[2]Ibid., 238.

[3]Keel, "Die Tiere und der Mensch in Daniel 7," 21 (cf. 18-23). In Dan 4, Nebuchadnezzar's pride brought him in danger of losing his human status. As he refused to realize God's authority over human rulership but instead engaged in self-idolization, the proclaimed punishment is carried out and he is forced to undergo a bestial transformation. His restoration as a human being, and as king, comes only at the point when he acknowledges God's sovereignty and reign. The backward transformation of the Babylonian king conveys the message that his being human is dependent upon his recognition of God's power, which is portrayed not only as factual knowledge but also as spiritual intelligence, expressing itself in doxology. In Dan 5, Daniel reminds Belshazzar of Nebuchadnezzar's experience and the spiritual lessons he had learned, which Belshazzar obviously had not learned (vss. 20-23).

[4]Doukhan, *Secrets of Daniel*, 116, 102; cf. idem, *Daniel: Vision of the End*, 19. Doukhan suggests a religious connotation for the lion who receives the heart of a man in 7:4 (*Secrets of Daniel*, 102), the horn with a human face in 7:8 (106), the one like a son of man in 7:13 (116), and the potter's clay, "which always evokes the human person in a relationship of dependence upon the Creator," in 2:45 (34), and also includes the passages in 3:25; 4:34; and 5:5 (116).

the book of Daniel as human beings.[1]

Without discussing suggestions of this contrast's broader cultural background, which has been viewed in a Mesopotamian, Greek, or Israelite context,[2] one concludes that in the book of Daniel itself, and particularly in chap. 7, the distinction between beasts and humans seems to be one between the pagan/earthly and the religious/heavenly. Being humanlike is symbolically linked to the right of power, to the divinely entitled or even the divine dominion. In fact, the contrast between beast and human can be identified as a conflict.

A reading of Dan 8 in light of such a contrast reveals a similar shift from beast-like powers to humanity both in the vision report and in the angelic interpretation. In the vision report, the nouns and verbs used in the sections of the ram and the he-goat exhibit a variety of animal imagery. However, the horn is mentioned only once as "horn" in vs. 9a. Furthermore, whereas the animals in the vision of Dan 8 fight against each other, the horn does not explicitly engage in battle against other animals, except for the oblique

---

[1]Collins concludes that the symbolism of a human figure in Daniel (8:15; 9:21; 10:5; 12:5-7; cf. 3:25; בֶּן־אָדָם in 8:17 is the address from the heavenly being to Daniel), as well as in the context of prophetic visionary literature (Ezek 1:26; 8:2; 9–10) and the *Animal Apocalypse* of Enoch (1 Enoch 87:2; 90:14, 17, 22), represents a heavenly being, that is, an angel or a divine being (*Daniel* [1993], 305-306, 310).

[2]For example, concerning Dan 4 Matthias Henze proposes as background the trope of the wild man in the Mesopotamian mythic lore so that Dan 4 is a reversal of the humanization process in that tradition (*The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar: The Ancient Near Eastern Origins and Early History of Interpretation of Daniel 4*, JSJSup, no. 61 [Leiden: Brill, 1999], 90-99). In regard to Dan 7, Othmar Keel argues that the central distinction between beasts and humanity is rooted in Greek philosophy, in particular Aristotelian and Stoic concepts, and is one of contrast in terms of intelligence and reason, which in Daniel focuses on the knowledge and recognition of God's sovereignty ("Die Tiere und der Mensch in Daniel 7," 23-29), whereas David Bryan believes that the obvious contrast between the *Mischwesen* and the one like a son of man is best explained by the concept of Pentateuchal "Kosher mentality" in which anomaly functions as criterion of impurity (*Cosmos, Chaos and the Kosher Mentality*, 213-248; cf. Ford, "Jewish Law and Animal Symbolism," 204-206).

reference that it grew exceedingly toward the south and the east in vs. 9b, which in comparison with the ram's butting in vs. 4 may involve a campaign of conquest. Instead of attacking other beasts, the horn rather confronts the "world of holy." The horn's religious dimension is clearly expressed by the terminological shift of emphasis from power and violence to cult and holiness in 8:9-14.

These observations underscore that the core of the conflict in Dan 8 is, what Bauer calls, the confrontation of the "world of 'holy' and the world of 'bestial.'"[1] Such a confrontation is at the center of attention in the climactic section of the little horn (8:9-14) and its correlating interpretation (8:23-25). The supreme blasphemy of the little horn in Dan 7, expressed by the combination of bestiality with human elements, which symbolically refers to the mixture of the earthly-political with the heavenly-religious, repeats itself in Dan 8:9-13 where the earthly power of the horn sacrilegiously imitates YHWH with a claim to dominion.

The purpose of describing the king (= the horn) in 8:23-25 with human features only, without any reference to the animal imagery of the vision, appears to carry the same underlying message: the king is portrayed as if he were a religious ruler directly entitled to dominion. However, his deeds do not fit that kind of image. The contrast between the humanness of the king and the beast-like powers in the angelic interpretation must be understood as a clever device that subtly indicates the king's claim to power and his self-

---

[1]Bauer explains: "By putting the world of 'holy' opposite the world of 'bestial,' virtually 'world' and 'anti-world' are put up against each other. This completely typical procedure of (not only) the apocalyptic—which often is insufficiently described as 'dualistic'—is found purely unadulterated in Dan 7, where the 'beasts' from the chaotic waters of the sea are confronted with the '(son of) man,' who is coming with the clouds of 'heaven'" ("Daniel 8," 81).

magnification to divine status.

In conclusion, the human imagery used for the horn in Dan 7 and for the king in 8:23-25 matches the depiction of the horn as anti-YHWH in the vision of Dan 8.

Time

Both chapters, Dan 7 and Dan 8, contain a prophetic time period. The two are different in length and, as I suggest, also different regarding the events they cover. It is the difference in the events they refer to that appears to be the key to explaining their different lengths of time.[1] The "time, times, and half a time" in Dan 7:25, an expression usually considered to be equal to 1260 days,[2] is the length of time of the persecution of the holy ones of the Most High. The period of "2300 evening-morning" in Dan 8:14b marks the length of time from the beginning of the vision until the divine intervention

---

[1]Other explanations are that the two time periods are true prophetic calculations for the same period, indicating successive postponement, or that the two periods should both be understood with symbolic significance (cf. pp. 346-348 n. 167 [footnote on the placement of the exact beginning and end date of the "2300 evening-morning" if understood as 1150 days]).

[2]The interpretations of the "period, periods and half a period" in Dan 7:25 are similar to those of the "2300 evening-morning" in 8:14. Most understand the phrase in 7:25 to be equal to three and a half periods or years, that is, 1260 days (even if עִדָּנִין is plural and not dual and פְּלַג designates more generally a part and not necessarily a half, the comparison with the similar phrase in Dan 12:7 and its context there verifies the traditional understanding). This would then refer to a specific period in the time of the Maccabees, often identified as the period between the temple desecration on Kislev 15 (Dec. 6), 167 and its purification on Kislev 25 (Dec. 14), 164 (e.g., Montgomery, 312-315; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 154; Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 322), or to a time in the future (Miller, *Daniel*, 214-215, for whom the small horn represents a future Antichrist), or some suggest that the 1260 days signify 1260 years according to a supposed prophetic day-year principle (Shea, *Daniel 7-12*, 140-141 [cf. 40-44]; Doukhan, *Secrets of Daniel*, 108-109). Still others prefer to interpret the "period, periods, and half a period" as a symbolic reference to a specifically allotted time for the small horn, a "broken seven," that is not without end and falls short of the full seven periods (e.g., Keil, 242-243; Young, 161-162; Leupold, 326; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 181; Stahl, "'Eine Zeit, Zeiten und die Hälfte einer Zeit,'" 482-484 [tentatively]; Lucas, *Daniel*, 194; Seow, *Daniel*, 112).

that brings an end to the horn's activities.[1] If the giving of the holy ones into the little horn's power (7:25) and the horn's trampling of some of the host of heaven (8:10, 13c) refer to the same event, the "2300 evening-morning" need to designate a longer period than the "three and a half times," since the former includes the latter (i.e., the time of the destructive activities of the horn).[2] This is another indication that the "2300 evening-morning" should be understood as 2300 days rather than 1150 days, since only then could this time period include the 1260 days of 7:25.[3]

Judgment: End of Anti-divine Power by Supernatural Intervention

The structural parallel between the chapters suggests that the divine response to the activities of the small horn in Dan 7, the judgment,[4] corresponds to the divine response to the horn's activities in Dan 8, the restoration of the holy. The theme of hubris followed by judgment, which is integral to the structural pattern of the vision report in chap. 8, is found three times in chap. 7. The hubris is always connected to the little horn

---

[1]See the remarks on הֶחָזוֹן (8:13c) in chapter 2 (above).

[2]For different suggestions of how to relate the two time periods in 7:25 and 8:14b, see pp. 374-375 n. 1 (above).

[3]In other words, the difference between the two time periods does not need to be explained diachronically, qualifying 8:14c as *Fortschreibung* to 7:25, but could receive a synchronic explanation that takes into account that both time periods appear next to each other in the final text and therefore should be conceived of equal textual value.

[4]The judgment motif in 7:9-10 is crystal-clear. In addition, Joseph M. Baumgarten assumes probably correctly that "it is implied, though not explicitly stated, that the role of the one like a son of man includes that of judgment" ("The Heavenly Tribunal and the Personification of Ṣedeq in Jewish Apocalyptic," *ANRW* 19.1:221). See the discussion of judgment passages in Dan 7 that includes vss. 9-14, 21-22, and 25 by Arthur J. Ferch, "The Judgment Scene in Daniel 7," in *The Sanctuary and the Atonement*, ed. A. V. Wallenkampf and W. R. Lesher (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1981), 157-176.

and in each instance is immediately followed by a description of divine judgment so as to make clear that the horn's presumptuousness causes the divine judgment (7:8 to 7:9-10, in 7:21 to 7:22, and in 7:25 to 7:26). As seen in the literary analysis, in chap. 8 the divine reaction to the horn's presumption is the restoration of the people and the sanctuary to their rightful state, which is unmistakably expressed by judicial terminology (עַד־מָתַי and צדק).

There is indeed a close relationship between judgment and restoration. The outcome of both is very similar. In chap. 7 the judgment in heaven carries a positive aspect for the holy ones: The judgment is "for" or "in favor of" them and they will finally take possession of God's kingdom (7:22).[1] At the same time the judgment brings the activities of the horn to their end and finally results in its annihilation (7:11, 26). The restoration of the holy to its rightful place mentioned in 8:14 has similar effects. It has a positive aspect for the sanctuary and the host of heaven as they are brought to their rightful and legitimate state. Since vs. 14 is the response to the question about the horn's destructive activities in vs. 13c, the restoration implies also that the horn's vigorous activity comes to its end; a fact more explicitly stated in the interpretation when the king "will be broken without human hand" (8:25). Thus, the restoration of the holy in Dan 8 corresponds in its effects to the judgment in heaven delineated in Dan 7.[2]

---

[1]A possible link between Dan 8:14 and 7:22 is hinted at by Lacocque's reference to 7:22 in his notes to נִצְדַּק (*The Book of Daniel*, 159). Apparently, he regards the idea of 7:22 that "justice is rendered to the Saints" (153) as an adequate description of the meaning of the root צדק in Daniel.

[2]A. Feuillet sees a specific parallel between the "justification" of the sanctuary and the enthronization and reign of the Son of Man (7:14) and of the saints (7:27), as well as a common thematic threat between the anointing of the sanctuary in 9:24, the coming of the Son of Man in 7:13-14, and God's avenging justification of the sanctuary in 8:14 ("Le Fils de l'homme de Daniel et la

Terminologically, the connection between the judgment in Dan 7 and the restoration in Dan 8 is indicated by the use of the temporal preposition עַד. In the Aramaic of chap. 7, עַד occurs eleven times, signaling in the vision temporal positioning nine times. In such a temporal sense עַד points specifically to a time of judgment (7:4, 9, 11, 22), after a given period of time (7:12, 25), and looks forward by describing the outcome of that judgment as lasting forever (7:18 [2x], 26).[1] The preposition עַד in its temporal sense is thus always indicating or referring to some aspect of divine judgment. One may say that temporal עַד has a judicial function in chap. 7. In the Hebrew of chap. 8, the only two temporal instances of עַד are found in vss. 13c and 14b.[2] They, too, point to a time of judgment or divine intervention after a given period of time. Based on its use in chap. 7 the preposition עַד could play a significant role here. When the celestial being asks the question עַד־מָתַי "until when?" (8:13c), one is reminded of the frequent use of the same temporal preposition in Dan 7 where it introduces the divine judgment and its consequences after the blasphemous activities of the horn. One expects that the answer in vs. 14b, "until (עַד) 2300 evening-morning," which uses the same preposition again, would continue with a reference to such a judgment. Instead it is said that the holy is

---

tradition biblique," *RB* 60 [1953]: 196-198). Nelis argues, maybe independently, the same (97). Both locate these events historically into the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the context of the profanation and subsequent dedication of the sanctuary. Others who see a connection between judgment in chap. 7 and restoration in chap. 8 include Ford (*Daniel*, 167), Hasel ("The 'Little Horn'" [1986], 458-460), Shea ("Unity of Daniel," 202-203, 208-209), and Doukhan (*Secrets of Daniel*, 127).

[1]In its other two occurrences in Dan 7, עַד once indicates primarily spatial positioning (vs. 13), and once it is used to designate the end of the revelation (vs. 28).

[2]Elsewhere in Dan 8, the preposition עַד is used to indicate spatial positioning, always with a verb of movement (in vs. 6 with בוא; in vss. 8, 10a, 11a with גדל).

brought to its rightful state (8:14c), inferring that this activity must be closely connected to the divine judgment in Dan 7. Although the preposition עַד presents an important linguistic link between the judgment in chap. 7 and the restoration in chap. 8, their relationship however rests primarily on structural and thematic correspondences.[1]

Finally, it is tempting to suggest that the close intertextual relationship of the divine judgment in Dan 7 and the restoration of the holy to its rightful place in Dan 8 points to another concept that comprises both of them, the Day of Atonement, for it is only on this cultic day that cleansing and judgment are prominent themes.[2] The final scenes of both the vision of Dan 7 and the vision of Dan 8 in this case would be understood in terms of an eschatological Day of Atonement. As we will see later, the vision of Dan 7 indeed contains cultic allusions that refer to the concept of the Day of Atonement.

Creation

In Dan 7, the use of creation imagery in the first part of the vision is obvious (vss.

---

[1]Another suggestion to link chap. 7 and chap. 8 is argued by Shea ("Unity of Daniel," 210-216). He sees a linguistic relationship between רמא/רמה in Dan 7:9 and שׁלךְ in Dan 8:11c, 12b. He assumes, first, that the root meaning of BA רמא/רמה which is "cast down" corresponds to the meaning of BH שׁלךְ, and second, that the object of שׁלךְ in Dan 8:11c (Shea mistakenly refers to 8:12), which is מְכוֹן "foundation place," not only refers to the foundation place of the whole sanctuary, but more specifically to the foundation place of the throne of God. Hence, in Dan 8 it was the foundation of the sanctuary or God's throne that was "cast down" by the horn while in the heavenly court scene in Dan 7 it was God's throne "cast down" upon its foundation in order to begin the judgment and thus the restoration of what the horn has done. For Shea, the setting up of thrones for the judgment is a direct response to the casting down of God's throne by the little horn. Furthermore, he argues for a relation between the root רמא/רמה in 7:9 and the root רום in 8:11b on the basis of their similar phonology. However, these arguments are not entirely convincing. They do not indicate a linguistic relationship, at best only a broad thematic relation.

[2]See Gane, *Cult and Character*, 305-309.

2-8), while it seems to be rather inferred than explicit in the judgment and enthronement scenes (vss. 9-14).[1] The allusions to creation are often traced back to elements of ancient Near Eastern chaos combat myths, which the author supposedly incorporated.[2] At the same time, there are clear connections to the creation story in Genesis.[3] The mention of the "great sea" (vs. 2) and the "four winds of heaven" that stir the sea and as it were produce four beasts (vss. 2-3) both seem to recall Gen 1:2.[4] The four beasts, with the exception of the second one, have the physical appearance of hybrid creatures and thus are "violations of the natural order that God set up in creation, and by implication the

---

[1]For creation imagery and allusions to creation in Dan 7 see Doukhan, "Allusions," 288; Robert R. Wilson, "Creation and New Creation: The Role of Creation Imagery in the Book of Daniel," in *God Who Creates: Essays in Honor of W. Sibley Towner*, ed. W. P. Brown and S. D. McBride, Jr. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 190-203; André LaCocque, "Allusions to Creation in Daniel 7," 1:114-131.

[2]See recently, e.g., John J. Collins, "Stirring up the Great Sea: The Religio-Historical Background of Daniel 7," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL, no. 106 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 121-136; Wilson, "Creation," 190-203; John Walton, "The *Anzu* Myth as Relevant Background for Daniel 7?" in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, VTSup, no. 83, FIOTL, no. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1:69-89; LaCocque, "Allusions," 1:116-119.

[3]The intertextual relationship between Dan 7 and Gen 1 has been recognized, for example, by Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 329; Hartman in Hartmann and Di Lella, 211; Paul G. Mosca, "Ugarit and Daniel 7: A Missing Link," *Bib* 67 (1986): 500 n. 19; Doukhan, "Allusions," 288; Haag, "Der Menschensohn," 159; Wilson, "Creation," 191, 201-202; and LaCocque, "Allusions," 1:122, 127-128.

[4]Anne E. Gardner suggests that the "great sea" in Dan 7:2 draws especially upon a tradition of a mythological sea in Ps 104:25-26 (see also Ps 74:13-14 and Isa 51:9-10, which, for her, testify together with Ps 104:25-26 to a blurring of the distinction between an actual and a mythological sea), which has either direct or indirect links to Gen 1 ("The Great Sea of Dan. vii 2," *VT* 49 [1999]: 412-415, esp. 415 n. 12). Klaus Koch even proposes that the "four winds of heaven" in Dan 7:2, beyond an intertextual evocation of Gen 1:2, is a *genitivus auctoris* and implies that the four beasts originate from divine creation ("Die Winde des Himmels über dem Chaosmeer [Dan 7,1f]: Schöpfung oder Chaos?" in *"Unter dem Fußboden ein Tropfen Wahrheit": Festschrift für Johann Michael Schmidt zum 65jährigen Geburtstag*, ed. H.-J. Barkenings and U. F. W. Bauer [Düsseldorf: Presseverband der Evangelischen Kirche im Rheinland e.V., 2000], 46-55).

kings and kingdoms that they represent are also violations of the order."[1] One gains the impression that "the world has reverted to its pre-creation state and is clearly in need of re-creation."[2] In this setting, the divine judgment in the second part of the vision seemingly implies re-creation,[3] a creation that will subdue the chaos and establish order by the enthronement of "one like a son of man," who has been suggested to function as a "universal, 'Adamic' figure."[4] Such a connection between kingship/enthronement and creation is a familiar one in ancient Near Eastern thought.[5]

In Dan 8, creation terminology is most evident in vs. 14b in the use of the expression "evening-morning." It characterizes the restoration of the holy as God's re-creation. The activities of the horn which necessitate the re-creation are not explicitly expressed in creation imagery, although the symbolic throwing down of stars to the ground and their being trampled (vs. 10) implies a violation of the natural order.

These explicit and implicit references to creation in Dan 7 and Dan 8 intertwine both chapters. The vision in Dan 7 moves from an unordered state, from a violation of creation order (explicitly alluding to the creation account in Gen 1), to re-creation (implicit allusion to creation). In like manner, the vision in Dan 8 moves from an attack

---

[1]Wilson, "Creation," 202.

[2]Ibid.

[3]LaCocque, "Allusions," 1:115: "The divine judgement is re-creation."

[4]Ibid., 1:125, cf. 1:122. In fact, the movement from the four winds of heaven that stir up the great sea to the coming of "one like a son of man" is reminiscent of the movement in Gen 1 from the waters to the creation of the human being (cf. Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "The High Priest as Divine Mediator in the Hebrew Bible: Dan 7:13 as a Test Case," *SBLSP* 36 (1997): 167).

[5]Wilson, "Creation," 192; LaCocque, "Allusions," 1:124.

on creation (implicit allusion to creation) to re-creation (explicit allusion to the creation account in Gen 1). It thus appears that Dan 8:14, by using creation language in combination with the divine response to the horn's activities, intentionally continues the practice of alluding to creation in chap. 7 (see table 43).

Table 43. Creation Theme in Daniel 7 and 8

	Daniel 7	Daniel 8
Human Kingdoms	Violation of creation (vss. 2-8) *Lexical link to Gen 1 (Dan 7:2)*	Violation of creation (vss. 10-11)
Divine Response	Re-creation (vss. 9-10, 13-14): Heavenly judgment Enthronement of the son of man	Re-creation (vss. 14b-c): Restoration of the "holy" *Lexical link to Gen 1 (Dan 8:14b)*

In both visions the little horn is marked as being against creation. In Dan 7 it belongs to the beast powers that do not comply with the divine order of division between animal kinds.[1] In Dan 8 it oversteps the natural order by not respecting the division between heaven and earth and bringing stars down to earth. In both visions the eschatological divine response to the horn's activities is creation, particularly re-creation: in Dan 7 in terms of heavenly judgment and enthronement of one like a son of man and in Dan 8 in terms of restoring the "holy" to its right state.[2] Thus, the divine judgment in

[1]Cf. Bryan, 213-248.

[2]Once more Köhler's dictum is confirmed that "creation in Old Testament theology is an eschatological concept" (Ludwig Köhler, *Old Testament Theology*, trans. A. S. Todd [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957], 88).

heaven and the enthronement of the son of man are linked to the restoration of the sanctuary and the host of heaven to their rightful position.

At the same time the combination of the themes of creation or re-creation and divine judgment in both Dan 7 and Dan 8 again evokes the concept of an eschatological Day of Atonement.[1] Thus it is appropriate to consider the cultic associations in Dan 7 next.

Cult

One of the major motifs in Dan 8 is the cultic motif. At first sight, the cultic element seems to be absent in Dan 7 so much so that it is not surprising when Gese concludes that "the substantially new material in chap. 8 is the cultic wantonness of the horn."[2] Within the scope of an intertextual analysis one might legitimately pose the question whether the cultic theme, which is so prominent in Dan 8, and also in Dan 9 and 10–12, does not already show itself in Dan 7. In general, such a question, if addressed at all, has been answered to the negative. However, an intertextual reading of Dan 7 in light of Dan 8 heightens the awareness of subtle cultic overtones in chap. 7.[3]

A cultic framework of the vision in Dan 7 has been proposed by only a few

---

[1]See chapter 3 (above).

[2]Gese, 407.

[3]In a diachronic reading that puts chap. 7 originally together with chaps. 2–6 to form a so-called Aramaic book (that is, before chaps. 8–12 were added at a later stage), it is somewhat more difficult to argue for cultic overtones existent in chap. 7 itself. This is probably one of the reasons why a cultic setting for chap. 7, or at least a cultic motif in chap. 7, has not yet been proposed more convincingly. Still, a possible indication within the framework of such an Aramaic book would be the parallel of the divine intervention in chap. 2 and in chap. 7 (see below).

scholars. Based on the parallel between Dan 2 and Dan 7, Lacocque is convinced that "the vision in chapter 7 has the Temple as its framework" and at its climax portrays "the enthronement of the 'son of man' as High Priest."[1] The structural and functional parallel of the mountain in chap. 2 and the divine judgment scene with the coming of one like a son of man in chap. 7 points indeed to a cultic setting of the heavenly scenes in 7:9-10, 13-14.[2] Unfortunately, Lacocque does not point to specific cultic associations in chap. 7 itself.

Himmelfarb's work provides some more explicit textual reasons for a cultic setting of Dan 7, although her primary focus is 1 Enoch 14. Evidently, the throne vision

---

[1]Lacocque, *Daniel*, 124-126. He identifies the one like a son of man with the heavenly-earthly community of the saints of the Most High, that is, the people of Israel (133, 146), who are represented by the angel Michael (133-134). For him, the one like a son of man stands for both Michael and God's people.

[2]Both scenes, the mountain in Dan 2 and the heavenly judgment and the coming of one like a son of man in Dan 7, come after a fourth, iron kingdom and end the succession of four world powers by establishing the kingdom of God (the parallel between Dan 2 and Dan 7 is obvious and has long been noted [e.g., Lenglet, 171-182], although the exact relationship between the two may be debatable [Bryan, 213-214]). If it is argued that the "great mountain" in 2:35 is a cultic symbol and evokes the preeminent cultic space of Mount Zion, the Temple Mount (so Lacocque, *Daniel*, 124; Vogel, "Cultic Motif," 55-68, who even suggests that the mountain in 2:45, out of which the stone that becomes a great mountain is cut out, "is an evocation of the cultic notion of the universal mountain of God where his sanctuary is located and from whence his judgments emanate" [64], in other words, "the heavenly sanctuary mountain" [68]; G. K. Beale, *The Temple and the Church's Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God*, New Studies in Biblical Theology, no. 17 [Downers Grove: InterVarsity; Leicester: Apollos, 2004], 144-153; for a cultic association via language see Koch; *Daniel*, BKAT, 1:188: "when the cosmic mountain in 2:35 is called טור in Aramaic, the primary reader is probably reminded of Hebrew statements about the cultic significance of צור = rock"; for the general association of the cosmic mountain with Zion traditions in the Hebrew Bible see Richard J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, HSM, no. 4 [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972], 131-160; cf. also Edward F. Siegman, "The Stone Hewn from the Mountain [Daniel 2]," *CBQ* 18 [1956]: 370-373), then the divine judgment with the coming of the son of man in chap. 7 should at least be investigated for a cultic focus. Fletcher-Louis proposes on the basis of the literary parallelism between Dan 2 and Dan 7 a link between the mountain, that is, Zion and her Temple, and the divine judgment, which for him then takes place at the cosmic mountain (174-175).

in Dan 7:9-10 finds a close parallel in the description of God on his throne in 1 Enoch 14:20. Himmelfarb argues that the divine council portrayed in these chapters—and the purpose of the heavenly council is always judgment (1 Kgs 22:19; Isa 6:1; Ps 82; Zech 3:1-10; Job 1:6-12; 2:1-6)—should be understood as convening in the heavenly temple. In other words, the heavenly throne room or courtroom is a temple,[1] more precisely the holy of holies of the heavenly sanctuary.[2] Several elements in Dan 7 and 1 Enoch 14 support their temple setting. According to Himmelfarb, the fiery streams in Dan 7 originated in the ancient traditions of the divine council at the cosmic mountain of God/El where rivers flow at its base. These rivers "have been transferred in biblical literature to the temple mount."[3] To describe God's hair and his garment as white is not only a symbolism of judgment,[4] Himmelfarb also relates the whiteness of God's robe in 1 Enoch 14 to the picture of heaven as temple. The emphasis on the garment in 1 Enoch 14 "may indicate that the plain linen garment that the high priest wore when he entered the holy of holies, the earthly counterpart of the spot where God sits enthroned in the heavenly temple, contributed to the whiteness of the garment in 1 Enoch 14."[5] Whereas

---

[1]Himmelfarb, 14-17. So also George W. E. Nickelsburg for 1 Enoch 14:8-23 (*1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108*, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001], 256) and Loron Wade for Dan 7 ("'Son of Man' Comes to the Judgment in Daniel 7:13," *JATS* 11/1-2 [2000]: 279). The connection between palace (throne room) and temple (sanctuary) is furthermore explicit in the semantic range of BH הֵיכָל which can refer to both palace and temple.

[2]So Nickelsburg (*1 Enoch 1*, 264) with reference to 1 Enoch 14:18-20.

[3]Himmelfarb, 17.

[4]So Lacocque, *Daniel*, 143.

[5]Himmelfarb, 18. One could add to the list of temple allusions the suggestion by Nickelsburg that 1 Enoch 14:23 "may indicate some kind of cultic activity on the part of the holy ones" (*1 Enoch 1*,

Himmelfarb thus tries to demonstrate a Day of Atonement setting for 1 Enoch 14, she is virtually silent about such a setting for Dan 7. For her, the difference between Dan 7 and 1 Enoch 14 seems to lie in the fact that Dan 7 also mentions that the hair or beard is white and thus the emphasis does not appear to be on the whiteness of the garment. However, the description of the enthroned God in Dan 7:9 indeed could be influenced by the (high) priestly dress. The fact that in Daniel the angels are wearing garments of בַּד "white linen" (Dan 10:5; 12:6-7), a term used for the priestly garment,[1] suggests that the whiteness of the robe and the hair of the Ancient of Days contribute to the priestly background of the heavenly throne room scene in Dan 7.

Fletcher-Louis moves a step further than Himmelfarb and explicitly suggests a Day of Atonement setting for Dan 7.[2] While Himmelfarb sees the tradition-historical relationship from Dan 7 to 1 Enoch 14, Fletcher-Louis holds the opinion that Dan 7:9-14 is dependent upon 1 Enoch 14 which describes Enoch's ascent to heaven and vision, using the imagery of wheels of God's throne, rivers of fire, God's snow-white garment, and a human figure coming with clouds. However, Enoch, who also comes to God in the clouds, is not the son of man. Rather, both Enoch and the one like a son of man are priests.[3] Fletcher-Louis believes that the background of the Enoch passage is the Day of

---

265).

[1]Cf. Haran, *Temples*, 173-174; even noted by Himmelfarb, 18. See also Ezek 9:2-3, 11; 10:2, 6-7 for angels dressed in linen; cf. Mal 2:7 where the priest is called the messenger or angel of YHWH of hosts (מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה־צְבָאוֹת).

[2]Fletcher-Louis, 161-193. *Yom Kippur* as backdrop to the heavenly scene in Dan 7 is also assumed by Wade (279-280).

[3]Ibid., 176-181, esp. 176.

Atonement ritual[1] so that "Enoch's heavenly ascent looks most like the high priest's annual visit to the holy of holies on the Day of Atonement."[2] His conclusion is that if Dan 7 is parallel to 1 Enoch 14, the coming of the "one like a son of man" into God's presence surrounded by clouds parallels Enoch's ascent related to the Day of Atonement ritual and thus "the parallel to 1 Enoch 14 suggests Daniel 7 has a Day of Atonement focus."[3]

Whatever the precise relationship between Dan 7 and 1 Enoch 14 may be, it does not affect the observation that Dan 7 contains elements that point to its cultic or high priestly setting. Drawing from the book of Daniel itself as well as from the ancient Near Eastern context, Fletcher-Louis gives several reasons, and the strongest case so far, for a temple-centered reading of Dan 7.[4] First, because of the focus on temple and cult in Dan 8–12, to which chap. 7 is linked at least by its form and perhaps also by its *Sitz im Leben*, "we might expect that *it also* has a temple focus."[5] Second, the book's implied authorship has often been identified as priestly or at least as closely related to priestly circles.[6] Third, Dan 7 combines "Jerusalem centered geography and mythological space."

---

[1]Cf. Kvanvig's proposal that 1 Enoch 10:4-8 is influenced by the living goat ritual on the Day of Atonement (*Roots*, 100, 102).

[2]Fletcher-Louis, 180.

[3]Ibid., 181.

[4]Ibid., 169-176.

[5]Ibid., 170 (emphasis his).

[6]To substantiate the claim of an origin of the book of Daniel in priestly circles Fletcher-Louis refers to (1) the description of Daniel and his friends similar to priests in Dan 1:4; (2) the mention of the מַשְׂכִּלִים "wise" who teach the רַבִּים "many" (11:33; 12:3, 10) as reference to priesthood and laity; and (3) the Old Greek addition of *Bel et Draco* 2 depicting Daniel as a priest (171-172). Others who

This twofold concept is exemplified by the "great sea" in 7:2. On the one hand it designates the Mediterranean and thus suggests that the vision "moves spatially in v. 9 from the pagan coastline to Jerusalem and the temple as the site of God's earthly throne-room."[1] On the other hand it also designates the mythological *Chaosmeer* and thus evokes the ancient Near Eastern thought pattern of the *Chaoskampf* which is "fundamentally temple centred."[2] According to this thought pattern "Mount Zion is the epicentre of all cosmic conflict."[3] As elsewhere, so also in Dan 7: The temple is the center of judgment, both of pronouncement and execution, and of creation and recreation. Fourth, the literary parallelism between Dan 2 and Dan 7 points to an intertextual link between the mountain in chap. 2, that is, Zion and her Temple, and the divine judgment in chap. 7 which is understood to take place at the cosmic mountain. And fifth, the impurity of the *Mischwesen* that represent the pagan chaos in 7:4-8 has to be countered by Zion, the source of true purity, in 7:9-10, 13-14.[4]

It is at this point that the cultic background of the scene in Dan 7:9-14 should be

---

see the book as interpretation of political events from a priestly-cultic perspective include J. C. H. Lebram ("Apokalyptik and Hellenismus im Buche Daniel," 515) and André Lacocque who proposes that "apocalypticism may have originated in priestly circles within the Hasidic movement" ("The Socio-Spiritual Formative Milieu of the Daniel Apocalypse," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL, no. 106 [Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993], 335-336).

[1]Fletcher-Louis, 174.

[2]Ibid., 172.

[3]Ibid, 173.

[4]Ibid., 175-176. Fletcher-Louis follows here the concept of "kosher mentality" argued by Bryan.

linked with the Day of Atonement. The removal of impurity, as signified by the *Mischwesen*, by the coming of the one like a son of man corresponds to the removal of impurity on the Day of Atonement in the Torah. In a temple setting, the coming of the one like a son of man "with the clouds of heaven" naturally brings to mind the entrance of the high priest with the clouds of incense on the Day of Atonement. Not surprisingly then, Fletcher-Louis proposes that the "clouds are the cosmological equivalent of the Temple's incense smoke."[1]

In addition to Fletcher-Louis's observations, one should also point to vs. 13 in which the language of the approach of the "one like a son of man" has cultic overtones: וּקְדָמוֹהִי הַקְרְבוּהִי "he was presented before him" (7:13).[2] The obvious meaning is that the "one like a son of man" was presented before the Ancient of Days. Besides "bringing" the verbal root קרב also contains the notion of "presenting" sacrificial gifts, especially when it is used in the Haphel stem.[3] The latter connotation, however, does not

---

[1]Ibid., 181-186, citation on p. 182.

[2]The third person plural הַקְרְבוּהִי (literally: "they presented him"; cf. Old Greek: οἱ παρεστηκότες παρῆσαν αὐτῷ "and the attendants presented him" with the identification of "one like a son of man" with the "Ancient of Days") should be understood as an impersonal pseudo-passive construction typical for Biblical Hebrew (cf. Theodotion: προσήχθη αὐτῷ "he was presented to him").

[3]In BA the idea of approaching or coming near is usually expressed by קרב in the Peal (Dan 3:8, 26; 6:13, 21; 7:16), whereas the notion of offering is expressed by קרב in the Haphel (Ezra 6:10, 17) or קרב in the Pael (Ezra 7:17) (see Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten* [Göttingen: Vandehoeck & Ruprecht, 1984], 685-686; *HALOT*, 5:1972; for the lack of differentiation between Pael and Haphel in Biblical Aramaic see Bauer and Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, 274 [§76n]). However, this distinction may be simply due to different contexts, for in BH קרב + לִפְנֵי can mean "to offer before" (Lev 3:1, 7, 12; 6:7; 9:2; 10:19; 12:7; 17:4; Num 3:4; 6:16; 7:10; 8:9, 10; 26:61; 1 Chr 16:1) or "to bring before" (Exod 29:10; Num 7:3; 16:17; 17:3; 27:5; Ezek 43:24), with some texts offering both possibilities. The cultic context of these passages is, except for Num 27:5, indisputable. In sum, קרב hif. is "primarily a technical term in cultic language" (J. Kühlewein, "קרב *qrb* to approach," TLOT, 3:1167) and for persons it is used

seem to fit into the context of 7:13, where the root קרב appears to indicate a "formal presentation" rather than a sacrificial offering of the one like a son of man.[1] Still, a cultic touch of וּקְדָמוֹהִי הַקְרְבוּהִי cannot be categorically denied, in particular, since the author could have used, like elsewhere, the more common אתה in the Haphel (Dan 3:13; 5:13; 6:17, 25) or in the Hophal (Dan 3:13; 6:18, 25[?]) if only the idea of the bringing of persons had to be expressed.[2]

In conclusion, the numerous cultic indicators strongly suggest a cultic setting of the heavenly throne room scene in Dan 7:9-14, and the most natural cultic setting is the Day of Atonement. Therefore, "Dan 7:9-14 describes the eschatological Day of Atonement (perhaps a Jubilee) when the true high priest will come to the Ancient of Days surrounded by clouds of incense."[3] As on the Day of Atonement "the entry into the adytum is equivalent to admission to the heavenly council,"[4] so the admission to the heavenly council of the one like a son of man in Dan 7:13 should be seen as equivalent to

---

for "conducting someone to the holy tent (Exod 29:4, 8, etc.)" (ibid., 1168). Thus, in BH קרב is a verb used to mean "approach" in the cultic sense (Ezek 44:15, 16; 45:4), especially in the Hiphil, although a variety of specific usages can be noted (ibid., 3:1165-1166; R. Gane and J. Milgrom, "קָרַב *qārab̲*," *TDOT*, 13:141-143). Significant is that in a judicial context BH קרב can designate a person approaching another person in a situation that calls for a legal decision. Daniel 7:13-14 could to some extent present such a judicial procedure if one views the legal decision to be the transference of power to the one like a son of man.

[1]Gane and Milgrom, 13:146.

[2]אתה in the Haphel is used for the bringing of things in Dan 5:2, 3, 23. The prepositional noun קֳדָם "in front" or "before," which is used in 7:13 with the verbal root קרב, is also found with אתה in the Hophal (3:13). קֳדָם is also used with the verbal root עלל "bring in" (in the Haphel in 2:25; 4:3; 6:19; in the Hophal in 5:13, 15).

[3]Fletcher-Louis, 186.

[4]Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 1016.

the entry into the heavenly adytum. Whereas Fletcher-Louis argues that the one like a son of man is an angelomorphic high priest, I would rather suggest that this figure represents an anthropomorphic heavenly high priest, who is either angelic or divine. The latter interpretation would allow for a parallel to the figure of the "commander of the host of heaven" in Dan 8:11, who seems to be in an equivalent position to the one like a son of man, both being representatives of the host of heaven, respectively the holy ones of the Most High.[1]

Thus different cultic allusions in the vision of Dan 7—impurity of the *Mischwesen*, fire, whiteness of garment, judgment, the presenting of the one like a son of man, and his coming with clouds—converge in the concept of the Day of Atonement. In this regard, the contribution of Dan 7 to the understanding of Dan 8 is twofold. It prepares for the extensive use of cultic imagery in the vision report of Dan 8 and it sets the tone for the Day of Atonement theme.

Differences

At least three differences between Dan 7 and Dan 8 need to be observed. First, the animal imagery of Dan 7 uses four strange beasts, whereas the animal imagery of Dan 8 uses two familiar animals: the ram and he-goat. In light of the cultic interest in Dan 8 and the temple or Day of Atonement setting of the vision of Dan 7, there is no denying

[1]In fact, an angelic or divine nature of the one like a son of man would fit better to an assumed Canaanite mythic backdrop against which the role of the one like a son of man is often compared with the role of Baal (for scholars who suggest such a comparison, see Jürg Eggler, *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2-14: The Research History from the End of the 19th Century to the Present*, OBO, no. 177 [Fribourg: University Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000], 58-70; LaCocque, "Allusions," 1:116-124; Heiser, 152-182).

the possibility that the ram and the he-goat represent imagery taken from the Day of Atonement, when both אַיִל "ram" and עֵז "goat" are sacrificed for Israel (Lev 16:5).[1] This kind of animal imagery prepares the reader for a Day of Atonement setting of Dan 8:14. Others usually suggest as background of the animal imagery ancient astrology, which assigned the signs of the zodiac to different kingdoms and empires: the ram would stand for Persia and the he-goat for Syria.[2]

Second, whereas the conflict theme between the animals appears not to be the emphasis in the vision of Dan 7—only the fourth beast is trampling down and before the little horn three others are rooted up—the vision of Dan 8 shows an intense power struggle between the ram and the he-goat, as well as fierce aggression by the horn.

And third, God appears to be much more involved in Dan 7 than in Dan 8. Besides the heavenly scenes in Dan 7:9-14 and their corresponding interpretations, the frequent occurrence of passive forms in Dan 7 implies that God is in control and active behind the scene.[3] One of these passive forms occurs in 7:25 where it says that the holy ones "will be given" into the hand of the little horn. That this will last for a specific period of time is again an indicator that it is God who is ultimately in control, even over the time of persecution which the horn is allowed to bring on the holy ones. In contrast, in the vision and interpretation of Dan 8 God seems to be much less involved. He is

---

[1]So also Doukhan, *Secrets of Daniel*, 126.

[2]Bauer, *Daniel*, 167-168.

[3]On divine passives in Dan 7 see Altpeter, 112. In regard to Dan 7, T. J. Meadowcroft points out rightly that "the Aramaic use of passive forms creates a nuance of divine workmanship lying behind events" (*Aramaic Daniel*, 243-244, cf. 209-210; "Who are the Princes?" 105).

almost absent, which is the reason for the painful question of the celestial being in vs. 13. The use of the six passive forms in the vision and interpretation illustrates the point.[1] The vision report itself contains four passives: הֻשְׁלַךְ "was thrown down" (8:11c) and תִּנָּתֵן "will be given/established" (8:12a) reflect activities of the little horn,[2] while possibly נִשְׁבְּרָה "was broken" (8:8), and certainly וְנִצְדַּק "will be restored" (8:14c) refer to the divine hand. In the interpretation only two passives are used: הַנִּשְׁבֶּרֶת " the broken one" (8:22) refers to נִשְׁבְּרָה "was broken" in 8:8, possibly being another indication of divine involvement, and the passive form יִשָּׁבֵר "will be broken" (8:25), which is the final clause in the interpretative section of the horn/king, definitely signals divine engagement. Thus, there is no allusion to God's presence whatsoever in the description of the ram, a possible one at the end of the he-goat's large horn (8:8, 22), and a clear indication at the end of the section of the horn/king (8:14c, 25). The other passive forms (8:11c, 12a), which have the horn as subject, could allude to the fact that the horn plays the role of God.

Conclusion

The intertextual contribution of Dan 7 to the understanding of Dan 8:9-14 is immense. The structural and thematic comparison between them has shown that the small horn in chap. 7 and the one in chap. 8 have the same referent. The self-magnifying

---

[1]Outside the visionary and interpretative contents passive forms are used to describe the supernatural source of Daniel's experience (נִרְאָה "appeared" in 8:1 [2x]; and נֶאֱמַר "told" in 8:26) and Daniel's reaction to it (נִבְעַתִּי "I was terrified" in 8:17; נִרְדַּמְתִּי "I fell into heavy sleep" in 8:18; and נִהְיֵיתִי "I was exhausted," נֶחֱלֵיתִי "I was weak," and וָאֶשְׁתּוֹמֵם "I was astounded" in 8:27).

[2]It is important to note again the different connotations of the phrases with the verb "to give" in Dan 7:25 (יהב in BA) and in 8:12a (נתן in BH) for syntactic and semantic reasons. See comments on Dan 8:12a in chapter 2.

attitude and religious interest of the horn as well as its assaults on the holy ones and on God are just a few of the more prominent similarities. The structural comparison also supports the analysis of the origin of the horn in chap. 8 as not stemming from the he-goat. Furthermore, as the vision in chap. 7 exhibits a course "from trauma to dream,"[1] the vision in chap. 8, especially its climax, also moves from trauma to dream.

Probably the most important contribution of the intertextual analysis between Dan 7 and Dan 8:9-14 lies in the connection of the three themes of judgment, creation, and cult. Reading chap. 8 in light of chap. 7 adds emphasis to the theme of judgment as expressed by וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ in 8:14c. At the same time, reading chap. 7 in light of 8:9-14 sensitizes the reader to the cultic overtones present in chap. 7, in particular as expressed by the coming of the one like a son of man in vs. 13. Both themes, judgment/restoration as well as cult, are combined with the theme of creation. I argue that such an intertextual interplay between chap. 7 and chap. 8 is designed intentionally and not at all accidental. As suggested, a possible focal point of this intertextual web seems to be the concept of an eschatological Day of Atonement, in which the themes of cult, judgment, restoration, and re-creation find their center. The promised restoration in 8:14 is therefore not merely linked to judgment and creation but also strongly connected to an eschatological Day of Atonement, to which the vision of chap. 8 already pointed.

Intertextual Relations between Daniel 8:9-14 and Daniel 9

The corresponding terms in Dan 8:9-14 and Dan 9, as well as thematic and

[1]Oskar Dangl, "Vom Traum zum Trauma: Apokalyptische Literatur im aktuellen Kontext," *Protokolle zur Bibel* 6 (1997): 130.

structural links, are presented in the following list.

Lexical correspondences

Keyword links

אֱמֶת (8:12, 26; 9:13)
חָזוֹן (8:1, 2 [2x], 13, 15, 17, 26; 9:21, 24)
מִקְדָּשׁ (8:11; 9:17)
עֶרֶב (8:14, 26; 9:21)
פֶּשַׁע (8:12, 13; 9:24 and verb פשע in 8:23)
קֹדֶשׁ (8:13, 14; 9:16, 20, 24 [3x], 26 (11:28, 30 [2x], 45; 12:7)
שׁמם (8:13, 27; 9:17, 18, 26, 27 [2x])
אמר "say" (8:14, 17; 9:22)—a celestial being speaking to Daniel
צדק (8:14; 9:24)

Thematic word links

רמס "trample down" (8:10c) // שׁחת "destroy" (9:26)

Incidental correspondences

אֶחָד "one" (8:3 [2x], 9 [2x], 13 [2x]; 9:1, 2, 27)
אמר "say" (8:13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 26; 9:4 [9:22 see under keyword links])
אֶרֶץ "land" (8:5 [2x], 7, 10, 12, 18; 9:6, 7, 15)
דבר "speak" (8:13 [2x], 18; 9:6, 12, 20, 21, 22)
יצא "go forth" (8:9; 9:15, 22, 23, 25 [מֹצָא])
נפל "fall" (8:10, 17; 9:18, 20)
נתן "give" (8:12, 13; 9:3, 10)
עשׂה "do" (8:4, 12, 24, 27; 9:12 [2x], 14, 15, 19)
שַׂר "prince" (8:11, 25 [2x]; 9:6, 8)
שָׁמַיִם "heaven" (8:8, 10; 9:12)
שׁמע "hear" (8:13, 16; 9:6, 10, 11, 14, 17, 18, 19)

Thematic similarities

Understanding
Concern for people and cult
Concern for time
Conflict

Structural similarities

No structural similarities on a formal level can be detected.[1]

---

[1]Recently, Donn Walter Leatherman suggested that Dan 8 and Dan 9 form a "single extended apocalyptic visionary experience" that comprises a series of structural elements similar to those of Dan 7: the vision consisting of a series of animals (7:2-6; 8:2-8a), horns (7:7-12; 8:8b-12), and an

Lexical correspondences also exist between the rest of Dan 8 and Dan 9 that strengthen their relationship:

Keyword links
ראה "see" (8:1 [2x], 2 [3x], 3, 4, 6, 7, 15, 20; 9:18, 21)
תְּחִלָּה "before" (8:1; 9:21, 23)
אֲנִי דָנִיֵּאל "I, Daniel"[1] (8:1, 15, 27; 9:2)[2]

---

eschatological event (7:13-14; 8:13-14), and the interpretation consisting of an initial inquiry (7:15-16; 8:15), a preliminary explanation (7:17-18; 8:16-26), a supplemental inquiry (7:19-20; 9:4-19), a supplemental vision (7:21-22; 9:20-23), and a supplemental explanation (7:23-27; 9:24-27) ("Structural Considerations regarding the Relation of Daniel 8 & Daniel 9," in *The Cosmic Battle for Planet Earth: Essays in Honor of Norman R. Gulley*, ed. R. du Preez and J. Moskala [Berrien Springs: Old Testament Department, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 2003], 293-305). Although such a structural comparison would confirm the strong connection between Dan 8 and Dan 9, and thus the use of Dan 9 for the interpretation of Dan 8, there are several weak points. First, Leatherman excludes 8:27 and 9:1-3 from his structural comparison, interpreting it as necessary material for the narrative but having no function in the structure of the vision. Second, Dan 8:27 has to be interpreted as "narrative transition" (304 n. 20) that concludes the preliminary explanation. However, in chap. 7 a very similar reference to the effects on the prophet concludes the entire visionary experience (7:28). Formally, 8:27 should better be interpreted as the conclusion of the vision in Dan 8. Third, 9:1-3 which Leatherman regards as "narrative introduction" to chap. 9 (304 n. 21) could equally be regarded as the introduction to the prophet's experience indicating time and occasion, like similarly in 7:1-2a and 8:1-2. Fourth, the supplemental vision in 7:19-20 is indeed an elaboration of the vision, whereas 9:20-23, which according to Leatherman constitutes the structurally corresponding supplemental vision to 7:19-20, recounts the appearance of the angel Gabriel and his prefatory remarks to Daniel, but do not supplement in any way the vision of Dan 8. Fifth, Leatherman corresponds structurally the visionary's inquiry in 7:19-20 with the prayer in 9:14-19. The supposed inquiry about the vision of Dan 8 in Daniel's prayer would be more implicit than explicit. In fact, Daniel's prayer finds its *raison d'être* in a time prophecy of Jeremiah (9:2) and primarily is inquiring about that time instead of asking about Dan 8. And finally, the length of the units designated as "supplemental inquiry" varies quite extensively in size, covering two verses in chap. 7 but sixteen verses in chap. 9. Such a comparison seems to be rather imbalanced.

[1]The inconspicuous combination of the personal pronoun first person singular with a personal name is a special characteristic of the book of Daniel (aside from the combination with a divine name) and occurs also in 10:2, 7; 12:5 and in Aramaic in 7:15, 28. Outside Daniel this construction occurs in BH only in Eccl 1:12 and in BA in Ezra 6:12; 7:21. This autobiographic stylistic device in Daniel unites chaps. 7–12 and indicates the authority of the writer (cf. Hansjörg Rigger, *Siebzig Siebener: Die "Jahrwochenprophetie" in Dan 9*, TThSt, no. 57 [Trier: Paulinus, 1997], 130-134, who, however, explains that the pseudonym "I, Daniel" indicates authoritative "scribal prophecy" produced by prophetic scriptural exegesis, in contrast to the revelation of the word in "classical prophecy").

[2]Compare the use of אֲנִי by Daniel in 8:2 (2x), 5; 9:20, 21; 10:4, 8, 9, 17; 12:8; and also אֲנָה נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר in 4:1, 31, 34.

בין "understand" (8:5, 16, 17, 23, 27; 9:2, 22, 23, 23)
בקשׁ "seek" (8:15; 9:3)
מַרְאֶה "vision" (8:15, 16, 26; 9:23)
גַּבְרִיאֵל "Gabriel" (8:16; 9:21)
קֵץ "end" (8:17, 19; 9:26)
דבר עִמִּי "speak with me" (8:18; 9:21)
ידע "know" (8:19; 9:25)
נגע "touch," "approach" (8:18; 9:21)
מָדַי "Media" (8:20; 9:1)
שׁחת hif. "destroy," "ruin" (8:24 [2x], 25; 9:26; 11:17)
רַבִּים "many" referring to persons (8:25; 9:27)

Incidental correspondences
מֶלֶךְ "king" (8:1, 20, 21 [2x], 23, 27; 9:1, 2, 6, 8)
מַלְכוּת "kingdom" (8:1, 22, 23; 9:1)
בוא qal "come" (8:5, 6, 17 [2x]; 9:13, 23, 26; בוא hif. "bring" 9:12, 14, 24)
פָּנֶה "face" (8:23; 9:7, 8, 13, 17), פָּנַי "my face" (8:17, 18; 9:3), לִפְנֵי "before" (8:3, 4, 6, 7; 9:10, 18, 20), עַל־פְּנֵי "over" (8:5)
עַיִן "eye" (8:3, 5, 21; 9:18)
אֶרֶץ "land" (8:5 [2x], 7, 10, 12, 18; 9:6, 7, 15)
חֵמָה "wrath" (8:6; 9:16)
שְׁנַיִם "two" (8:7; 9:25, 26)
גָּדוֹל "great" (8:8, 21; 9:4, 12)
קוֹל "voice" (8:16; 9:10, 11, 14)
קרא "call" (8:16; 9:18, 19)
בֵּן "son" (8:17; 9:1)
עֵת "time" (8:17; 9:21, 25)
רַב "many" or "great" (8:26; 9:18)
יוֹם "day" (8:26, 27; 9:7, 15)
חלה "grow weak" (8:27; 9:13)
קום "arise" (8:27; 9:12)

General Assessment of the Intertextual Relation

In contrast to the previous chapter, visionary elements fade nearly completely into the background in Dan 9. The text does not mention that Daniel sees (ראה), a term so prominent in chap. 8, except in a relative clause in 9:21 where it refers to seeing Gabriel previously, implying that he is now seeing Gabriel again. Formally, Dan 9 consists of

two parts: a prayer of Daniel and an epiphany vision in which a celestial messenger appears, conveying divine words to the prophet.

The continuation of Dan 8 in Dan 9 has often been observed previously.[1] As will be seen, the connection is especially strong between 8:12-14 and 9:21-27, which makes it imperative to analyze these textual links closely. The links, however, function mainly on the terminological and thematic level, not on a structural level. This is why one might note that the connection between chap. 8 and chap. 9 is not as close as the one between chap. 8 and chap. 7,[2] although it would be preferable to say that it is simply different in nature from the one between chap. 8 and chap. 7.

Terminological links between Dan 8:9-14 and Dan 9 predominate in the introduction to the oracle (9:20-23: אמר, קֹדֶשׁ, עֶרֶב, חָזוֹן) and the oracle itself, particularly 9:24 (9:24-27: צדק, שׁמם, קֹדֶשׁ, פֶּשַׁע, חָזוֹן). Only אֱמֶת (9:13) and מִקְדָּשׁ (9:17) occur solely in the prayer. קֹדֶשׁ (9:16) and שׁמם appear in both the prayer and (the introduction to) the oracle. However, in 9:16-18 the root שׁמם recalls the language of Jer 25:9-12 (שַׁמָּה in vss. 9, 11), which is the text Daniel contemplates (Dan 9:2), providing the numerical starting point for the seventy-weeks prophecy (9:24).[3] Most incidental

---

[1]For example, Noth stresses in his literary-critical analysis of the composition of Daniel that Dan 8 and Dan 9 "belong inseparably together" ("Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel," 160-161) and Steck does not find in Dan 8 a solution to the problems presented there, but regards chap. 9 as a "necessary continuation" of the angelic interpretation in Dan 8 ("Weltgeschehen," 67). Interestingly, in most commentaries the connection between the two chapters is not explicitly recognized, though exceptions are possible (e.g., Plöger, *Daniel*, 139; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 173).

[2]So Goldingay, *Daniel*, 238.

[3]Klaus Koch, "Die Bedeutung der Apokalyptik für die Interpretation der Schrift," in *Mitte der Schrift? Ein jüdisch-christliches Gespräch; Texte des Berner Symposions vom 6.-12. Januar 1985*, ed. M. Klopfenstein et al., Judaica et Christiana, no. 11 (Bern: Lang, 1987), 194.

correspondences are found in the prayer, some in the description of the epiphany, and one in the oracle.

Intertextual *Leitwort* בין

The major *Leitwort* that interlocks Dan 8 and Dan 9 is the root בין "understand." In the book of Daniel the root בין is used as a "technical term for the understanding of visions and auditions."[1] In chaps. 8 and 9 the root בין, which constitutes "an internal and significant bridge"[2] for Daniel's concern with understanding, connects the two chapters (see table 44).[3]

Daniel sees the vision of chap. 8 which naturally he tries to understand (8:15). The angel Gabriel is entrusted with the task to impart understanding to the prophet (8:16, 17). However, at the end of chap. 8 Daniel is left without understanding: וְאֵין מֵבִין "and there was no understanding" (8:27). Hence, the end of Dan 8 emphasizes "non-solution, the continuation of the problem, the non-understanding."[4] The chapter does not

[1]H. H. Schmid, "בין *bîn* to understand," *TLOT*, 1:232; cf. Helmer Ringgren, "בִּין *bîn*," *TDOT*, 2:106. In chap. 1 the root בין is used twice to designate Daniel's and his friends' general capacity to understand (1:4, 20). The key to the specific use of בין in the book is found in 1:17 which singles out Daniel for his ability "to understand all kinds of visions and dreams" (cf. Jacques Doukhan, "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9: An Exegetical Study," *AUSS* 17 [1979]: 4 n. 7). From there on, the root designates "the ability of profound understanding of what kind of meta-history [*Metahistorie*] and developments of the future underlie the visible side of the world" (Koch, *Daniel*, BKAT, 45). Besides 1:4, 17 the verb בין occurs in 8:5, 16, 17, 23, 27; 9:2 (qal), 22, 23 (qal), 23; 10:1 (qal), 11, 12, 14; 11:30 (qal), 33, 37 (2x: qal); 12:8 (qal), 10 (2x: qal); the noun בִּינָה "understanding" occurs in 1:20; 8:15; 9:22; 10:1. In the second half of the book, the root בין seems to refer specifically to the understanding of the prophecy of the end (Doukhan, *Daniel: The Vision of the End*, 108).

[2]Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks," 4.

[3]So Noth, "Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel," 161; Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks," 4-6; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 436; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 238.

[4]Schweizer, "Die Sprache der Zeichenkörper," 30.

Table 44. Usage of the Root בין in Daniel 8 and 9

Text	Root בין	Meaning	Agent of בין	Object
8:5	hif. ptc.	reflect, observe	Daniel	context: vision of ram
8:15	noun	understanding	Daniel	context: חָזוֹן "vision"
8:16	hif. ipv.	explain (subj.: Gabriel)	Daniel	מַרְאֶה "vision"
8:17	hif. ipv.	understand	Daniel	object clause: that the vision (חָזוֹן) is for the end time
8:23	hif. ptc.	understand	king (horn)	riddles
8:27	hif. ptc.	not understand[1]	Daniel	context: מַרְאֶה "vision"
9:2	qal pf.	observe	Daniel	books & number of years
9:22a	hif. *wayyiqtol*	explain, instruct (subj.: Gabriel)	Daniel	—
9:22d	noun	understanding	Daniel	—
9:23d	qal ipv.	understand	Daniel	word
9:23e	hif. ipv.	understand, grasp	Daniel	מַרְאֶה "vision"

constitute a well-rounded narrative with vision report and complete interpretation but rather remains open-ended. The function of this ending seems obvious: it challenges the reader to see what can be understood in the text of chap. 8 and to what exactly this lack of understanding refers.[2] Apparently, Daniel was bewildered about the vision of the "2300 evening-morning" (see below) and therefore did not understand the meaning of the

[1]Instead of taking וְאֵין מֵבִין as a nominal clause with the meaning "and there was no understanding," the negation אֵין could be used as equivalent to לֹא similar to וְאֵין נוֹגֵעַ בָּאָרֶץ in 8:5 where the subject of the preceding verbal clause functions also as subject of the וְאֵין clause (Goldingay, *Daniel*, 200). The translation in 8:27 would then be "and I did not understand."

[2]Bader, "Reale und gedachte Welt," 56.

answer to the great question of the text in vs. 13c: "Until when is the vision?"

Daniel 9 continues the theme of understanding with a "noticeable contrast"[1] to 8:27: Daniel seeks to understand now (9:2).[2] Apparently, the lack of understanding regarding the time prophecy causes Daniel to seek understanding by consulting and pondering upon another time prophecy which was given to Jeremiah. The repetition of the root בקשׁ also connects the two chapters (8:15; 9:3).[3] The following prayer of Daniel, with its unique and main focus on the covenant pattern, is therefore appropriate for one "who failed to understand the end of chap. 8."[4] In chap. 9 Gabriel is sent to make Daniel understand. At the epiphany of Gabriel subsequent to Daniel's prayer, the angel again mentions, as in 8:16-17, that he had come to give Daniel insight with understanding (9:22). He calls on Daniel to understand the vision (9:23).[5]

Daniel 9:21

Verse 21 in chap. 9 plays an important role in connecting 9:24-27 with chap. 8.

---

[1]Rigger, 181.

[2]There is also a link in syntax between Dan 8:27 and 9:2 in that the first main clause in both have the order "independent pronoun + personal name + verb /1sg/," which elsewhere in Daniel occurs only in 10:2 (Charles E. McLain, "Daniel's Prayer in Chapter 9," *DBSJ* 9 (2004): 271 n. 18).

[3]Daniel sought (בקשׁ) to understand (8:15). The same idea is implied in 9:2-3 when Daniel pondered over the number of years prophesied by Jeremiah and then intensely "sought [בקשׁ] (by) prayer and supplications, with fasting, sackcloth and ashes" (9:3). That Daniel sought understanding is implied by the purpose of Gabriel's visit in response to Daniel's prayer, when he instructs Daniel and tells him: "to instruct you with understanding [בִינָה]" (9:22).

[4]Collins, *Daniel* (1993): 360; cf. idem, *Daniel*, FOTL, 96.

[5]The marked use of בין in 9:22-23 and the close link between these verses and 8:15-17 as an opening for the angelic explanation is recognized by Noth, "Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel," 161; and Koch, "Bedeutung der Apokalyptik," 195-196.

Daniel 9:21 exhibits several terminological links to chap. 8. First, the name גַּבְרִיאֵל "Gabriel" occurs elsewhere only in 8:16. Second, the root ראה "see" refers to Daniel's visionary experience, recalling its technical usage in chap. 8 (8:1 [2x], 2 [3x], 3, 4, 6, 7, 15, 20). Third, the use of the verb נגע in 9:21 to describe an activity by Gabriel ("approach") recalls 8:18, even though it had a different meaning there ("touch"). Fourth, the fact that Gabriel came at the time of the evening offering echoes the term עֶרֶב used in the time prophecy of "2300 evening-morning." Also, Gabriel talking with Daniel is expressed by the root דבר "speak" with the prepositional phrase עִמִּי "with me" (8:18; 9:22).

The most distinct retrospective reference in 9:21 is the relative clause to Gabriel: אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתִי בֶחָזוֹן בַּתְּחִלָּה "whom I had seen in the vision previously."[1] The question remains to which vision בַּתְּחִלָּה (literally "in the beginning") refers. The following observations point to chap. 8 as the reference of the relative clause which seems to allude specifically to 8:15-17.[2] First, Gabriel's initial explicit appearance occurs in 8:16. Second, the mention of חָזוֹן "vision" refers to the vision in chap. 8 for only this revelation is designated as חָזוֹן, whereas the one in chap. 7 is called a "dream" (7:1). Third, the accumulated effect of the other terminological links, which are listed above, suggests a

---

[1]Vice versa it is possible to speak of prospective references in Dan 8 that prepare for a continuation in Dan 9 (cf. the use of the term "prospective reference" by Steck who applies it to 8:19, 23, 26 which all contain a reference to the timing of the end ["Weltgeschehen," 67 n. 60]).

[2]The relationship between 9:21 and 8:16 is recognized, e.g., by Hölscher, 127 ("direct reference from one section to another"); Noth, "Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel," 161; Plöger, *Daniel*, 133, 139; Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, 33; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 190; Hasel, "The 'Little Horn'" (1986), 437-438; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 256-257; Brempong Owusu-Antwi, *The Chronology of Daniel 9:24-27*, ATSDS, no. 2 (Berrien Springs: Adventist Theological Society, 1995), 125-126; Behrens, 329 n. 46, Lucas, *Daniel*, 240.

connection to chap. 8. Particularly noteworthy is the immediate context in 9:22-23 where Gabriel functions again as a mediator of understanding like he did in 8:16-17. Finally, the expression בַּתְּחִלָּה does not necessarily refer to Daniel's first visionary experience, as would be the case if it were translated literally with "in the beginning," but may very well mean "previously" when the context suggests it.[1] Yet, on the basis of the phrase בַּתְּחִלָּה the possibility cannot be completely ruled out that the relative clause in 9:21 in addition also refers to the *angelus interpres* in chap. 7, for the vision of chap. 7 appeared to Daniel בַּתְּחִלָּה (8:1) and thus it could be said that Gabriel had appeared in the vision בַּתְּחִלָּה.[2] It may therefore be likely that the relative clause in 9:21 alludes beyond Dan 8 to Dan 7, since Gabriel fulfilled the role of *angelus interpres* in both instances.[3] The primary allusion in 9:21, however, is to 8:15-17. What is the function of this allusion?

---

[1]As argued by Goldingay, *Daniel*, 196, 256-257; Lucas, *Daniel*, 229, 240.

[2]By contrast, Ziony Zevit understands the relative clause in 9:21 as referring to the dream in chap. 7 and he then identifies Gabriel with the "one like a son of man," for 9:21 says that Gabriel was seen בֶּחָזוֹן "in the vision" and not outside of it like the figure in 7:16 ("The Structure and Individual Elements of Daniel 7," 394-396; "The Exegetical Implications of Dan viii 1, ix 21," *VT* 28 [1978]: 488-492). However, even if בַּתְּחִלָּה would refer to the vision in chap. 7, Gabriel should probably be identified with "one of the attendants" in 7:16 whose role as interpreter is congruent to Gabriel's role in chaps. 8 and 9. Furthermore, the phrase בֶּחָזוֹן "in the vision" (9:21) does not need to be restricted to the dreamlike vision itself (*pace* Zevit), but could encompass the entire revelatory experience in which Gabriel appears (so, e.g., Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 310, 351; Lucas, *Daniel*, 240, who both reject Zevit's identification of Gabriel with the "one like a son of man"). Collins takes בַּתְּחִלָּה as a reference to the dream in chap. 7, since the vision in chap. 8 happened "after the one that appeared to me in the beginning [בַּתְּחִלָּה]" (8:1) (*Daniel* [1993], 310, 351). Obviously, for Collins the term בַּתְּחִלָּה has a single referent. So also William H. Shea, "The Relationship between the Prophecies of Daniel 8 and Daniel 9," in *The Sanctuary and the Atonement*, ed. A. V. Wallenkampf and W. R. Lesher (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1981), 237-238 (however, later Shea seems to take בֶּחָזוֹן בַּתְּחִלָּה "in the earlier vision" in 9:21 as a connector of chaps. 8 and 9 [*Daniel 7-12*, 174]).

[3]So also Rigger, who sees in this double reference of the relative clause in 9:21 an indication that the final redactor attempted to integrate Dan 9 in the context of Dan 7–12 "as their center and climax so to speak" (106-107).

Daniel 9:23 and the Vision (מַרְאֶה) of the "Evening-Morning" of Daniel 8

Both the usage of the keyword בין and the epiphany of Gabriel in 9:21-23 prepare for the fact that the oracle in 9:24-27 explains some enigmatic aspect of 8:12-14. In 8:27 it seems that Daniel had no understanding (וְאֵין מֵבִין) concerning the מַרְאֶה "vision" for the previous clause in this verse mentions that he was particularly horrified about the מַרְאֶה. It is therefore significant that Gabriel advises Daniel to give heed to the דָּבָר "word" and understand the מַרְאֶה (9:23). Strikingly, the combination הָבֵן (Hifil imperative of בין) and מַרְאֶה occurs only in 9:23 and 8:16. The obvious conclusion implies that מַרְאֶה "vision" in 9:23 refers, according to 8:16 and 8:26, to "the vision of the evening and the morning."[1] Due to the particular specification of the מַרְאֶה in 8:27 as "the vision of *the evening and the morning*," the term מַרְאֶה refers more precisely to that part in the angelic conversation in 8:12-14 that deals with "the evening and the morning": the time prophecy of the "2300 evening-morning."[2] Based on the use of מַרְאֶה in 9:23 as

---

[1]In addition to the lexical links of הָבֵן and מַרְאֶה, for Owusu-Antwi the definiteness of מַרְאֶה in 9:23e also suggests that the angel refers to the previous מַרְאֶה in chap. 8 (125). However, this argument is not unimpeachable for the definite article is also used with דָּבָר and in both instances it could be understood as prospective usage, although this is doubtful (see the following note).

[2]So Plöger, *Daniel*, 134, 139; cf. also Noth, "Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel," 161; Goldwurm, 258. On the other hand, most commentators argue that מַרְאֶה in 9:23e does not refer to chap. 8 but, in parallel to דָּבָר "word, message" in 9:23d, signifies a prophetic revelation. They understand both דָּבָר and מַרְאֶה as referring prospectively to the following oracle (e.g., Driver, *Daniel*, 135; Marti, *Daniel*, 67; Aalders, *Daniël* (1962), 214; Rast, 134; Collins, *Daniel*, 352; Miller, *Daniel*, 252; Bauer, *Daniel*, 188). In such a case, the identification of 9:24-27 as מַרְאֶה would link the audition in 9:24-27 formally to the audition in 8:12-14 which was also designated as מַרְאֶה. Although such a prospective reference in 9:23e is certainly not impossible (cf. the use of דָּבָר and מַרְאֶה in 10:1), the previous use of both דָּבָר and מַרְאֶה suggests that they are used retrospectively. The definite מַרְאֶה refers back to the מַרְאֶה in chap. 8 (8:16, 26, 27) and the definite דָּבָר refers back to the דָּבָר that went forth at the beginning of Daniel's pleading (9:23a), which Gabriel is supposed to make known to Daniel (9:23b). Hence, what 9:23d and 23e are expressing is that by understanding the דָּבָר which Gabriel recounts in 9:24-27 Daniel would be able to understand the מַרְאֶה of chap. 8. More

a reference to the prophetic time element in chap. 8, Plöger takes the prophecy in Dan 9:24-27 to be an interpretation of the time element in Dan 8:14.[1]

This identification of מַרְאֶה in chaps. 8 and 9 is strengthened by noticing the specific use of the terms חָזוֹן and מַרְאֶה in the book of Daniel.[2] The apparently fluent

---

recently, Armin Lange translates וְהָבֵן בַּמַּרְאֶה (9:23e) with "gain understanding in the vision" ("erlange Einsicht in der Vision"), obviously attributing to the preposition ב a locative connotation with מַרְאֶה functioning as a prepositional object, and takes the phrase as clear indication that the visionary finds the key to the text in Jer 25:11-12 in his vision ("Interpretation als Offenbarung: Zum Verhältnis von Schriftauslegung und Offenbarung in apokalyptischer und nichtapokalyptischer Literatur," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. F. García Martínez, BETL, no. 168 [Leuven: Leuven University Press; Leuven: Peeters, 2003], 17, 22). Understood in this way, מַרְאֶה would refer to the following revelation in Dan 9:24-27. However, Lange's translation stems from a mistaken syntactic understanding. The phrase בין + ב is often found in later Hebrew (Dan 1:17; 9:2, 23; 10:11; Ezra 8:15; Neh 8:8, 12; 13:7; 2 Chr 26:5; 34:12) and belongs to a group of verbs of perception that are used with the preposition ב. The preposition ב should be interpreted as designating "mental contact" with מַרְאֶה being the object of perception (see Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 252-253), so that Dan 9:23e should be translated with "gain understanding of the vision."

[1]Plöger, *Daniel*, 139. After discussing the use of the keyword בין, Doukhan concludes that the use of בין "intentionally places that prophecy of the 70 weeks directly into the same perspective and context as Daniel's preceding and 'incomplete' revelation, the prophecy of the 2300 evenings and mornings in chap. 8" ("The Seventy Weeks," 5) and Goldingay observes that "the implication might be that Dan 9 was intended to clarify issues raised in chap. 8; it takes up the question of the fate of the temple and seeks light from Scripture on what dream and vision left opaque" (*Daniel*, 238).

[2]The technical terms חָזוֹן and מַרְאֶה occur in regard to prophetic vision reports apart from Ezekiel only in Daniel (Behrens, 331-332). As designations for divine revelations, they appear also elsewhere. Based on an analysis of 1 Sam 3 in comparison with the use of the terms in Ezekiel and Isaiah, Conrad suggests that in the prophets חָזוֹן and מַרְאֶה function as semiotic codes, especially in superscriptions (70-75, 166-167, 183-186): a חָזוֹן is a prophetic activity for the reception of דְּבַר־יְהוָה "the word of YHWH" by a prophet in the temple (166), which is to be written down, and, most importantly, concerns a future time. According to Conrad, the "most succinct statement of חזון" is Hab 2:1-3 (183-184). A חָזוֹן puts less emphasis on the figure of the prophet and by pertaining to a distant future initiates a period of waiting. On the other hand, a מַרְאֶה is a vision of YHWH that happens to the prophet and concerns a contemporaneous time. "To receive a חזון may involve a מראה of God" (166) and thus "while a חזון may be a מראה not every מראה is a חזון" (73). Whereas Conrad traces the two terms and their "encoded meaning" throughout the latter prophets, he is not concerned with their function in the book of Daniel. It seems that not all differences proposed by Conrad can also be found in Daniel, for example, the distinction that a מַרְאֶה concerns the present situation is not evident with the מַרְאֶה with the vision of the "evening-morning" in Dan 8. However, the distinct characteristic that a מראה involves more of a focus on the prophet and happens as a vision of YHWH or of his ambassadors can also be shown in Daniel (see below).

interchange between the two words in Dan 8:15-17; 8:26-27; and 9:21-23 may lead to the belief that they are used synonymously. However, the specific distribution of the terms gives reason to suppose that they actually carry different notions[1]: מַרְאֶה designates the epiphany of a celestial being in vision and when it contains revelatory information in particular it refers to an audition,[2] while חָזוֹן stands for the visionary elements of a revelation and refers to a symbolic vision.[3] It is noteworthy that in 8:26 מַרְאֶה is

---

[1]So Plöger, *Daniel*, 129, 139; Fuhs, 232; and especially Shea, "The Relationship between the Prophecies of Daniel 8 and Daniel 9," 232-239 (followed by Owusu-Antwi, 124-125).

[2]מַרְאֶה "appearance, vision" occurs twelve times in BH Daniel (1:4, 13 [2x], 15; 8:15, 16, 26, 27; 9:23; 10:1, 6, 18). The context is decisive for its meaning. In connection with persons, usually in a construct phrase, מַרְאֶה designates their appearance or looks: appearance of human beings (1:4, 13 [2x], 15) or of a celestial being (always in the form כְּמַרְאֵה "like the appearance of . . ." with comparative כ: 8:15; 10:6, 18). However, when Gabriel is commanded to help Daniel understand הַמַּרְאֶה, the revelatory "vision" is meant (8:16, 26, 27). In 9:23, Gabriel comes again to make Daniel understand the vision (הָבֵן בַּמַּרְאֶה in 9:23; cf. 8:16). The revelatory vision is also meant in 10:1 when Daniel understood the vision (cf. the use of מַרְאֶה, דָּבָר, and the root בין in 9:23 and 10:1). Note also the occurrences of the corresponding feminine noun מַרְאָה "apparition" in chap. 10 (the different use of מַרְאָה in comparison with the more usual מַרְאֶה is still unclear; maybe it distinguishes the epiphany of a celestial being from the auditory revelatory vision). The context clarifies that the מַרְאָה which was seen by Daniel but not by his companions refers to the appearance of the man dressed in linen (10:7 [2x], 8), as probably does the occurrence in 10:16.

[3]חָזוֹן "vision" occurs twelve times in BH Daniel (1:17; 8:1, 2 [2x], 13, 15, 17, 26; 9:21, 24; 10:14; 11:14). Daniel understands all sort of visions and dreams (1:17). The placing of vision and dreams next to each other suggests their affinity. The occurrences of חָזוֹן in chap. 8 all refer to the entire vision of 8:3-11. Its occurrence in 9:21 most likely refers back to the vision of chap. 8. The referent of חָזוֹן in 9:24 is disputed. If it would refer to a previous vision in Daniel, it must be the vision of Dan 8, which is the only one called חָזוֹן. For Goldingay the sealing (חתם) of vision (חָזוֹן) and prophet in 9:24 recalls the order to keep the vision (חָזוֹן) secret (סתם) in 8:26, considering that both verbal roots, סתם and חתם, are used in parallel thoughts in 12:4, 9 (*Daniel*, 259-260). However, if in 9:24 such a reference to the vision of Dan 8 was intended, one would probably expect the article to be used in front of חָזוֹן (so von Lengerke, 363; Rigger, 203). Instead, the striking generality of the oracle in 9:24 (see Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks," 20-21, who explains this phenomenon as expressing a "universalistic dimension") does not point to the fulfillment of a specific prophetic vision but rather to "the completion of God's plan of salvation per se" (Rigger, 203). In 10:14 the celestial being lets Daniel know that the vision (indefinite חָזוֹן) refers to many days in the future; similarly, in 8:17 it has been said that the vision of Dan 8 is to pertain "to the time of the end." Hence חָזוֹן in 10:14 either refers to the following revelation in 11:1-12:4, or, less likely, it refers back to the vision of Dan 8. Finally, in 11:14 the activity of the violent or lawless ones will fulfill the vision (indefinite חָזוֹן),

identified by the relative clause as the vision "that has been uttered" (אֲשֶׁר נֶאֱמַר) which makes clear that מַרְאֵה "can only refer to the aforementioned audition."[1]

Once it is established that the prophecy in 9:24-27 has something to do with the prophecy of the "2300 evening-morning," the question arises how the former illuminates the latter. The connection between the two concerns at least the following concepts and themes: time, cult, people, and conflict.[2] While in the following these themes will be discussed in the order listed above, I will avoid as far as possible entering "the Dismal Swamp of O.T. criticism"[3] and not attempt an exegesis of the seventy-weeks oracle or a discussion of its history of interpretation.

Thematic Similarities between Daniel 9:24-27 and Daniel 8:9-14

Time

That the prophecy in 9:24-27 relates to time does not come as a surprise since the concern for time is evident in both Dan 8 and 9. First, the center issue of Daniel's prayer

---

which refers either to the present vision or because of the indefinite use of חָזוֹן it refers again to God's general prophetic plan.

[1]H. L. Ginsberg, "The Book of Daniel," 522. Hence Ginsberg concludes that מַרְאֵה "must mean something like 'statement' or 'declaration'" (ibid.).

[2]It is mainly the thematic connection between Dan 8 and Dan 9 that impresses Collins the most. For him, both chapters are preoccupied with the disruption of the cult and focus thematically on the time of the end (*Daniel* [1993], 352, 359; cf. Bauer, *Daniel*, 180).

[3]Montgomery, 400; a phrase revived by Tim Meadowcroft, "Exploring the Dismal Swamp: The Identity of the Anointed One in Daniel 9:24-27," *JBL* 120 (2001): 429-449.

in chap. 9 is time.[1] More specifically, both chapters focus on "the timing of the end."[2] Daniel's prayer is basically the petitionary question "how long?" of 8:13 (cf. 9:19: אַל־תְּאַחַר "make no delay!").[3] It gives the impression that the prayer of chap. 9 applies the question of 8:13 to the situation of the exiled Israel. Hence, in giving a reply to the praying Daniel, the prophecy in 9:24-27 needs to relate to time. Second, as noted above, the intentional reference to the vision of the "2300 evening-morning" in 9:21-23 lets one expect that the seventy-weeks prophecy will somehow shed light on the time element of that previous vision.[4]

Regarding this latter connection it is important to understand the meaning of the *hapax legomenon* נֶחְתַּךְ in 9:24. Since the root חתך occurs only here in BH, we need to

---

[1]Cf. Steck, "Weltgeschehen," 67-71; P. B. Petersen, 216-217.

[2]Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 359. Eibert Tigchelaar remarks aptly, yet slightly overemphasized, that "in Dan 8,13.17.26; 9,22-27; 12,4.8-13 the most important issue is not *what* will happen, but *when* these things will happen" ("Your Wisdom and Your Folly: The Case of 1-4QMysteries," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. F. García Martínez, BETL, no. 168 [Leuven: Leuven University Press; Leuven: Peeters, 2003], 83 n. 57). Steck sees the continuing interpretation in Dan 9 occasioned by the divinely decreed time for Israel ("Weltgeschehen," 67-69).

[3]Cf. Bernd Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen: Traditions- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien zur Sühnetheologie der Priesterschrift*, WMANT, no. 55 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1982), 121; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 254-255; P. B. Petersen, 218.

[4]Shea, suggesting another link between the two prophecies, detects a distributional pattern of the prophetic time element in Daniel's prophecies—they occur toward the end (7:25; 8:14; 12:7)—and reasons that the "unusual" beginning of the seventy-weeks prophecy with the time element is to "juxtapose this time element . . . alongside the time element with which the vision of ch 8 ends, the latter coming at the end of the intravisional explanation of ch 8 and the former coming at the beginning of the extravisional explanation of ch 9" ("The Relationship between the Prophecies of Daniel 8 and Daniel 9," 231-232). However, whereas Shea takes the extravisional statements in Dan 7 and 12 into account, he does not do so with the extravisional explanation in 8:19-26 which renders his proposed juxtaposition of the "2300 evening-morning" and the "seventy weeks" rather hypothetical.

look at comparative extra-biblical literature, in particular post-biblical Hebrew, to determine its possible meaning. The chronologically closest use of חתך in extra-biblical Hebrew is, as of late, a single occurrence in Qumran Hebrew. The root חתך occurs in the Niphal form in 4Q252 (4QCommGen A) i, 2 in some sort of commentary on Gen 6:3. The clause in lines 2-3 reads: ויחתכו ימיהם מאה ועשרים / שנה עד קץ מי מבול "and their days were determined at one hundred and twenty years until the time/end of (the) waters of (the) flood."[1] The use of חתך in 4Q252 i, 2 is syntactically similar to its employment in Dan 9:24, both appearing in the Niphal form and having a grammatical subject from the semantic field of time. In 4Q252 חתך takes on the sense of "to decide" or "to decree"[2] and this meaning seems also present in Dan 9:24. However, there is more to it. Other extra-biblical occurrences of חתך are found in Middle Hebrew. There the verb has the primary meaning of "to cut, cut off" and the secondary sense "to decree, determine"; the meaning of its denominatives derives exclusively from cutting.[3] Comparative material from other Semitic languages corroborates the idea that the Hebrew root חתך carries two semantic notions: "cut" and "determine."[4] The meaning of the root

---

[1]The translation is the one by George Brooke in the *editio princeps* in DJD 22:196.

[2]So Moshe J. Bernstein, "*4Q252* i 2 לא ידור רוחי באדם לעולם: Biblical Text or Biblical Interpretation?" *RevQ* 16 (1993-1995): 426.

[3]For references see Jastrow, 1:512-513. He also lists references of the Niphal form of חתך in Middle Hebrew with the sense "be cut off, amputated" on the one hand and "be decided, decreed" on the other hand. The masculine denominative חֲתָךְ denotes a "cut" or "wound"; the feminine denominative חֲתִיכָה refers to "cutting" or "piece, portion."

[4]The evidence is as follows: Jewish Aramaic חתך "to cut, sever" (Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, 2d ed. [Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002], 218); Arabic *hataka* [with *h*] "to tear" (*HALOT*, 1:364); and Akkadian ḫatākum "decide" (*AHw* 1:335). The Ugaritic root ḥtk does not

thus developed from the concrete "cut" to include the extended meaning of "determine, decide."[1] This is exactly how BH dictionaries render its basic meaning, though they usually decide to translate נֶחְתַּךְ in Dan 9:24 with "be determined."[2] However, it seems unfortunate to decide for one of the two notions at the expense of the other. Both notions appear to be present: that the seventy weeks are a portion cut out from something else and determined especially for the people and the holy city. If one wants to do justice to both semantic notions—and the context certainly allows for it, maybe even requires it—and comprise them in one gloss, a more preferable rendering would be "apportioned."[3]

From which larger unit are the "seventy weeks" "apportioned"? Frequently the suggestion is put forward that the "seventy weeks" are cut out from the total stock of created world time in the style of the periodization exhibited in the Apocalypse of Weeks

---

seem to be of help: the verb ḥ-t-k carries the meaning "to subdue, control; exercise power"; the noun ḥtk has three homonyms: (I) "progenitor, father"; (II) "lineage, offspring"; and (III) "sovereignty, power" (*DUL* 1:375-376). Shea's ingenious suggestion that the Ugaritic sources could point to a father-son situation behind חתך in Dan 9:24 and hence the seventy-weeks prophecy should be pictured as "son" to the longer "2300 evening-morning," which is pictured as "father," is based solely on the meaning of ḥtk I and II, and appears to be far-fetched ("The Relationship between the Prophecies of Daniel 8 and Daniel 9," 244-246; also mentioned favorably by Owusu-Antwi, 122-123).

[1]J. L. Palache notes such a semantic development not only for חתך, but similarly also for several other Semitic roots, including the Hebrew גזר "cut through/off > decide," חרץ "cut > determine," and Talmudic Hebrew פסק "cut off > fix" (*Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon*, trans. Z. Werblowsky [Leiden: Brill, 1959], 19). Cf. Johannes Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten: In seinem Verhältnis zu verwandten Erscheinungen sowie die Stellung des Eides im Islam*, Studien zur Kultur und Geschichte des islamischen Orients, no. 3 (Strassburg: Trübner, 1914), 12, 46; Shea, "The Relationship between the Prophecies of Daniel 8 and Daniel 9," 241-244; and Frederick E. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew: A Study of the Phenomenon and Its Treatment Since Antiquity with Special Reference to Verbal Forms*, SBLDS, no. 74 (Chico: Scholars, 1984), 118.

[2]For example: BDB, 367 ("be determined" with basic sense "divide, determine"); *HALOT*, 1:364 and *HAHAT*, 2:410 (both: "be determined, imposed"); and *DCH*, 3:335 ("be determined").

[3]Emile Nicole and Eugene Carpenter, "חתך (# 3155)," *NIDOTTE*, 2:323.

in 1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91:11-17.[1] The problem with this approach, however, is that the book of Daniel does not mention a broad scope of history divided into periods like it is outlined in the Animal Vision (1 Enoch 85-90), the Apocalypse of Weeks, or the book of *Jubilees*.[2] If the time period in Dan 9:24, which is apportioned to Daniel's people, is cut off from a longer period, one should first of all look at the immediate context; and the context unmistakably suggests this longer period to be the "2300 evening-morning."[3] The arguments outlined above—use of the keyword בין and retrospective references in 9:21-23—demonstrate an intentional link concerning time between the seventy-weeks prophecy and the "2300 evening-morning." In addition, both prophecies contain a similar

---

[1]Koch, "Bedeutung der Apokalyptik," 198; idem, "Das Geheimnis der Zeit in Weisheit und Apokalyptik um die Zeitenwende," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. F. García Martínez, BETL, no. 168 (Leuven: Leuven University Press; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 65-66: the seventy weeks are "a period of time 'cut out' (by God), very likely out of a larger continuum of time," and 66 n. 70: "The 490 years correspond perhaps to the seventh Seven 1 Enoch 93:9f. + 9,11 [*sic*; correct: 91:11]." For the initial idea of explaining the seventy weeks as taken from a broad apocalyptic world chronology in the light of the Apocalypse of Weeks, see Klaus Koch, "Die mysteriösen Zahlen der judäischen Könige und die apokalyptischen Jahrwochen," *VT* 28 (1978): 439-441; idem, *Das Buch Daniel*, 152-154; and idem, "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte: Die sogenannte Zehn-Wochen-Apokalypse (I Hen 93,1-10; 91,11-17) und das Ringen um die alttestamentlichen Chronologien im späten Israelitentum," *ZAW* 95 (1983): 403-430, esp. 414-415. Koch's suggestion is followed, among others, by Devorah Dimant, "The Seventy Weeks Chronology (Dan 9,24-27) in the Light of New Qumran Texts," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL, no. 106 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 61-62, 65-70; and John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2d ed., The Biblical Resource Series (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 109. Already Michael J. Gruenthaner argued from the Vulgate that נֶחְתַּךְ "must be understood in the sense of 'cut off,' i.e., mentally separated from the cycle of years, and so determined" ("The Seventy Weeks," *CBQ* 1 [1939]: 45). Rigger supposes that the root חתך was deliberately chosen to indicate that the 70 weeks are a portion of the overall scheme of divinely-planned human history from creation to the *eschaton* (195 n. 114). He interprets this planned history in terms of the periodization found in the Apocalypse of Weeks (1 Enoch 93:1-10; 91:11-17) and the book of *Jubilees* (188-194).

[2]See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 357. He lists several other differences as well as similarities between the visions in Daniel and 1 Enoch 85-90. Nevertheless he connects the "seventy weeks of years" of Dan 9 with the Animal Vision's period of the seventy shepherds (391-393).

[3]Cf. Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks," 5-6; Owusu-Antwi, 123-127.

syntactic-semantic feature: The passive form נֶחְתַּךְ in 9:24 is a *passivum divinum*[1] and recalls the *passivum divinum* וְנִצְדַּק in 8:14c.

In conclusion, the prophecy in Dan 9:24 implies that "seventy weeks" of the "2300 evening-morning" are apportioned "for your people and your holy city." The connection between the two time prophecies thus gives a better understanding with regard to the time element of the vision of the "evening-morning," designating it as the longer period of the two. Provided that one could establish the exact relation between them and fix the date of the "seventy weeks," it would also be possible to gain understanding of the timing of the "2300 evening-morning."[2]

Cult, Temple, and People

The relationship between Dan 8:12-14 and Dan 9:24 is not restricted to the aspect of time; it also involves thematic connections, especially in regard to the cultic, as is evident from several terminological links.[3] Four terms in 9:24 occur also in 8:9-14: פֶּשַׁע (8:12, 13; 9:24), חָזוֹן (8:13; 9:24), צדק (8:14; 9:24), and קֹדֶשׁ (8:13, 14; 9:24 [3x]; also

---

[1]So, e.g., Rigger, 194.

[2]Such an analysis is beyond the present scope, since it would require a detailed exegetical analysis of the beginning of the "seventy weeks."

[3]An interest in cult and temple is found in Dan 9 both in the prayer and in the oracle. In the prayer, Daniel mentions specifically God's holy mountain (הַר־קָדְשֶׁךָ in vs. 16; הַר־קֹדֶשׁ אֱלֹהָי in vs. 20) and sanctuary (מִקְדָּשֶׁךָ, vs. 17). Naturally, Daniel's concern for the city Jerusalem (vss. 12, 16, 18, 19) must be seen as connected with the temple, for he calls Jerusalem "your holy mountain" (vs. 16) and summarizes the aspects of his prayer as confessing Israel's sin and supplicating for "the holy mountain of my God" (vs. 20). The cultic motif is also underlined by the coming of Gabriel at the time of the evening offering (9:21), which not only proves that Daniel, who was praying at this time, conceptually links prayer with sacrifice, but also indicates that "God behaves as though the offerings are still being made. The cosmic temporal order, reflected in the rhythm of the hours of prayer, stands despite the vicissitudes of history" (Goldingay, *Daniel*, 255).

9:26). Interestingly, all of these are found in the audition of 8:12-14, reinforcing the relationship between the seventy-weeks prophecy in 9:24 and the vision (מַרְאֶה) of the "evening-morning" in chap. 8. Words of the remainder of the prophetic oracle (9:25-27) that occur also in 8:9-14 are only קֹדֶשׁ (9:26) and שׁמם (8:13; 9:26, 27 [2x]).[1]

The three words that can have cultic overtones—פֶּשַׁע, צדק, and קֹדֶשׁ—are significant.[2] In Dan 9:24, a prophecy is given that, among other things, transgression (פֶּשַׁע) will be finished, everlasting righteousness (צֶדֶק) will be brought, and a holy of holies (קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים) will be anointed. The terms פֶּשַׁע and צֶדֶק are antithetically linked to the phrases "to finish transgression" and "to bring in everlasting righteousness" as they probably stand in a "synthetic parallelism."[3] The succession of these terms in Dan 9:24 resembles Dan 8:12-14 where the problem is rebellion (פֶּשַׁע) which will be terminated by bringing righteousness (verb צדק) to the holy (קֹדֶשׁ). Furthermore, both in Dan 8:14c and 9:24 God is the implied subject who counteracts the transgression and brings righteousness. The terminological parallels present as follows:

Dan 8:12-14	Dan 9:24
פֶּשַׁע (vs. 12a), הַפֶּשַׁע (vs. 13c)	הַפֶּשַׁע (vs. 24)
וְנִצְדַּק (vs. 14c)	צֶדֶק עֹלָמִים (v. 24)
קֹדֶשׁ (vs. 14c)	קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים (vs. 24)

[1]While 9:24 seems to connect more closely with Dan 8, the words used in the nominal clauses in 9:26, 27 establish specifically a connection with Dan 11 (noted by Rigger, 117 n. 196).

[2]On חָזוֹן see my previous comments above.

[3]See Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks," 10-11.

These parallels do not necessarily imply that the corresponding phrases, or even the two texts, refer to the same entities. The basic question stands whether 9:24 is "a restatement of the visionary promises of chap. 8"[1] or if it has a different focus altogether and is only conceptually linked to 8:12-14. Hence, the individual terms in 9:24 need to be examined. I begin with קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים, for among the three expressions this is the one that is most often seen as a reference to its counterpart in 8:12-14 with identical meaning.

So what does קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים in Dan 9:24 mean? Usually it is considered to be the most holy place or the sanctuary,[2] but it has also been suggested that it might refer to a holy people or to a specific person, usually the Messiah,[3] or to God's presence in the midst of his people, which combines the concepts of the sanctuary and the holiness of God's people.[4] The exact words used are significant: קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים is a term of heightened holiness, expressing quality. Elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible the phrase is used twenty-two times to denote something as extremely holy, always in relationship to the cultic, the sanctuary service, and the sanctuary or temple itself.[5] However, it never designates the

---

[1]Goldingay, *Daniel*, 260.

[2]See, e.g., Goldingay, *Daniel*, 260; Collins, *Daniel*, 354.

[3]See, e.g., Lacocque, *Daniel*, 193-194; Meadowcroft, "Exploring," 437-440.

[4]Rigger, 209-211.

[5]The phrase קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים can designate the altar (Exod 29:37; 30:10; 40:10), the utensils of the cult (Exod 30:29), the incense (Exod 30:36), the remainder of the מִנְחָה "cereal offering" (Lev 2:3, 10; 6:10; 10:12), the חַטָּאת "purification offering" (Lev 6:18, 22; 10:17), the אָשָׁם "reparation offering" (Lev 7:1, 6; 14:13), the bread for the tabernacle table (Lev 24:9), any proscriptions to YHWH (Lev 27:28), offerings by fire (Num 18:9), the temple mountain (Ezek 43:12), the sanctuary or the priestly reserve (Ezek 45:3), the priestly reserve (Ezek 48:12). In the Ezekiel passages Meadowcroft detects a "broadening of conceptualization" of קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים as concept of the temple to include land that is also most holy. He argues that the broadening conception of קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים developed still further, pointing to texts from Qumran where the phrase can now describe a group of people, so that it

most holy place. In contrast, the expression קֹדֶשׁ הַקֳּדָשִׁים "the most holy" with the article is used twenty-one times and functions (primarily?) as a spatial designation for the most holy place, that is, the inner sanctum, but also as a quality expression for offerings and objects in relationship to the sanctuary/temple.[1] This brief terminological overview shows that the expression קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים in Dan 9:24 should not be interpreted as referring to the inner sanctum, which always is called קֹדֶשׁ הַקֳּדָשִׁים. Rather קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים denotes "holy things which belong to the Sanctuary service, or the whole Temple."[2]

This observation supports that קֹדֶשׁ in 8:14c, which is terminologically linked to קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים in 9:24, could indeed refer to the sanctuary or temple and also to holy things

---

seems possible to understand the community as sanctuary. It is right at this point in the development of meaning of קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים that Meadowcroft would like to place its occurrence in Dan 9:24 where it should be conceived of as a community ("Exploring," 437-440). For Doukhan, however, the position of the infinitive "to anoint a most holy" in the series of three infinitives concerning the holy city Jerusalem and the sanctuary (see his structure on Dan 9:24 on p. 10) precludes that קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים refers to people or to a person ("Seventy Weeks," 11). In the Hebrew Bible only in 1 Chr 23:13 might it be possible that the phrase קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים is uniquely applied to a person (e.g., Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 415, who explains this use as midrash on Exod 30:29-30), although it has also been claimed that there it refers to most holy things (e.g., Rigger, 40, who takes the following three infinitives in this clause as parallel or even explanatory to the infinitive clause in question).

[1]The phrase קֹדֶשׁ הַקֳּדָשִׁים most often designates the most holy place of the sanctuary or temple (Exod 26:33, 34; 1 Kgs 6:16; 7:50; 8:6; Ezek 41:4; 2 Chr 3:8, 10; 4:22; 5:7); sometimes it is not clear enough whether the most holy place or something else is meant: most sacred objects of the sanctuary or the most holy place (Num 4:19), the sanctuary/temple or an interior area of it (Num 18:10 [though here it could also refer to the manner of eating]; 1 Chr 6:34). קֹדֶשׁ הַקֳּדָשִׁים can also designate offerings, such as the bread of the presence (Lev 21:22) or the offerings (by fire) to be eaten by the priests (Num 18:9; Ezek 42:13 [2x]; Ezra 2:63; Neh 7:65; 2 Chr 31:14), and (cultic) objects inside the sanctuary or the sanctuary tent (Num 4:4).

[2]Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks," 11; cf. also Theodor Seidl, "Volk Gottes und seine Zukunft nach Aussagen des Buches Daniel," in *Unterwegs zur Kirche: Alttestamentliche Konzeptionen*, ed. J. Schreiner, QD, no. 110 (Freiburg: Herder, 1987), 199 n. 88. Some even see in קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים a special emphasis on the altar (see, e.g., Montogmery, 375, and Plöger, *Daniel*, 140, for whom the phrase refers to either the temple or the altar of burnt offering). This could be done so on the basis of the relation between Exod 29:36-37 and Dan 9:24—the only texts to mention the three concepts of atonement (כפר), anointing (משח), and קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים—and the understanding that in Exod 29:37 קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים refers to the altar (cf. Vogel, "The Cultic Motif," 92-93).

connected with either. However, one should not infer that the two phrases are completely identical with regard to their point of reference. The difference between them indicates the following crucial distinction: the more specific קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים designates the sanctuary and its utensils alone, while the simple קֹדֶשׁ needs to be understood as being broader in meaning, implying additionally personal aspects in reference to holy people.[1]

Furthermore, the difference between the verbs—the verb in 8:14c is צדק nif. "restore to its right," while in 9:24 it is משׁח "anoint"—signals that two different activities are being described with regard to the "holy" and the "holy of holies." Usually the anointing of the "holy of holies" in 9:24 is understood to refer to the rededication of the temple in Jerusalem.[2] However, one should be careful not to conclude too quickly that Dan 9:24 is about the rededication of the temple. The texts in Exod 29:36-37 (where כפר, משׁח, and קדשׁ קדושׁים occur together) and 30:26-29; 40:9-11 (where משׁח and קדשׁ קדושׁים occur together), which appear to be intertextually linked to Dan 9:24, refer to the inauguration of the wilderness sanctuary.[3] The intertextual relation between Dan 9:24 and Exod 29:36-37 is particularly significant for only in these two texts are the three notions of atonement (כפר), anointing (משׁח), and holy of holies (קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים) found.[4] Thus, it is at least equally possible, if not more likely, that the anointing of the holy of holies in Dan 9:24 refers to the inauguration of a sanctuary or temple. The idea is that an

---

[1]For the meaning of קֹדֶשׁ in 8:14c see chapter 2 (above).

[2]See, e.g., Goldingay, *Daniel*, 260; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 354; Lucas, *Daniel*, 242.

[3]Cf. Rigger, 208. Cf. also Lev 8:10-11; Num 7:1.

[4]Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks," 11.

eschatological sanctuary, and possibly even its priesthood,[1] is being inaugurated for service.[2] The use of the verbal root משח supports this conclusion. משח is always employed for the dedication or inauguration of inanimate objects for their specific use, or for the anointing or consecration of persons for a specific office or service, usually as king or as (high) priest. It is never used to describe merely an act of rededication or re-anointing.[3]

In light of the anointing and inauguration of a sanctuary in Dan 9:24, the bringing back of righteousness to what is holy—including the sanctuary of the commander of the host—in Dan 8:14c (וְנִצְדַּק קֹדֶשׁ) and its justification after the horn's rebellion and transgression (פֶּשַׁע) would suggest that the activity in Dan 8:14c refers to the cleansing and re-consecration of that sanctuary, probably in an eschatological Day of Atonement setting where the קֹדֶשׁ is purified from פֶּשַׁע (Lev 16:16). Thus, with regard to the sanctuary Dan 9:24 refers to its inauguration, while Dan 8:14c refers to its restoration.

The root צדק forms another terminological link between 9:24 and 8:12-14. The first of the three positive infinitive clauses in 9:24, לְהָבִיא צֶדֶק עֹלָמִים "and to bring in everlasting righteousness," is sometimes understood as an allusion to Dan 8:14c on

---

[1]In the Torah, at the inauguration of the tabernacle and its utensils the priesthood was also inaugurated, using for both the root משח (Exod 30:30; 40:13-15; Lev 8:12) (cf. ibid., 11-12).

[2]This is very close to Steck's conclusion that the anointing of the holy of holies "significantly does not simply mean the restoration of the previous condition in the sense of the rededication under Judas Maccabaeus . . . but the dedication of an eschatological temple, as the wording shows" ("Weltgeschehen und Gottesvolk," 70 n. 75).

[3]For the purpose of anointing see Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, 553-555, and John N. Oswalt, "מָשַׁח (# 5417)," *NIDOTTE*, 2:1123-1127; cf. H. Weinel, "משח und seine Derivate," *ZAW* 18 (1898): 1-82, esp. 28-48; and Ernst Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt im Alten Testament und im Alten Orient*, BZAW, no. 87 (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1963), 22-27 (for the anointing of the high priest).

account of the use of the same root צדק.[1] Again, a conceptual link between the bringing in of everlasting righteousness in Dan 9:24 and the vindication of the holy in Dan 8:14c seems possible, and is probably intended. It is doubtful, however, that the use of the same root provides reason enough to support the belief that the two phrases refer to the same event, particularly since one is used as a noun in the general sense (note the indefiniteness of צֶדֶק עֹלָמִים) and the other as a verb with a passive subject. What seems clear is that צדק in both texts stands in opposition to פֶּשַׁע and functions as an apocalyptic term designating some kind of eschatological vindication.[2]

A third terminological link between 9:24 and 8:12-14 is the noun פֶּשַׁע "rebellion, transgression," which aside from its cultic overtones in 9:24 also belongs to the second focus of the prophecy that concerns the people. Like in chap. 8, פֶּשַׁע jeopardizes the existence of צֶדֶק and triggers divine intervention. The question remains whether פֶּשַׁע applies to the same transgressions in both 8:12-13 and 9:24, and to the same transgressors respectively.[3] The mention of פֶּשַׁע in 9:24 has been attributed to different agents. For the majority of scholars the term refers to the transgressions of God's people. In short, there are three main arguments for this understanding. First, the definiteness of הַפֶּשַׁע indicates that the context in Dan 9 determines the referential meaning of פֶּשַׁע. The statement "to

---

[1]Goldingay, *Daniel*, 259; Lucas, *Daniel*, 242.

[2]See the analysis of the meaning of וְנִצְדַּק in Dan 8:14c in chapter 2 (above).

[3]Syntactically, the use of פֶּשַׁע in 9:24 cannot be paralleled to 8:12b, simply for the reason that the clause construction in these verses is totally different. The most important dissimilarities are the different verbs (נתן "set up" and כלה "bring to an end" or "destroy" [see *HALOT*, 2:477]) and the syntactic function of פֶּשַׁע (in 8:12a פֶּשַׁע occurs in a prepositional phrase functioning as an optional clause constituent, whereas in 9:24 פֶּשַׁע occurs with the definite article functioning as a required clause constituent, that is, the direct object).

finish the transgression" follows the confessional prayer that employs several different expressions for Israel's sins.[1] The context speaks only of Israel's transgressions. Second, since both parallel terms to הַפֶּשַׁע in 9:24, חַטָּאת "sin" and עָוֺן "iniquity," are used previously in chap. 9 in reference to the sins of Israel, it seems obvious that הַפֶּשַׁע should also designate the people's transgression. And third, according to the literary structure of 9:24 which mirrors the dual nature of the subject, that is, "your people" and "your holy city," הַפֶּשַׁע once more should refer to the sins of the people.[2] Other scholars do not regard הַפֶּשַׁע as a reference to Israel's sins in general, as confessed in the prayer, but rather to the offensive acts of the little horn in chap. 8.[3] This rebellious transgression shall be brought to an end, similar to 8:23 where it is mentioned that the transgressors have run their course. The difficulty arising from this view is that thus far the rebellion of the little horn has not been mentioned in Dan 9. Perhaps this is the reason why for Collins הַפֶּשַׁע in 9:24 also includes "the transgressions of Jews who forsake the covenant" (cf. 11:30-35; 12:10), although for him the emphasis is on evil that must run its course. Still others hold a complementary view and see both the sins of Israel and those of her

---

[1]The verbs and nouns used to describe that Israel sinned are חטא "sin" (9:5, 8, 11, 15), עוה "do wrong" (9:5), רשׁע "make oneself guilty" (9:5), מרד "rebel" (9:5, 9), סור "turn aside" (9:5, 11), לא שׁמע or לְבִלְתִּי שׁמע "not listen" (9:6, 10, 11, 14), מַעַל "disloyalty" and מעל "violate one's legal obligations" (9:7), עבר "overstep" (9:11), רשׁע "be wicked/guilty" (9:15), חֵטְא "sin" (9:16), עָוֺן "iniquity" (9:16), and חַטָּאת (9:21 [2x]). Because of her sins, Israel has befallen בֹּשֶׁת "shame" (9:7, 8), אָלָה "curse" (9:11), רָעָה "evil" (9:12, 13, 14), חֶרְפָּה "reproach" (9:16), and שֹׁמְמֹת "desolations" (9:18).

[2]Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks," 9-11.

[3]So, e.g., Goldingay, *Daniel*, 259; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 354; Bauer, *Daniel*, 189.

pagan oppressors in 9:24.[1] In short, considering the context, both of 9:24 itself and of Daniel's prayer, it seems most natural to understand the transgression primarily in reference to God's people, although it should not be excluded that הַפֶּשַׁע contains a more universal dimension.[2]

It is problematic that some interpreters extend the terminological link of פֶּשַׁע between 8:12-13 and 9:24 beyond its function of connecting the two texts conceptually and claim that the agent of transgression in both texts must be the same. Either they try to understand the agent of הַפֶּשַׁע in 9:24, which they correctly identify as God's people, as the agent of פֶּשַׁע in 8:12-13 as well,[3] or they take 8:12-13, in which they correctly identify the horn as the agent of rebellion, as background for הַפֶּשַׁע in 9:24 and conclude that the agent must be the same in both instances.[4] Either assumption should be avoided. Once again it is better to refrain from harmonizing the interpretational meaning of 9:24 with 8:12-13, to decide in each passage who the agent of transgression is without looking to the other passage for explanation, and to note that the two texts are mainly linked

---

[1]So, e.g., Lucas, *Daniel*, 241-242, 250-251. Klaus Koch seems to understand הַפֶּשַׁע in this way when he cautiously states that "it is not clear . . . whether it concerns the guilt of Israel alone or also that of the nations" ("Universalgeschichte, auserwähltes Volk und Reich der Ewigkeit: Das Geschichtsverständnis des Danielbuches," in *Europa, Tausendjähriges Reich und Neue Welt: Zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des Danielbuches*, ed. M. Delgado, K. Koch, and E. Marsch, Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, no. 1 [Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2003], 32).

[2]The definite הַפֶּשַׁע without the extension "of the people" or the like could also surpass any limited understanding and may be interpreted more broadly than just the transgressions of the people.

[3]See, e.g., Thomas Edward McComiskey, "The Seventy 'Weeks' of Daniel against the Background of Ancient Near Eastern Literature," *WTJ* 47 (1985): 34-35.

[4]See, e.g., Goldingay, *Daniel*, 259; Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 354; Bauer, *Daniel*, 189.

conceptually, while the specific connection focuses on the prophetic time element.

Eschatological Day of Atonement

Several factors in Dan 9:24 indicate strongly that this verse is not only immersed in Levitical terminology but is also situated in a Day of Atonement setting. First of all, the combined concern for both sanctuary and people and their restoration, which is also characteristic of Dan 8:9-14, signals a possible association with the concept of the Day of Atonement. Koch sees a connection from Dan 9:24 to the promise of eschatological atonement for God's people in Mic 7:18-19, which also uses the three terms עָוֹן, פֶּשַׁע, and חַטָּאת, and maybe even to "an eschatological Day of Atonement" for the three terms also appear in Lev 16:21.[1] Similarly, Laato assumes that "the eschatological 'expiation of crime' described in Dan 9:24 is connected with the *kipper*-ritual at the Temple."[2]

In this regard, it is interesting to note that Daniel's prayer does not use the root פשע for the sins of Israel, despite the variety of other expressions for sin employed in it. Its use in 9:24 in parallel to חַטָּאת "sin" and עָוֹן "iniquity" could therefore be attributed to a specific function of this triad of terms for sin as an intertextual reference to the Day of Atonement.

Furthermore, Lacocque observes that the obvious relationship between the

---

[1]Koch, "Bedeutung der Apokalyptik," 198; cf. idem, "Universalgeschichte," 32. Besides Lev 16:21; Mic 7:18-19; and Dan 9:24, the terms עָוֹן, פֶּשַׁע, and חַטָּאת occur together in close proximity only in Isa 43:24-25; 59:12; Ezek 21:29; Pss 32:5; 51:3-5; 59:4-5; Job 13:23; 14:16-17.

[2]Antti Laato, "The Eschatological Act of *kipper* in the *Damascus Document*," in *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Jósef Tadeusz Milik*, ed. Z. J. Kapera, Qumranica mogilanensia, no. 6 (Kraków: Enigma, 1992), 104. Laato finds similarities between Dan 9:24 and Zech 12:1-13:1 (and more distantly also with Zech 3:8-10) and associates the eschatological *kipper* or blotting out of sins with the coming of the Messianic era (104, 106).

division of the seventy weeks and the reckoning of the jubilee year (Lev 25:8-11) also points to the Day of Atonement, since the proclamation of the jubilee has to occur on the tenth day of the seventh month, which is the annual Day of Atonement, after the sanctuary and the people have been purged from all their impurities and sins.[1]

An allusion to the Day of Atonement in Dan 9:24 would emphasize that the interpretation of 8:14c against the background of an eschatological Day of Atonement is well-founded and coherent, as has been suggested by the thematic analysis of 8:9-14, by the animal symbolism employed in chap. 8, and by the intertextual relation to 7:9-10 and 7:13-14. Thus, the intertextual relation to 9:24, although not being a compelling reason for it, still supports the idea that the interpretation of 8:14 should be engaged within the parameters of the Day of Atonement.[2] Again, the terminological links to 9:24 certainly emphasize the cultic or Levitical canvas of 8:12-14, since in 9:24 these specific terms are used precisely to create such a background.[3]

Covenant

At this point, one needs to take a closer look at the covenant theme and the

---

[1]Lacocque, *Daniel*, 192.

[2]This does not mean, of course, that the events prophesied in Dan 9:24 correspond to the events prophesied in Dan 8:14, which, among other things, is already evident from the different activity in regard to the sanctuary (inauguration in 9:24 vs. restoration in 8:14). It follows that one should not suppose that with the possible fulfillment of the events described in 9:24 all the aspects of an eschatological Day of Atonement would be (antitypically) fulfilled.

[3]In the seventy-weeks prophecy, Doukhan identifies the following terms as Levitical: "sin," "holy of holies," "righteousness," "Holy," "the City," "Jerusalem," "offering," and "sacrifice" ("Seventy Weeks," 11, 20).

connection between divine wrath and the sin of the people.[1] Frequently the prayer in Dan 9 with its covenantal background has led scholars to the assumption that the covenantal pattern of sin can also be found in the prophecies of Daniel.[2] The question to be asked here is whether the covenant theme or the breaking of the covenant by God's people as mentioned in the prayer of chap. 9 is thematically broached in chap. 8, and specifically, whether it is present in Dan 8:12-13.

To start with, there is no question that the covenant forms the theological framework of the prayer of Daniel, and to some extent also of the seventy-weeks oracle.[3] Indeed, the prayer in Dan 9 is the place where the obvious covenantal or "Deuteronomistic" pattern of sin, oppression and desolation, repentance, and deliverance can be easily detected, which certainly was influenced by the prophets, particularly by Jer 25:8-13 to which Daniel paid attention (Dan 9:2).[4] The sins of Israel in breaking the

---

[1]For an excellent discussion on the wrath of God in the prayer of Daniel and elsewhere in the book of Daniel, see Rast, 173-185. For the presence of the covenant theme in Daniel, see Arie van der Kooij, "The Concept of Covenant (*Bᵉrît*) in the Book of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, BETL, no. 106 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 495-501.

[2]See recently P. B. Petersen, 200-211.

[3]The prayer of Daniel is interwoven with covenant terminology. For example, in the book of Daniel, the covenant name YHWH occurs only here (9:2, 4, 8, 10, 13, 14 [2x]) and the term בְּרִית "covenant" occurs only in chaps. 9 and 11 (9:4, 27; 11:22, 28, 30 [2x], 32). An unambiguous allusion to the covenant is the modification of the adoption formula that Israel is called by the name of YHWH (9:19). A study on the covenant theme in Dan 9, in both prayer and prophecy, is provided by Meredith G. Kline, "The Covenant of the Seventieth Week," in *The Law and the Prophets: Old Testament Studies Prepared in Honor of Oswald Thompson Allis*, ed. J. H. Skilton (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1974), 452-469; for the covenant in the prophecy of Dan 9:24-27, see also Owusu-Antwi, 181-185.

[4]This pattern of covenantal or "Deuteronomistic" theology can be described in short as the following: Israel's sin in breaking the covenant leads to God's justice and judgment which brings foreign oppressors over Israel. The suffering of Israel then leads to her confession of sin and

covenant brought God's anger (אַף) and wrath (חֵמָה) upon them, manifesting itself in oppression by other nations so that God's people, Jerusalem, and the sanctuary became desolate (9:16-17). The repentance and plea for mercy, as exemplified by the prophet Daniel, are answered by a prophecy of deliverance in which the broken covenant, as well as the people and the holy city, will be restored.

The following points might suggest a covenantal pattern as background to the events described in Dan 8. First, since the term זַעַם "wrath" (8:19) elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible refers to God's wrath against sinners and nations (20 times), except in Hos 7:16, it would in Dan 8:19 designate God's wrath and indicate divine providence, implying that the divine wrath against God's people, executed by pagan people, turns against the enemy itself. Second, the phrase עַז־פָּנִים "stern-faced" in Dan 8:23 occurs elsewhere only in Deut 28:50, and there in the context of covenant curses: God will bring גּוֹי עַז פָּנִים "a nation of fierce countenance" against his people. If עַז־פָּנִים in Dan 8:23 is borrowed from Deut 28:50 and would function as an intentional allusion to one of the covenant curses, it appears that the rise of the king/horn in Dan 8 should be understood as a covenant curse. Third, the term מוֹעֵד "appointed time" (Dan 8:19) resonates the idea of a divinely fixed time, giving the impression that the period of indignation is under divine

---

repentance so that God in his time can intervene by showing mercy to his people and administering retribution to the merciless oppressors. For such a pattern in the prayer of Dan 9 see, e.g., P. B. Petersen, 169-183; Lucas, *Daniel*, 253. For a list of the prayer's "Deuteronomistic traces" see Hans van Deventer, "The End of the End: Or, What Is the Deuteronomist (Still) Doing in Daniel?" in *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets*, ed. J. C. de Moor and H. F. Van Rooy, OtSt, no. 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 66-67.

control.[1] And fourth, the concept that הַפֹּשְׁעִים "the transgressors" (Dan 8:23) have reached their limit seems to imply that the sins of God's people have reached such an alarming stage that God is forced to take drastic measures.

Based on these observations it seems understandable why some scholars conclude that Dan 8 deals with the concept of God's wrath directed against apostate believers by "sending" an enemy who, by divine permission, oppresses God's people, and furthermore with the concept of God's salvation, when in the end his wrath turns against the unmerciful oppressor and he brings restoration to his people. As a corollary assumption, the sin or rebellion mentioned in 8:12, 13, and 8:23 is taken to refer to the sin of God's people.[2] Since such a conclusion would affect the understanding of Dan 8:12 significantly, it is important to investigate whether the inference of a covenantal pattern in Dan 8 indeed rests on solid ground.

To begin with, and most fundamentally, the linguistic analysis of Dan 8:12-13 shows that the פֶּשַׁע in these verses should not be attributed to God's people.[3] In addition,

---

[1]See Dan 11:27, 29, 35; 12:7; cf. the use of the Aramaic equivalent עִדָּן in Dan 2:21; 4:13, 20, 22, 29; 7:12, 25.

[2]Recently, P. B. Petersen argued for such a specific thematic connection (200-211). He proposes a similar fourfold pattern of events for Dan 8 and Dan 9: sin or transgression of God's people, God's wrath brings tribulation by the hand of hostile powers, desolation of the sanctuary, and future divine intervention. Importing the covenant theme from Dan 9, he detects in 8:12a a covenantal pattern of cause and effect, with the sin of God's people being the cause and the giving over of them the effect (204, 209-211). To support the thesis that the events in Dan 8 must be seen in light of a broken covenant Petersen presents the observations on זַעַם "wrath" (8:19) and עַז־פָּנִים "stern-faced" (8:23) as mentioned above (202-204).

[3]In short, there are at least six major points why 8:12a is concerned with the rebellion of the horn and its host: (1) "A host" is the grammatical subject of vs. 12a and of 12 b-d and thus cannot be regarded as the "host of heaven"; (2) "a host" in vs. 12a is indefinite to distinguish it from the "host of heaven" mentioned in vs. 10 and referred to in vs. 11a; (3) the prepositional phrase עַל־הַתָּמִיד should not be interpreted as comitative but as metaphorical-locational or indicating disadvantage; (4) the

the possible terminological indicators put forth as reasons for a covenantal pattern in Dan 8 are not entirely convincing.

First, regarding the use and understanding of the term זַעַם "wrath" in Dan 8:19, it is important for our understanding to notice that Gabriel wants to inform Daniel what will happen "at the last time of the indignation" (בְּאַחֲרִית הַזָּעַם). The implication seems to be that this final time of wrath refers to the rise of the blasphemous king and his activities (vss. 23-25), since the angelic interpretation focuses on this time period—new information is given only for this time span—implying in turn that the time prior to this king should also be regarded as characterized by "indignation" (זַעַם). One may infer that the entire vision is one of "indignation" or "wrath," which then refers not to the indignation of God but to the indignation of hostile powers, comparable to the animal powers in Dan 7.[1] Daniel 11:36 seems to be a parallel to the last time of indignation when the king of the north has success עַד־כָּלָה זַעַם "until wrath is completed." Thus, the king acts throughout the period of wrath. Indeed, one should note that the king of the

prepositional phrase בְּפָשַׁע should be understood as modal, mainly because the abstract noun for sin does not carry a pronominal suffix which would be used if the phrase should be understood as *pretii* or causal; (5) the literary effect of the unusual feminine gender of צָבָא in vs. 12a is to heighten by surprise the readers' awareness of the introduction of a new subject; and (6) vs. 12a is an audible explanation to vs. 11b which explicates that the taking away of the *tāmîd* from the commander of the host of heaven involves a host that is set against the *tāmîd* by the horn (see the discussion on vs. 12a in chapter 2 [above]).

[1]Even if זַעַם in 8:19 would refer to the wrath of God, the object of wrath has still to be determined, for the wrath of God can be directed against his people (Isa 10:5, 25; Ezek 22:24, 31; Lam 2:6), but it can also be directed against the nations or oppressors of his people (Isa 13:5; 30:27; Jer 10:10; 50:25; Ezek 21:36; Nah 1:6; Hab 3:12; Zeph 3:8; Ps 78:49). Cf. Rast, 176. However, since the angel Gabriel does not elaborate on God's wrath upon the nations or upon the final king, except for the laconic statement that "he will be broken without human hand" (8:25), it seems extremely unlikely that the angel would refer to this type of divine wrath.

north himself will act in wrath (verb זעם in 11:20). This may be an indication that the phrase "at the last time of the wrath (זַעַם)" in 8:19 could refer to the final time of wrath stemming from the oppressors of God's people. An ongoing period characterized by wrath does not imply that God is continuously punishing God's people for their transgressions (cf. Zech 1:12 with 1:14-15), but is viewed as harsh treatment of God's people due to the continued hostility of their enemies rather than a deserved punishment for their own sins.[1] "The 'wrath' has become a quasi-technical term for the tribulation."[2] If this reasoning is correct, then the final time of wrath refers to the wrath of the little horn or the brazen-faced king.

There is obviously a difference, if not a contrast, between the understanding of "wrath" in the prayer of Dan 9 and in the prophetic section of the book. The use of the terms אַף "anger" and חֵמָה "rage, both of which belong to the same semantic field as זַעַם "wrath," is emblematic of this varying nature of wrath. Whereas in the prayer Daniel views the people of Israel as responsible for the divine wrath (see the use of אַף "anger" and חֵמָה "rage, wrath" in 9:16), in the prophetic section wrath designates the nations' fury (אַף in 11:20; חֵמָה in 8:6; 11:44).[3] One may conclude that in Daniel's prophetic revelation divine wrath "is never manifestly connected with the sin of Israel."[4]

[1]Goldingay, *Daniel*, 215; Lucas, *Daniel*, 219-220; cf. Bevan, 137.

[2]Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 339.

[3]See Rast, 173-179. For the contrast between the Deuteronomistic view of history as expressed in the prayer and the apocalyptic view of history in the rest of Daniel see Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 185-187.

[4]Rast, 178.

Second, the phrase עַז־פָּנִים in 8:23 evokes in all likelihood an association with wisdom rather than with covenant curses, despite the use of the same phrase in Deut 28:50.[1] The saturation of the immediate context in Dan 8:23 with wisdom terminology in association with the king, as well as the depiction of this king as negative vis-à-vis the pious wise men, suggests that עַז־פָּנִים echoes Prov 7:13 and Eccl 8:1 and again characterizes the king as the shrewd counterpart of true wisdom.

Third, the use of מוֹעֵד "appointed time" in Dan 8:19 in the phrase לְמוֹעֵד קֵץ "appointed time of the end" indicates that the end of the time of wrath is certain and has been divinely appointed.[2] The hope which is affirmed here is that God remains still in control, even if the nations rage, which in fact is not only a vital aspect of the message of chap. 8 but also of the entire book.

Fourth, the mention of הַפֹּשְׁעִים "the transgressors" (8:23) should not be interpreted in reference to God's (apostate) people.[3] Rather, the expression refers to the previously mentioned heathen powers and most likely includes the brazen-faced king, who as the ultimate oppressor of God's people and enemy of God is then considered to stand for the climax of the transgression. Such an understanding is based on the two time phrases in 8:23 ("at the last time of their rule"; "at the moment when the transgressors reach full measure"), the preceding context, which clearly speaks of Medo-Persia, Greece

---

[1]This point has already been discussed (cf. p. 587 n. 2 [above]).

[2]Cf. Dan 11:27, 35. Note also that in 8:19 "the last time of the wrath" is parallel to "the time of the end" and refers to the end of history (Pfandl, *Time of the End*, 140, 178).

[3]This point has already been discussed as well (cf. pp. 584-586 [above]).

and her followers, but not of God's people, and the well-known theological motif that the sins of the heathen must reach full measure before God intervenes.

It is evident by now that the proposed terminological indicators are not sufficient to deduce a "Deuteronomistic" covenantal pattern in Dan 8. Even if such a pattern might be found in the angelic interpretation in chap. 8, as has been claimed, this still does not imply that פֶּשַׁע in 8:12-13 should be attributed to God's people. Linguistic evidence in 8:12-13 and its immediate context take priority over potential contextual thematic considerations, and the former suggest that פֶּשַׁע in vss. 12-13 refers to the rebellion of the horn. That the covenant concept represents the foundation to the prayer in chap. 9 should not lead one to infer, at any rate, that the covenant idea, in particular a breaking of the covenant, must also be present in 8:12, even if chap. 9 is closely linked to chap. 8 for a several other reasons.

Conflict

Finally, as in chaps. 8 and 7, the conflict motif is also present in 9:24-27 and is generally well acknowledged. Without entering into details or establishing precise relationships, it is clear that such expressions as מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד "an anointed, a leader" (9:25) or the מָשִׁיחַ "anointed one" (9:26), the נָגִיד "leader" or the עַם נָגִיד הַבָּא "people of the leader who comes" (9:26), and the שֹׁמֵם "desolator" (9:27) refer to at least two antagonistic powers.[1] The theme of conflict is especially expressed in 9:26-27 by words

[1]Generally the שֹׁמֵם in vs. 27 is viewed as the oppressive power, whereas the two expressions מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד in vs. 25 and מָשִׁיחַ in vs. 26, which refer either to two persons or to the same person, designate the suppressed. The identification of the נָגִיד הַבָּא "leader who comes" and his people in vs. 26 is disputed. Some identify him with the same oppressive power as the שֹׁמֵם in vs. 27, others

that belong to the semantic field of war and destruction, such as כרת nif. "cut off," שׁחת hif. "destroy," מִלְחָמָה "war" (all 9:26), and the verb שׁמם "desolate, devastate" (9:26, 27 [2x]) which may be linked to 8:13.

Conclusion

In summary, Dan 9:21-27 adds significantly to the understanding of Dan 8:9-14. The *Leitwort* בין in chaps. 8 and 9 and the intertextual references in 9:21 establish that the seventy-weeks prophecy contributes above all to the understanding of the prophetic time element of the vision (מַרְאֶה) of the "evening-morning" of Dan 8, while the verb נֶחְתַּךְ "be apportioned" in 9:24 specifically suggests that the "seventy weeks" should be understood as part of the "2300 evening-morning."

---

take him in line with the anointed one(s). For the different identifications see Collins (*Daniel* [1993], 355-358), Owusu-Antwi (162-170), and Lucas (*Daniel*, 243-245). Several terminological and thematic arguments lead to the conclusion that the "people of a leader who comes" refers to an oppressive power, not to God's people, and that the "leader who comes" should not be identified with the "anointed one" in either vs. 25 or vs. 26. First, the attack on "the city and the sanctuary" which the "people of a leader who comes" will destroy is difficult to attribute to God's people. Since the people of God and the city with its sanctuary are the two foci of Daniel's prayer, in which they both are presented in a state of desolation, as well as the central concerns of the prophecy, it seems inconsistent to argue that in 9:26 the same people go against their own sanctuary and city. Second, while talking to Daniel, the angel is referring to the people of Israel as עַמְּךָ "your people" (9:24; cf. 10:14; 11:14; 12:1), which somehow mirrors Daniel's use of language when he refers to Israel in his prayer as עַמְּךָ "your people" (9:15, 16, 19) and in the narration as עַמִּי "my people" (9:20). However, in the angelic speech in 9:26 עַם is not qualified as the people of Daniel; the angel does not use עַמְּךָ. Instead עַם occurs in a construct phrase with נָגִיד הַבָּא and probably designates a host or an army, but not the people of Israel. Third, the term שׁחת hif. is used elsewhere in the book of Daniel for the activity of oppressive powers (8:24 [2x], 25; 11:17). And fourth, the leader is qualified by the participle הַבָּא as "a leader *who comes*." It is noteworthy that in Daniel בוא qal is frequently, though not exclusively, used for militant and military action, especially as a keyword in chap. 11 (1:1; 8:5, 6; 10:20; 11:7, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 21, 24, 29, 30, 40, 41). If such a connotation is present in its occurrence in 9:26, and the language of destruction in vs. 26 (יַשְׁחִית etc.) points in that direction, the נָגִיד has military characteristics and עַם may well refer to his host (on the third and fourth point cf. Doukhan, "Seventy Weeks," 11, 14; his structure of 9:25-27 would also confirm that the "leader who comes" stands in opposition to the "anointed one" and, then, עַם "people" refers to an oppressive group).

The terminological links between 9:24 and 8:12-14 (פֶּשַׁע, צדק, קֹדֶשׁ, and also חָזוֹן) display the thematic affinity of the two texts, but they should not force the deduction that the texts refer to the same events. For such a conclusion the terms are used too differently. While 9:24 primarily refers to the transgression of God's people, 8:9-14 focuses on the transgression of the rebellious horn, and thus the breaking of the covenant, so prominent in the prayer of Dan 9, is not in view in chap. 8. While 9:24 speaks about the inauguration of a sanctuary, 8:14c refers to a restoration of a sanctuary and of God's people. The thematic affinity is expressed in the similar concern for cult and people and appears to rest, at least to some extent, on the concept of the Day of Atonement. This strengthens the view that the restoration at the climax of the vision of Dan 8 should be interpreted within the framework of an eschatological Day of Atonement.

Intertextual Relations between Daniel 8:9-14 and Daniel 10–12

The comparative data between Dan 8:9-14 and Dan 10–12 are presented in the following list.[1]

Lexical correspondences
Keyword links
יצא "go forth" (8:9; 10:20; 11:11, 44)
גדל "great" (8:4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 25; 11:36, 37)
נֶגֶב "South" (8:4, 9; 11:5, 6, 9, 11, 14, 15, 25 [2x], 29, 40)
צְבִי "beauty" (8:9; 11:16, 41, 45)
נפל "fall" (8:10 hif.; 11:12 hif., 19, 26)[2]

---

[1]For similar phraseology in Dan 8 and Dan 10–12 see Hölscher (127) and Behrens (329). A more thematic table of comparison is offered by Desmond Ford (*The Abomination of Desolation in Biblical Eschatology* [Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1979], 124-125).

[2]The verb נפל is used within a different context in 8:17 and 10:7.

כּוֹכָבִים "stars" (8:10; 12:3)
שַׂר "prince" for celestial beings (8:11, 25 [2x]; 10:13 [2x], 20 [2x], 21; 12:1)[1]
הַתָּמִיד "the *tāmîd*" (8:11, 12, 13; 11:31; 12:11)
מִקְדָּשׁ "sanctuary" (8:11; 11:31)
נתן "give" (8:12, 13; 11:6, 11, 17, 21, 31; 12:11; cf. also 10:12, 15)
אֱמֶת "(divine) truth" (8:12, 26; 10:1, 21; 11:2)
עשׂה "do" (8:4, 12, 24, 27; 11:3, 6, 7, 16, 17, 23, 24 [2x], 28, 30, 32, 36 [2x], 39)
צלח hif. "succeed" (8:12, 24, 25; 11:36), צלח qal. "prosper" (11:27)
שׁמע "hear" the voice of a celestial being (8:13, 16; 10:9 [2x]; 12:7, 8)[2]
עַד־מָתַי "until when?" (8:13; 12:6)
חָזוֹן "vision" (8:1, 2 [2x], 13, 15, 17, 26; 10:14; 11:14)
שׁמם "be desolated" (8:13; 11:31; 12:11)
קֹדֶשׁ "holy" (8:13, 14; 11:28, 30 [2x], 45; 12:7)
צדק "make righteous" (8:14; 12:3)

Thematic word links
רמס "trample" (8:7, 10, 13) // שׁחת hif. "ruin" (11:17); שׁבר qal "shatter" (11:26); שׁמד hif. "exterminate" (11:44); חרם hif. "destroy" (11:44); נפץ "smash" (12:7)
צָבָא "host" (8:10 [2x], 11, 12, 13) // זְרֹעוֹת (11:15, 22); זְרֹעִים "forces" (11:31)

Incidental correspondences
אֶחָד "one" (8:3 [2x], 9 [2x], 13 [2x]; 10:5, 13 [2x], 21; 11:1, 20, 27; 12:5 [2x])
מִזְרָח "East" (8:9; 11:44)
שָׁמַיִם "heaven" (8:10; 12:7; in 8:8 and 11:4 occurs לְאַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמָיִם)
אֶרֶץ "land" (8:5 [2x], 7, 10, 12, 18; 10:9, 15; 11:16, 19, 28 [2x], 40, 41, 42 [2x])
צָבָא "host (8:10 [2x], 11, 12, 13); "warfare, conflict" (10:1)
רום "remove" (8:11); "lift up" (11:12, 36; 12:7)
דבר "speak" (8:13 [2x], 18; 10:11 [2x], 15, 16, 17, 19 [2x]; 11:27, 36)
דבר עִמִּי "speak with me" (8:18; 10:11, 15, 19; cf. 9:21; and 10:17, 19)
אמר "say" (8:13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 26; 10:11, 12, 16, 19 [2x], 20; 12:6, 8, 9)
אֶלֶף "thousand" (8:14; 12:11, 12)
שָׁלֹשׁ "three" (8:1, 14; 10:1, 2, 3; 11:2; 12:12)
מֵאָה "hundred" (8:14; 12:11, 12)

Thematic similarities
Conflict
Self-magnification of earthly power
Attack on saints and opposition to God

---

[1]In 11:5 שַׂר is used for a human prince.

[2]In 10:12 שׁמע designates that in the heavenly realm Daniel's words were heard.

Cultic interest
End of anti-divine power by divine intervention: judgment
Concern for time

Structural similarities
Supernatural revelation followed by dialogue
Basic elements of the vision are repeated in the angelic discourse.

General Assessment of the Intertextual Relation

It is generally agreed upon that Dan 8 and Dan 10–12 form a rich intertextual tapestry. In fact, Goldingay observes correctly that "it is with chap. 8 that chaps. 10–12 have most detailed points of contact."[1] In this case the question arises where exactly these chapters refer to Dan 8, and particularly to 8:9-14. To pursue this issue it is helpful to examine the subsections of chaps. 10–12 separately.

Chapters 10–12, which should be considered as a unit,[2] fall into three or four basic subsections, depending on whether the epiphany and the first dialogue are taken together

[1]Goldingay, *Daniel*, 283.

[2]Several points show that 10:1-12:13 should be treated as one major part (on the unity of Dan 10–12 see especially Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 98-99). First, in the epiphany אִישׁ־אֶחָד לָבוּשׁ בַּדִּים "a certain man dressed in linen" (10:5) appears who is after the long angelic discourse referred to as הָאִישׁ לְבוּשׁ הַבַּדִּים "the man dressed in the linen" (12:6, 7). The definiteness of אִישׁ and בַּדִּים in 12:6, 7 refers back to their occurrence in 10:5 and thus links the two sections together. Second, the message of the one "like the appearance of a man" (10:18) covers 10:19 to 12:4. The main part is a revelation of the כְּתָב אֱמֶת "writing of truth" (10:21), or at least part of it, which stretches from 11:2b to 12:3 and provides a prophetic survey of history. In 12:4 the angel addresses Daniel directly. Hence, the angelic discourse in 11:2b-12:3 is part of the larger dialogue between this angel and Daniel starting in 10:10 and should not be separated from it. Third, the dating formula in 10:1 and the absence of any dating formula in 12:5 suggest that 12:5-13 is a section belonging to 10:1-12:4. Fourth, the occurrence of structural markers stresses that these chapters belong together: the dating formula in 10:1, a dateline in 10:4, וְהִנֵּה in 10:10, וְעַתָּה in 11:2, and another וְהִנֵּה in 12:5. Fifth, the "two others" in 12:5 presuppose the revealing angel of chap. 10. And sixth, the passage in 12:9-10 echoes 11:35 as well as 12:4. The unity of chaps. 10–12 does not rule out that the epilogue in 12:5-13 was composed as a fitting conclusion not only to chaps. 10–12, but also to the second half of Daniel (chaps. 7–12) and to the entire book (Lucas, *Daniel*, 268).

as one unit or not: the epiphany of a celestial being (10:1-9); the dialogue between an angel and Daniel (10:10–11:1); the angelic discourse (11:2–12:4); and the dialogue between celestial beings as well as between "the man dressed in linen" and Daniel (12:5-13).[1]

Daniel 8 and the Visionary Experience:
Epiphany and First Dialogue (10:1–11:1)

To start with, the setting is similar with regard to the date and the location close to water. The vision in Dan 8 appeared "in the third year of the reign of Belshazzar the king" (8:1), while the one in Dan 10–12 happened "in the third year of Cyrus king of Persia" (10:1). In the former Daniel was "by (עַל) the canal Ulai" (8:2), while in the latter he was "by (עַל) the bank of the great river, that is, the Tigris" (10:4). Chapter 12 adds to this: In chap. 8 a celestial being, who is not described by Daniel but calls out with a voice of a man, is located "between the banks of Ulai" (8:16), while in chap. 12 a celestial being, who is described as "the man dressed in linen" and calls out an oath, is located "above the waters of the river" (12:7).

Similar terminology is used to describe similar events of Daniel's visionary experience.[2] The introductory phrases to these experiences are lexically and syntactically very close: וָאֶשָּׂא עֵינַי וָאֶרְאֶה וְהִנֵּה אַיִל אֶחָד "I lifted my eyes and looked, and behold, a (certain) ram" (8:3) parallels וָאֶשָּׂא אֶת־עֵינַי וָאֵרֶא וְהִנֵּה אִישׁ־אֶחָד "I lifted my eyes and

[1]So also Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 96-98; idem, *Daniel* (1993), 371; Lucas, *Daniel*, 264-265.

[2]Some scholars note terminological links between 8:16-18 and 10:9-11, 14 (Lucas, *Daniel*, 36, 275) and 10:8-18 (Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 374-375 passim). See also Behrens, 329.

looked, and behold, a (certain) man" (10:5). Daniel's visionary activity is described with ראה "look, see" (8:2 [3x], 3, 4, 6, 7, 15, 20; 10:5, 7 [2x], 8; 12:5; cf. also 8:1), and what he sees is introduced by the deictic particle וְהִנֵּה "and behold" (8:3, 5, 15; 10:5, 10, 13, 16, 20; 11:2 [הִנֵּה]; 12:5). Both times at least part of Daniel's experience is designated as מַרְאֶה "vision" (8:15, 16, 26; 10:1, 6, 18). His experiences not only include vision but also hearing (שמע) the voice (קוֹל) of a celestial being (8:16; 10:9; cf. the celestial קוֹל in 10:6). Naturally, celestial beings are speaking (דבר: 8:13 [2x], 18; 10:11 [2x], 15, 19) and saying things (אמר: 8:13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 26; 10:11, 12, 19, 20; 12:6, 9). Daniel reports that a celestial being was עֹמֵד לְנֶגְדִּי "standing before me" (8:15; 10:16; cf. 12:5) and he uses the term אָדָם "man" (8:16; 10:16, 18) in reference to that being. After each epiphany Daniel fell stunned (or into deep sleep) on his face to the ground, both times using רדם nif. + עַל־פָּנַי אָרְצָה "I fell into deep sleep on/with my face to the ground" (8:18; 10:9). In both instances Daniel is touched by a celestial being (נגע: 8:18; 10:10, 16, 18; with the exact same phrase וַיִּגַּע־בִּי "and he touched me" in 8:18 and 10:18), and commanded or helped to stand upright at his place: עמד . . . עַל־עָמְדִ "stand . . . on your location" (8:18 [cf. vs. 17]; 10:11). Daniel needs to understand (בין hif.) the revelation (8:5, 16, 17, 27; 10:1 [qal], 11, 12, 14), although in certain respects he has difficulty understanding (8:27; 12:8). In chap. 8 he seeks understanding (בִּינָה) of the vision (הֶחָזוֹן) (8:15), and in chap. 10 he gained understanding (בִּינָה) of the vision (מַרְאֶה) (10:1).[1] Finally, in both instances Daniel is requested to "keep secret" (סתם) the revelation (8:26;

[1]Goldingay also feels that Daniel's understanding mentioned at the beginning of the last vision (10:1) connects to his frustrating lack of understanding at the end of the previous vision (8:27) (*Daniel*, 289).

12:4, 9), and the angel explains to him that the vision pertains to the future: note the similarity between סְתֹם הֶחָזוֹן כִּי לְיָמִים רַבִּים "keep secret the vision for it is for many days" (8:26) and כִּי־עוֹד חָזוֹן לַיָּמִים "for still a vision for the days" which stands parallel to בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים "in the latter days" (10:14). The use of אַחֲרִית "latter part" in reference to time underlines that at their climax the revelations are concerned with events of the final period (8:19, 23; 10:14; 12:8).

With so many connections between Dan 8 and Dan 10, it is quite likely that the חָזוֹן "vision" mentioned in 10:14, which is usually interpreted to refer to the following angelic discourse,[1] also has a connection with the חָזוֹן in chap. 8. There are several pointers to support this conclusion. First, all the previous occurrences of חָזוֹן refer to the vision in chap. 8 (8:1, 2 [2x], 13, 15, 17, 26). For some this might not be a strong point, for the word occurs once more in 11:14 where an exclusive reference to the vision in chap. 8 might be doubtful. However, most agree that חָזוֹן in 11:14 refers to the prophecies in Daniel, which includes chap. 8. Second, apart from Dan 10:14 there is no evidence to be found in chaps. 10–12 that the revelation in 11:2–12:3 could be qualified as a חָזוֹן. The epiphany in 10:5-9 is called מַרְאָה (10:7 [2x], 8, 16). The angelic discourse is called דָּבָר (10:1) or הַדְּבָרִים (10:11; 12:4, 9), and a designation as חָזוֹן is

[1]The view that "vision" in 10:14 refers to what the angel is about to prophetically declare is held by Hävernick, 440; Hitzig, 184; Keil, 419-420; Rohling, *Daniel*, 309; Bevan, 169; Tiefenthal, 315; Marti, *Daniel*, 76; Charles, 263; Lattey, 92; Nötscher, *Daniel*, 52; Young, *Daniel*, 227; Jeffery, 507; Aalders, *Daniel* (1962), 244; Delcor, 213; Baldwin, 181; Hartman and DiLella, 265; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 209; Maier, 368. More specifically, Redditt understands the "vision" to refer to 12:1-4a, 13 (173).

difficult for the discourse does not contain any visionary elements.[1] A problem with interpreting חָזוֹן in 10:14 as a reference to the vision in chap. 8 is that the term is indefinite. One would expect a definite article if חָזוֹן indeed refers back to the previous vision. Still there is a possible explanation for this. Daniel 10:14 is an allusion to Hab 2:3: כִּי עוֹד חָזוֹן לַמּוֹעֵד "for the vision is yet for an appointed time" where חָזוֹן does not have the definite article. The assumption is that the intertextual relationship to Hab 2:3 is so strong that the author intentionally uses the indefinite חָזוֹן in Dan 11:14.[2] This argument is strengthened by the occurrence of a similar phrase in Dan 11:27, קֵץ לַמּוֹעֵד כִּי־עוֹד "for the end is still at the appointed time," which again seems to allude to Hab 2:3 and in which קֵץ is also indefinite.[3] To conclude, חָזוֹן in 10:14 is quite likely a reference to the vision in chap. 8.[4] Hence, apart from the clear indicators of lexical and thematic links in the angelic discourse itself, there already is in the setting of the prophecy a signal that Dan 10–12 helps in understanding the vision in chap. 8. Even if חָזוֹן in 10:14 would refer only to the following angelic discourse, the use of the same term for the angelic discourse and for the vision in chap. 8 still shows that they are closely linked.

---

[1]*Pace* Keil who believes that the three terms חָזוֹן, מַרְאֶה, and דָּבָר all designate the same revelation recorded in chap. 11 (419). For the distinction between מַרְאֶה and מַרְאָה, see p. 666 n. 2.

[2]So suggested by Hasslberger, 191. The link between Dan 10:14 and Hab 2:3 is noted by Hävernick, 440; Lacocque, *Daniel*, 209; Anderson, 126-127; and Seow, *Daniel*, 161.

[3]In Dan 11:35 the phrase כִּי־עוֹד לַמּוֹעֵד "for still at the appointed time" seems to be an abbreviated form of the phrase in 11:27, possibly because עֵת קֵץ occurs in 11:35 immediately before the phrase and thus might be elided in it.

[4]So Hasslberger, 190-191. Stating Hasslberger's opinion without comment, Goldingay (*Daniel*, 283-284) sees Dan 10–12 as "a reworking" of the earlier visions in chaps. 7, 8, and 9, with most links to chap. 8. Kliefoth (434) and Goettsberger (79) believe that "vision" in 10:14 refers to the previous visions; while Junker (97) refers to it as an untold vision by Daniel.

In conclusion, the encounter with the interpreting angel in chap. 8 and the one in chap. 10 are similarly portrayed. As we have seen, there is an overall thematic pattern in the visionary experience of Daniel,[1] but apart from this it is foremost 10:8-18 in which most lexical correspondences to chap. 8, in particular to 8:16-18, occur.[2] However, not only the circumstances of the visionary experience but also the contents of the revelatory material are similar, which brings us to the second part of Dan 10–12: the angelic discourse.

Daniel 8 and the Angelic Discourse (11:2–12:4)

Even though the form of the angelic discourse in 11:2b–12:3 resembles 9:24-27 (both being auditory revelations, rather than visions as in chaps. 7 and 8), its thematic contents parallel the visions more closely.[3] The angelic discourse in 11:2-45 covers approximately the same time frame as the vision in Dan 8. Both revelations start with the kingdoms of Persia and Greece and reach to the end of an ultimate oppressor caused by

---

[1]Hölscher (127) notes the following thematic contacts between Dan 8 and Dan 10–12: the vision at the water (8:2; 10:4), the celestial being at the river (8:16; 12:8), Gabriel (8:15-26; 10:5-21; cf. 9:21-27), the exhaustion of Daniel (8:17-18; 10:8-10, 15-16), the touch by the hand of an angel (8:18; 10:10, 18), and the inability to understand (8:27; 12:8).

[2]On the basis of a formal analysis Behrens (323-326; cf. 317-322) detects a prophetic vision report in 10:5-14, corresponding form-critically to 8:3-14, with a vision proper (10:5-6; cf. 8:3-12) and a dialogue (10:11-14; cf. 8:13-14). Both 8:15-19 and 10:15-18 describe Daniel's reaction to the vision he received. As we have seen, such a comparison is not entirely surprising. However, there is a significant difference between the prophetic vision in chap. 8 and the vision in chap. 10 which cannot be ignored: the former conveys the content of the revelation, while the latter prepares for the revelation in the following audition (Goldingay, *Daniel*, 281-282).

[3]Dan 11:2–12:3 has been designated as a "historical apocalypse" (Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 99; Lucas, *Daniel*, 273). For Lucas the genre of 11:3-45 and 8:23-25 is very similar, both being close to the so-called "Akkadian Prophecies" (*Daniel*, 269-272; such affinities are also recognized by Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 99).

heavenly intervention. However, the lexical references to Dan 8 in the angelic discourse are not equally distributed over the chapter.

The beginning of the angelic discourse in 11:2-4 shows many points of contact with Dan 8:3-8 and 8:20-22. Like the entire chap. 11, the first three verses of the angelic discourse are about kings (מֶלֶךְ: 8:20, 21 [2x], 23; 11:2, 3) and kingdoms (מַלְכוּת: 8:22, 23; 11:2, 4 [2x]). The first kingdom mentioned is the kingdom of מָדַי "Media" (8:20; 11:1) and פָּרַס "Persia" (8:20; 11:2), which is then followed by the kingdom of יָוָן "Ionia > Greece" (8:21; 11:2). The use of the verb עמד "stand" functions as a technical term for the arising or withstanding of the first two powers in both the vision in chap. 8 and the discourse in chap. 11 (8:3, 4, 6, 7, 22 [2x], 23, 25; 11:2, 3, 4). The great riches gained by the fourth king of Persia (11:2), involving the adjective גָּדוֹל, is reminiscent of the use of גדל in the vision of chap. 8 to describe the growing greatness and magnification of the horns (8:4, 8, 21; also 8:9, 10, 11, 25). The "mighty king" in 11:3 recalls the conspicuous and large horn of chap. 8 (8:5, 8, 21). Like the kingdom before him, this mighty king will "do as he pleases," using the phrase עשׂה כִּרְצוֹנוֹ (8:4; 11:3) which becomes a recurring formula in chap. 11. He will be broken as will the large horn in the previous vision (שׁבר nif.: 8:8, 22; 11:4). And of course the phrase לְאַרְבַּע רוּחוֹת הַשָּׁמָיִם "toward the four winds of heaven," which in Daniel occurs only in 8:8 and 11:4, refers in both cases to the dispersal of the realm of the mighty king toward the four points of the compass.

Interestingly, the lexical connections to chap. 8 decrease drastically after 11:4. After the unmistakable reference to 8:8 by the phrase "four winds of heaven" in 11:4 one would expect references to the rest of the vision in chap. 8. However, there is a shortage

of intertextual links to 8:9-14 until 11:28 where they start to appear again more frequently. There are two possible exceptions to the lack of clear intertextual links to Dan 8:9-14 in 11:5-27. The first is the use of חָזוֹן in 11:14. It is quite disputed what חָזוֹן refers to.[1] However, the previous occurrences of חָזוֹן in Daniel either refer directly to the vision in chap. 8 (8:1, 2 [2x], 13, 15, 17, 26) or are closely related to it (10:14). Hence, in the context of the entire book one might carefully propose that the obscure occurrence in 11:14 may be understood as a reference to Daniel's vision(s).[2] The second possibility of an intertextual link to 8:9-14 is the mention of one who stays in or arises against אֶרֶץ־הַצְּבִי "the land of beauty" in 11:16 which recalls the horn's growth against הַצְּבִי "the beauty" in 8:9. However, in 11:41, 45 the king of the north, who, as will be argued later, is portrayed with similar characteristics and attitudes as was the horn in 8:9-14, will also campaign against "the beauty."

It seems that lexically Dan 10–12 refers to 8:9-14 in "intertextual clusters," that is, accumulations of lexical links (see table 45). In fact, this is substantiated by the findings

---

[1]The "vision" in Dan 11:14 has been understood as (1) prophecies in general (Keil, 440; Bevan, 181; Behrmann, 74); (2) a particular vision in the prophets: Isa 19:19 (Jerome on 11:14b [909]), Amos 9:11 (Arie van der Kooij, "A Case of Reinterpretation in the Old Greek of Daniel 11," in *Tradition and Re-interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honour of Jürgen C. H. Lebram*, ed. J. W. Van Henten et al., StPB, no. 36 [Leiden: Brill, 1986], 75, 78), and Ezek 7:19-27 (Goldingay, *Daniel*, 284, 298); (3) the prophecies contained in Daniel, usually in reference to the downfall of the Jews as perceived in 8:9-14 and 11:21-39 (von Lengerke, 530; Hävernick, 465; Kliefoth, 444; Meinhold, "Daniel," 328; Goettsberger, 83; Nötscher, *Daniel*, 55; Leupold, 488; Bentzen, 80); (4) Dan 11:14 itself (Maier, 383); and (5) political plans of the "violent ones" (Plöger, *Daniel*, 161). For a brief overview of historical interpretations of vs. 14 see Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 379-380.

[2]I am inclined to follow Goldingay who recognizes that חָזוֹן in 11:14 "recalls chap. 8," but does not understand why it would be just here that a fulfillment of Daniel's revelation is mentioned while this could be said of many other aspects in chap. 11 (*Daniel*, 297).

Table 45. Lexical Correspondences of Keywords between Daniel 8:9-14 and Daniel 10–12

Keywords in 8:9-14	***Epiphany*** *10:1-9*	***Dialogue*** *10:10–11:1*	***Angelic Discourse*** *11:2–12:4*	***Further Dialogue*** *12:5-13*	***Incidental References***
יצא "go forth" (8:9)		10:20	11:11, 44		
גדל "great" (8:4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 25)			11:36, 37		
צְבִי "beauty" (8:9)			11:16, 41, 45		
נפל "fall" 8:10 (hif.)			11:12 (hif.), 19, 26		10:7
כּוֹכָבִים "stars" (8:10)			12:3		
שַׂר "prince" for celestial beings (8:11, 25 [2x])		10:13 [2x], 20 [2x], 21	12:1		11:5 (human)
הַתָּמִיד "the *tāmî d*" (8:11, 12, 13)			11:31	12:11	
מִקְדָּשׁ "sanctuary" (8:11)			11:31		
נתן "give" (8:12, 13)			11:6, 11, 17, 21, 31	12:11	10:12, 15
אֱמֶת "truth" (8:12, 26)	10:1	10:21	11:2		
עשׂה "do" (8:4, 12, 24, 27)			11:3, 6, 7, 16, 17, 23, 24 [2x], 28, 30, 32, 36 [2x], 39		
צלח hif. "succeed" (8:12, 24, 25)			11:36 11:27 (qal)		
שמע "hear" a celestial being (8:13, 16)	10:9 [2x]			12:7, 8	10:12 (human)
עַד־מָתַי "until when?" (8:13)				12:6	

Table 45—*Continued.*

Keywords in 8:9-14	*Epiphany* 10:1-9	*Dialogue* 10:10–11:1	*Angelic Discourse* 11:2–12:4	*Further Dialogue* 12:5-13	*Incidental References*
חָזוֹן "vision" (8:1, 2 [2x], 13, 15, 17, 26)		10:14	11:14		
שׁמם "be desolated" (8:13)			11:31	12:11	
קֹדֶשׁ "holy" (8:13, 14)			11:28, 30 [2x], 45	12:7	
צדק "make righteous" (8:14)			12:3		

of the general assessment so far, which provides evidence for intertextual clusters in 10:8-18, with numerous lexical links to 8:16-18, and in 11:2-4, with many links to 8:3-8, 20-22.

The distribution of the references of keyword links between Dan 8:9-14 and Dan 10–12 illustrates that intertextual clusters of lexical links to 8:9-14 consisting of at least three common words occur in 10:20-21 (three words, five references to 8:9-12); 11:28-31 (six words, nine references to 8:11-12, 14), 11:36-39 (three words, six references to 8:10-12), 12:1-3 (three words, three references to 8:10, 11, 14), 12:6-7 (three words, three references to 8:13-14), and 12:11 (three words, three references to 8:11, 13). The last five clusters seem to be intentionally linked to Dan 8:9-14, as are explored in the thematic similarities below, whereas the keyword links in the first cluster in 10:20-21 are more incidental and do not appear to form an intertextual link with 8:9-14.

Daniel 8 and the Concluding Dialogue (12:5-13)

The dialogue that arises after the angelic discourse has at least five major points of contact with chap. 8.[1] First, as previously, Daniel overhears the conversation of two celestial beings which is structurally and thematically very close to the dialogue in 8:12-14: one asks the question עַד־מָתַי "until when?" (12:6; cf. 8:13c) in view of הַפְּלָאוֹת "wonderful events," obviously referring to the disastrous activities of the king of the north (see נִפְלָאוֹת in 11:36; cf. 8:24), to which the other gives an answer by first stating a time period and then mentioning the event (12:7; cf. 8:14b-c). Second, the revelation is concerned with עֵת קֵץ "the time of the end" (12:4, 9; cf. 8:17) and אַחֲרִית "the final period" (12:8; cf. 8:19, 23). Third, the epilogue contains one more reference to the replacement of הַתָּמִיד "the *tāmîd*" and the establishment (נתן) of the "abomination of desolation (שׁמם)" (12:11; cf. 8:11b, 13c). Fourth, Daniel again lacks understanding (בין: 12:8; cf. 8:16, 17, 27). And finally, the understanding of the revelation is again concealed until the time of the end (סתם: 12:9; cf. 8:26).

Conclusion

The general assessment of intertextual relationships between Dan 8 and Dan 10–12 points to passages in chaps. 10–12 that should prove to be of particular interest when examining the thematic similarities between 8:9-14 and chaps. 10–12. These passages, which show intertextual clusters of lexical links to 8:9-14, are 11:28-31, 11:36-39, 12:1-3, 12:6-7, and 12:11. The following intertextual analysis of themes concentrates

---

[1]The formal correspondence, particularly between 12:5-7 and 8:13-14, has recently been investigated by Behrens, 326-330.

on these sections, without losing sight of the overall text in Dan 10–12.

Thematic Similarities between Daniel 8:9-14 and Daniel 10–12

Most of the salient themes of Dan 8:9-14 are taken up in the intertextual clusters of Dan 10–12. The themes that can be detected are conflict, particularly religious conflict, attack on the people of God and opposition to God, the pattern of "pride goes before the fall," and the concern for time and divine judgment.

Conflict

The thematic similarity in the general sequence of events in both revelations has already been noted. Both the angelic discourse in 11:2–12:4 and the vision in Dan 8 for the most part deal with world powers that are engaged in continuous conflict. The overall thematic pattern is similar: first, there is threat and terror imposed by rebellious powers; second, that terror and threat is removed by divine intervention which brings about a state of salvation.[1] Naturally, such a thematic pattern involves a structural similarity. Together with the numerous lexical links mentioned above, these are the reasons why Dan 11 is perceived to be in such close parallelism to Dan 8.

The theme of conflict emerges most clearly via the use of keywords in Dan 11.[2] Six keywords from the isotopy of military terminology emphasize the military

---

[1]Collins perceives a similar pattern of events in Dan 7, 8, and 10–12: "First, there is a *threat* posed by a rebellious king or kings. Then that *threat is removed* by some supernatural power. Finally, there follows a *state of salvation*," which for Collins is in chap. 8 only implied (*Apocalyptic Vision*, 109-110).

[2]For keywords in Dan 11 see also Goldingay, *Daniel*, 288; Carlos Elías Mora, "Principios de interpretación escatológica aplicados a Daniel 10–12," *DavarLogos* 2 (2003): 114-119.

developments and the conflict between kings or kingdoms: (1) בוא "come";[1] (2) חזק "be strong" or "show strength";[2] (3) מָעוֹז "stronghold, fortress";[3] (4) עמד "stand," "withstand," or "arise" of powers;[4] (5) עשׂה "do" or "make";[5] and (6) שׁוב "return" or "turn."[6] Three of them occur in Dan 8; עשׂה also in 8:9-14.

Religious Conflict

Two antagonistic powers, the king of the north and the king of the south, dominate the discourse of Dan 11 up to vs. 27. The conflict, however, does not remain on the political level alone. The intentional shift from military to religious terminology found in 8:9-14 is also represented in the angelic discourse in chap. 11. For the most part, the events described in Dan 11 seem to be purely concerned with the political level. However, religious terminology increases the further the discourse advances, which adds a certain religious, even heavenly, dimension to the earthly conflict.

Initial indicators for such an additional focus are the five occurrences of בְּרִית

---

[1]Daniel 8:5, 6; 11:6 (2x), 7 (2x), 8, 9, 10 (2x), 13 (2x), 15, 16, 17, 21, 24, 29, 30, 40, 41, 45.

[2]Daniel 11:5 [2x], 6, 7, 21, 32; cf. 10:21 and 11:1.

[3]Daniel 11:1, 7, 10, 19, 31, 38, 39. On the use of מָעוֹז in Dan 11 see J. G. Bunge, "Der 'Gott der Festungen' und der 'Liebling der Frauen': Zur Identifizierung der Götter in Dan. 11, 36-39," *JSJ* 4 (1973): 173-175.

[4]Daniel 8:3, 4, 6, 7, 22 (2x), 23, 25; 10:13; 11:1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 14a, 15 (2x), 16 (2x), 17, 20, 21, 25, 31; 12:1 (2x); cf. also עמד hif. "set up" in 11:11, 13. עמד occurs also in the description of the circumstances of the revelatory events (8:15, 17, 18; 10:11 [2x], 16, 17; 12:5) and another three times without any seeming relationship to its other occurrences (10:17; 11:14b; 12:13).

[5]Daniel 8:4, 12, 24, 27; 11:3, 6, 7, 16, 17, 23, 24 (2x), 28, 30, 32, 36 (2x), 39.

[6]Daniel 11:9, 10, 13, 18 (2x), 19, 28 (2x), 29, 30 (2x).

"covenant" in 11:32 and in the phrases נְגִיד בְּרִית "prince of a covenant" (11:22)[1] and בְּרִית קֹדֶשׁ "holy covenant" (11:28, 30 [2x]), which at least in connection with קֹדֶשׁ "holy" in the latter phrase designate a covenant between God and human beings. In all these texts, the king of the north takes action against the holy covenant. After he is instrumental in shattering a prince of the covenant (11:22), he sets his heart against the holy covenant (11:28), hurls imprecations at it, gives heed to those who abandon it (11:30), and finally seems to seduce those who make themselves guilty against the covenant (11:32).[2] The king of the north is thus portrayed as an anti-covenant power.

Second, Dan 11:31 paints the religious assault of the king of the north in the same gloomy picture as did 8:11-12. Both texts focus on an attack on the cult. The text mentions זְרֹעִים "forces" that desecrate הַמִּקְדָּשׁ "the sanctuary," remove הַתָּמִיד "the *tāmî d*," and establish the abomination of desolation (שׁמם). The links to 8:11-12 are obvious (see table 46). The intertextual connection between theses two passages is important since it helps identify the king of the north in 11:31 to be the same power as the last horn of the vision in chap. 8. Another significant aspect of 11:31 is that the king of the north uses זְרֹעִים "forces" to deal with the cult. This constitutes an exact parallel to

---

[1]The indefiniteness of נְגִיד בְּרִית is recognized by Goldingay (*Daniel*, 273) and Miller (*Daniel*, 299 n. 64). In view of the later uses of בְּרִית in Dan 11, however, the indefinite term in vs. 22 should be interpreted to refer to the same covenant.

[2]The meaning of the Hifil of חנף (יַחֲנִיף) in Dan 11:32 is not absolutely clear: In Num 35:33 and Jer 3:2 it can be understood as "defile," but in Dan 11:32 it has been rendered with μιανοῦσιν "they will defile" (OG), ἐπάξουσιν "they will win over" (Theodotion), ܢܚܝܒ "he will condemn" (Syriac נחיב; probably a textual error for נחנף "profane"), and *simulabunt* "they play the hypocrite" (Vulgate). If the singular verb in the Hebrew is retained, either the king of the north will seduce those who have acted wickedly in relation to the covenant by blandishments and flattery (Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 385) or he will turn and pervert them into apostates or hypocrites (Goldingay, *Daniel*, 273, 279).

Table 46. Terminological Comparison of Daniel 8:11-13 and Daniel 11:31

Dan 8:11b, 11c, 12a, 13c		Dan 11:31a-d	
וּמִמֶּנּוּ הֻרַים הַתָּמִיד	11b	וְהֵסִירוּ הַתָּמִיד	31c
וְהֻשְׁלַךְ מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁוֹ	11c	וְחִלְּלוּ הַמִּקְדָּשׁ הַמָּעוֹז	31b
וְצָבָא תִּנָּתֵן עַל־הַתָּמִיד בְּפָשַׁע	12a	וּזְרֹעִים מִמֶּנּוּ יַעֲמֹדוּ	31a
... הַתָּמִיד וְהַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם תֵּת ...	13c	וְנָתְנוּ הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשׁוֹמֵם	31d

the horn and its host in 8:11-12, corroborating the understanding that the host in 8:12a refers to the horn's host. Interestingly, the gender of "forces" in 11:31a is equally unusual as is the gender of "host" in 8:12a, establishing another link between the two. The masculine plural form of זְרֹעִים in 11:31 distinguishes these forces from the other forces in chap. 11 which are feminine (זְרֹעוֹת in 11:15, 22).[1] It emerges that the masculine gender appears to be used intentionally to signify a different nature of the forces in 11:31, which is noticeable in their dealing with the cult, whereas the others are purely military forces.[2] The gender therefore has the same function as the unusual feminine gender of צָבָא in 8:12a which draws attention to the fact that the host is of a different nature from the "host of heaven." Furthermore, the syntactic circumstances in both texts are similar. In 8:9-11 the horn is the (logical) subject of the clauses before the host is introduced in

---

[1]Cf. also the other texts where זְרוֹעַ clearly designates military forces and in which it is always feminine plural זְרֹעוֹת (Ezek 30:22, 24 [2x], 25 [2x]).

[2]Less likely is that the masculine gender is used intentionally to suggest individual helpers (*pace* Montogmery, 457).

vs. 12a in sentence-initial position and continues to be the subject in 12b-d. In 11:30b-g the king of the north is the subject of the clauses before his forces are introduced in vs. 31a in sentence-initial position and continue to be the subject in 31b-d. It is thus evident that the thematic statement of 11:31, as well as the gender of זְרֹעִים "forces" and the specific syntactic construction in which it occurs, all intertextually affirm the concept of the horn acting through its host at the climax of the vision in chap. 8.

The crucial nature of the cultic conflict becomes evident once more when in 12:11 a time is specified that takes as its starting point the removal of הַתָּמִיד "the *tāmî d*" and the setting up of an abomination that desolates (שֹׁמֵם). The terminology used here connects this text to 8:11b, 13c, and also to 11:31 with which it shares the terms סור "remove" and שִׁקּוּץ "abomination" as well.

In fact, the text in 12:10-11 recapitulates 11:31-35. One can detect a chiastic-like arrangement of lexical links in three sections:

11:35 לִצְרוֹף בָּהֶם וּלְבָרֵר וְלַלְבֵּן	12:10a-c יִתְבָּרֲרוּ וְיִתְלַבְּנוּ וְיִצָּרְפוּ
11:32-33 מַרְשִׁיעֵי בְרִית מַשְׂכִּלִים יָבִינוּ רַבִּים	12:10c-f וְהִרְשִׁיעוּ מַשְׂכִּלִים יָבִינוּ רַבִּים
11:31c-d וְהֵסִירוּ הַתָּמִיד וְנָתְנוּ הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשׁוֹמֵם	12:11 הוּסַר הַתָּמִיד וְלָתֵת שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם

First, 11:31 and 12:11 exhibit the identical sequence of five words in describing the attack on the cult (סור, הַתָּמִיד, נָתַן, שִׁקּוּץ, and שׁמם), although their exact forms vary.[1] Second, the confrontation between the wicked ones and those who understand is described in 11:32-33 and in the second part of 12:10. Both texts mention people who act wickedly or make themselves guilty, using the verb רשע hif. which in Daniel occurs only in 9:5; 11:32 and 12:10. Their counterpart consists of the מַשְׂכִּלִים "insightful ones" and the רַבִּים "many." The מַשְׂכִּלִים understand (12:10) and make others understand (11:33). They are willing to sacrifice their lives (11:35).[2] The verb יָבִינוּ "understand" or "make understand" is used to emphasize the distinctive groups: While the מַשְׂכִּילִים understand (12:10) and make the many understand (11:33), the wicked do not understand (12:10). In all three instances the verbal form is exactly the same (יָבִינוּ), occurring only here in Daniel. The רַבִּים "many" who got instructed by the מַשְׂכִּלִים (11:33) will finally also be sifted, cleansed, and refined (12:10).[3] The רַבִּים thus designates the faithful remnant who are inspired by the dedication and martyrdom of the מַשְׂכִּלִים. And third, the assault on God's people brings about a purification process which is described in both 11:35 and 12:10 by three verbs that in the book of Daniel occur only in these two verses: ברר "sift,"

---

[1]וְהֵסִירוּ הַתָּמִיד וְנָתְנוּ הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשׁוֹמֵם in 11:31c-d parallels הוּסַר הַתָּמִיד וְלָתֵת שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם in 12:11.

[2]*Pace* Rainer Albertz for whom כשל "fall" denotes failure of action, not martyrdom, and thus identifies the מַשְׂכִּילִים in 11:35a as false מַשְׂכִּילִים who "will stumble" because of their coalition with the militant Maccabees ("The Social Setting of the Aramaic and Hebrew Book of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint, VTSup, no. 83, FIOTL, no. 2 [Leiden: Brill, 2001], 1:193).

[3]The רַבִּים "many" in 11:34 do not belong to the true followers since they join only "in hypocrisy" or "by intrigue" (בַּחֲלַקְלַקּוֹת in 11:34; cf. 11:21).

"sort out," לבן "cleanse," and צרף "refine."[1] In 11:35 the verbs are in the active voice (צרף qal, ברר piel, לבן hif.), whereas in 12:10 they are in the corresponding passive voice (ברר hitp., לבן hitp., צרף nif.). The slight difference is that in 11:35 the מַשְׂכִּלִים will fall and that in 12:10 the רַבִּים, who were instructed by the מַשְׂכִּלִים (11:33), will suffer the same fate. In short, 12:10-11 with its description of a change in cultic worship, its presentation of two antagonistic groups, and its emphasis on purification of God's people is inseparably connected to 11:31-35 and thus also to 8:11-13.

A third observation with regard to religious terminology is that a term for god occurs nine times in 11:36-39.[2] Toward the end of the discourse the activities of the king of the north also take place in the religious realm. Before this passage, a term for god occurred only in vs. 8 and in vs. 32, of which only the latter describes a conflict on the religious level. Strangely such terminology again is completely missing in 11:40-45, which enhances the effect of the supernatural end to the king of the north (11:45) and the appearance of Michael (12:1). The last stage in this far-reaching conflict is the arising of Michael (עמד in 12:1), which intentionally opposes the previous arising (עמד) of the despicable king of the north (11:21) and his forces (11:31). The divine response of Michael as a final ruler demonstrates that the conflict has superseded the purely military level and now includes a strong religious dimension. In summary, in the triumphant phase of the king of the north, just before his final campaign "at the time of the end," the

---

[1]Cf. Beyerle, 31 n. 30.

[2]The terms are אֱלֹהִים (11:37), אֵל (11:36 [3x]), and אֱלוֹהַּ (11:37, 38 [2x], 39), of which only אֱלֹהִים occurs previously in the chapter (11:8, 32).

revelation focuses on his religious attitudes and in some parts also on his cultic maneuvers.

Attack on the Holy People

Before his final campaign (11:40-45), the king of the north focuses his attention on the people of God (11:32-35) and on God directly (11:36-39). This double assault in chap. 11 confirms the previous conclusion of both the people of God and God himself being under attack by the horn in 8:10-11 and 8:24-25.

Since the angelic discourse should reveal the fate of Daniel's people in the latter days (10:14), one should of course expect them to be mentioned. The term עַם "people" occurs four times with reference to God's people (11:14, 32, 33; 12:1; once in 11:15 obviously referring to the elite army of the king of the south). It is 11:32-35 which describes how the people of God have to suffer under the wrath of the king of the north. That some of the *maskilim* fall (כשׁל nif.; 11:33, 34, 35) is reminiscent of the vision in chap. 8 where the horn is said to cause some of the host or stars to fall (נפל) to earth (8:10b), particularly since both verbs are used together in 11:19 to describe the fall of the king of the north.[1]

The same theme is revisited twice in the final dialogue. First, in Dan 12:7, the "smashing to pieces of the power of the holy people"[2] is mentioned in connection with

[1]The verbs כשׁל and נפל occur next to each other or in parallelism in Ps 27:2, Prov 24:16, 17; Isa 3:8; 8:15; 31:3; Jer 6:15; 8:12; 46:6, 12, 16; 50:32; Dan 11:19.

[2]Thus reads MT and Theodotion. Some repoint נַפֵּץ (Piel infinitive) to נֹפֵץ (Qal participle) and, supported by the Old Greek, transpose it with the following יַד to read "the end of the power of the shatterer of the holy people" (cf. Collins, *Daniel* [1993], 399, with further references).

the same time period as in 7:25. The combination of violence done to the holy people for a specific period of time suggests that the parties under attack in 7:25 and 12:7—and by extension also in 8:11, 24—refer to one and the same entity.[1] Second, as explained above, 12:10-11 recapitulates 11:31-35 including the conflict that leads to the purification of God's people (12:10).

Opposition to God

As in Dan 8:11 the king of the north also launches an attack on God. He shows no regard for אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתָיו "the god of his fathers" (11:37). Although some translate this phrase with the plural "the gods of his fathers,"[2] the singular meaning is preferable on the basis of the intertextual allusions of אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתָיו which is a phrase that is used elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible in the context of a defection from the true God (2 Kgs 21:22; 2 Chr 21:10; 28:25; 33:12; Dan 11:37) or the seeking of God (2 Chr 30:19).[3]

The presumptuous attitude of the king of the north is most explicitly expressed in Dan 11:36, where it states that he will magnify himself (גדל hitp.) above every god and will speak amazing things against the God of gods. At the same time this verse

---

[1]For further discussion see the analysis of the intertextual relationship between Dan 8 and Dan 7 (above).

[2]So, e.g., Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 386-387.

[3]See the similar phrases "God of their/your/our fathers" which are used in the context of apostasy from YHWH (Deut 29:24; Judg 2:12; 1 Chr 5:25; 2 Chr 7:22; 20:33; 24:18, 24; 28:6, 9; 30:7), but also in the positive sense that Israel and her king follow YHWH (Exod 3:13, 15, 16; 4:5; Deut 1:11, 21; 4:1; 6:3; 12:1; 26:7; 27:3; Josh 18:3; Ezra 7:27; 8:28; 10:11; 1 Chr 12:18; 29:20; 2 Chr 11:16; 13:12, 18; 14:3; 15:12; 19:4; 20:6; 29:5; 30:22; 34:32, 33; 36:15). Cf. Steinmann, "Is the Antichrist in Daniel 11?" 206.

constitutes an intertextual link to the description of the horn/king in chap. 8.[1] The fronting of "against (עַל) the God of gods" (11:36d) correlates to the fronting of "up (עַד) to the commander of the host" in 8:11a and "against (עַל) the prince of princes" in 8:25e, all of which describe the ultimate religious hubris of the horn/king or the king of the north. Moreover, the superlative construction "God of gods" in 11:36d is reminiscent of "Prince of princes" in 8:25e.

The keyword גדל hitp. "magnify oneself" in 11:36, 37 is a terminological link with the keyword גדל in chap. 8 where it is used four times to describe the self-magnification of the horn/king (8:9, 10, 11, 25; cf. vss. 4, 8). This keyword occurs nowhere else in the second half of Daniel. Its Hitpael form in Dan 11:36, 37 is used elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible only in reference to YHWH exalting himself (Ezek 38:23) and with regard to the saw exalting itself over the one who wields it, metaphorically speaking of arrogant Assyria (Isa 10:15). Similarly, the Hitpolel of רום used in 11:36 occurs elsewhere only in connection with God exalting himself (Isa 33:10).[2] Thus, the verbs in Dan 11:36, 37 describe the self-deification of the king of the north. It also fits the picture when the king of the north works נִפְלָאוֹת "amazing things" (11:36) and thus simulates God's mighty wonders.[3] The speaking against the highest God recalls the

---

[1]See Richard J. Clifford, "History and Myth in Daniel 10–12," *BASOR* 220 (1975): 25.

[2]Ibid., 25. Clifford also suggests that the reapportionment of the land in 11:39 expressed by חלק piel "apportion" is "another wrestling of a divine prerogative since only God can apportion the land" (ibid.). He refers to the use of חלק qal/piel in Joshua and חלק piel in Isa 34:17 and Joel 4:2.

[3]The Niphal participle of פלא occurs 46 times in the Hebrew Bible, designating 40 times the miraculous acts performed by God (Exod 3:20; 34:10; Josh 3:5; Judg 6:13; 1 Chr 16:9, 12, 24; Neh 9:17; Job 5:9; 9:10; 37:5, 14; Pss 9:2; 26:7; 40:6; 71:17; 72:18; 75:2; 78:4, 11, 32; 86:10; 96:3; 98:1; 105:2, 5; 106:7, 22; 107:8, 15, 21, 24, 31; 111:4; 119:27; 131:1; 136:4; 139:14; 145:5; Jer 21:2; Mic

"mouth uttering great things" of the horn in Dan 7:8, 20. And the success of the king of the north is expressed by the same term וְהִצְלִיחַ "and he will prosper" that describes the success of the king (8:24, 25) and the success of the horn's host (8:12d). Again, צלח hif. is used only in these Danielic passages. Finally, the noun זַעַם "indignation" occurs in the book of Daniel only in 8:19 and 11:36, and the participle נִפְלָאוֹת "amazing things" occurs only in 8:24 and 11:36 (cf. the noun פְּלָאוֹת "amazing events" in 12:6), both arguably in relationship with the king/horn and the king of the north. In sum, there can be no doubt that the king of the north in the intertextual clusters 11:28-31 and 11:36-39 is one and the same as the horn of the vision or the king of the interpretation in chap. 8 and that 11:36 describes the same anti-divine hubris as 8:11-12 and 8:25.

That the terrestrial conflict described in chap. 11 involves a heavenly dimension has been prepared for by the visionary experience in chap. 10, where the cosmic conflict is most clearly spelled out in Daniel.[1] In fact, the synergetic relationship between the heavenly struggle and earthly events and *vice versa* in the Hebrew Bible is perhaps best explained and illustrated by Dan 10:4-11:1. This synergism between events in heaven and on earth is one of the major theological contributions of the book of Daniel. It opens a transcendent dimension to events in human history and reveals a worldview which consists of "a two-story universe where the angelic world represents a metaphysical level

---

7:15), four times things beyond understanding (Deut 30:11; Pss 119:18; 131:1; Job 42:3) and twice the works of the horn or king of the north (Dan 8:24; 11:36). Cf. Steinmann, "Is the Antichrist in Daniel 11?" 206.

[1]On the cosmic conflict in Dan 10 see Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 115-116, 134-135.

which cannot be discounted."[1]

Pride Goes before a Fall

The thematic pattern of "pride before the fall" in the vision of chap. 8 finds its development in chap. 11, and has been well recognized there.[2] To convey this dominant theme, chap. 11 offers an extensive list of keywords for failure: שבר "break" (11:4, 20, 22, 26; usually in the Niphal "be broken"; cf. 8:7, 8, 22, 25); וְלֹא־תַעְצֹר "she will not retain" (11:6); נפל "fall" (11:12, 19, 26); וְלֹא יָעוֹז "he will not show himself strong" (11:12); כשל nif. "fall" or "collapse" (11:14, 19, 33, 34, 35, 41); the negation of עמד "stand" (11:15 [2x], 16, 17, 25); וְנִכְשַׁל וְנָפַל וְלֹא יִמָּצֵא "he will stumble, fall, and no more be found" (11:19); וּבָא עַד־קִצּוֹ וְאֵין עוֹזֵר לוֹ "he will come to his end and there is no help for him" (11:45).

Often these disasters follow some kind of success. A case in point is 11:12: "his heart will be lifted up . . . but he will not prevail," reminiscent of 8:25. That triumph heralds a downfall may be best illustrated by the recurring phrase וְעָשָׂה כִּרְצוֹנוֹ "he will do as he pleases" (11:3, 16 [here: וְיַעַשׂ כִּרְצוֹנוֹ], 36; and earlier in 8:4) which is followed by frustration and defeat. Like in the vision of chap. 8, the pattern shows that the fall after the final exaltation is delayed. Whereas in 11:3-4 the fall follows immediately—"as soon as he has arisen, his kingdom will be broken"—and in 11:16 it occurs at least in the

[1]Ibid., 116; cf. Goldingay, *Daniel*, 312-314; Lucas, *Daniel*, 298.

[2]"When, in their hubris, rulers think that they can do as they please, they are about to meet the nemesis of divine judgment" (Lucas, *Daniel*, 280). It is as if the keywords "contribute to the drawing of patterns in history" (Goldingay, *Daniel*, 288) so that "the standard description of apparently unchallengeable authority . . . presages unexpected disaster, or at least frustration and failure" (304).

course of the following activities (see vs. 19), in the last instance in 11:36 the defeat is delayed until vs. 45, with numerous activities in between.[1] Once again the horn in ch. 8 is mirrored by the king of the north, this time with regard to the apparently prolonged success. Furthermore, the success of the king of the north is expressed by using identical terms for describing the success of the horn's host in 8:12: וְעָשָׂה . . . וְהִצְלִיחַ "and he will do . . . and he will have success" (11:36).

Time

Words or phrases referring to time occur relatively often in chaps. 11–12.[2] The terms עֵת "time," לַמּוֹעֵד "at the appointed time," and קֵץ "end" are keywords of time in the angelic discourse in chap. 11 and in the dialogue in chap. 12, and they also occur in chap. 8.[3] Both revelations in chaps. 8 and 11 reach to the "end" and are indeed for the end. Their common eschatological goal is expressed by the phrase עֵת קֵץ "time of the end" which Gabriel uses to explain that the vision of chap. 8 pertains to the "time of the end" (8:17) and which in chap. 11 marks the final climactic section of the revelation

[1]However, the explanation "for that which is decreed will be done" in 11:36 with two Niphal forms, expressing divine passives, already reminds one that there is a cosmic dimension to the activities of the horn that is beyond its control (Meadowcroft, "Who are the Princes?" 106-107).

[2]The relevant terms are עֵת "time" (11:6, 13, 24, 35, 40; 12:1, 4; and 12:9, 11), an interval of שָׁנִים "years" (11:6, 8, 13), a period of יָמִים "days" (11:20, 33; and 12:11, 12), לַמּוֹעֵד "at the appointed time" (11:27, 29, 35), עֵת קֵץ "time of the end" (11:35, 40; and 12:9; cf. also קֵץ alone or with other temporal terms in 11:6, 13, 27, 45), בָּעֵת הַהִיא "at that time" (12:1 [3x]), and אַחֲרִית "the final period" (12:8).

[3]In Daniel עֵת "time" occurs in 8:17; 9:21, 25; 11:6, 13, 24, 35, 40; 12:1 (4x), 4, 9, 11; לַמּוֹעֵד "at the appointed time" in 8:19: 11:27, 29, 35; and קֵץ "end" occurs in 8:17, 19; 9:26 (2x); 11:6, 13, 27, 35, 40, 45; 12:4, 6, 9, 13 (2x).

(11:35, 40; 12:4, 9; cf. וּבָעֵת הַהִיא "in that time" in 12:1 referring to עֵת קֵץ in 11:40).[1] Thus, the angelic discourse covers the same temporal ground as the vision in chap. 8 and should be regarded as parallel revelation. Such a conclusion is supported by the subsequent dialogue in which the heavenly being emphasizes that the revelation is concerned with עֵת קֵץ "the time of the end" (12:4, 9; cf. 8:17) and אַחֲרִית "the final period" (12:8; cf. 8:19, 23).

This special concern in regard to time is also noticeable in the two dialogues in 12:6-7 and 12:8-13. It is striking that the first dialogue is in close parallel with the angelic conversation in 8:12-14. A celestial being utters this distressed cry of lament עַד־מָתַי "until when?" Once again the concern is the malignant endeavors of the final enemy. However, this time the question is not raised regarding how long the entire vision or revelation would last, as in 8:13c, but how long the "wonderful events" endure. The noun הַפְּלָאוֹת "wonderful events" seems to refer to the previously mentioned נִפְלָאוֹת (8:24; 11:36) and could express astonishment, or that the actions of the king of the north appear to be of supernatural origin. Since the question pertains specifically to these activities, the time period mentioned in response to this cry for temporal restriction should not be expected to be the same as in 8:14b. Indeed, the meaning of the "time, times, and a half" cannot be compared to the "2300 evening-morning." Rather the time period is identical to the one in 7:25 and as in that instance refers to the oppression of

[1]It is noteworthy that "the vocabulary of the end" (עֵת "time," לַמּוֹעֵד "at the appointed time," עֵת קֵץ "time of the end," and בָּעֵת הַהִיא "at that time") starts in chap. 11 only from vs. 27 on. According to his structure of chap. 11 Clifford finds this vocabulary in the unit 11:21-12:3 ("History and Myth in Daniel 10–12," 24).

God's people, implying that the "2300 evening-morning" must be a longer period that encompasses the three and a half times.

In the second dialogue, which was initiated by Daniel, the celestial being gives him two time periods that start both with the removal of the *tāmî d* and the setting up of the abomination of desolation: 1290 and 1335 days (12:11-12).[1] In comparison with the "2300 evening-morning" it is important to recognize that the beginning point is different and that the end point is not necessarily identical. The "2300 evening-morning" include the entire vision of chap. 8 and not just the time from the removal of the *tāmî d*. Regarding the end point, the "2300 evening-morning" explicitly connect it with the beginning of the restoration of the holy to its rightful place, whereas the end point for both the 1290 days and the 1335 days is not specified,[2] although the context might suggest that at least the latter figure should reach the end time. Hence, the two figures in 12:11-12 do not shed further light on the chronology of the "2300 evening-morning."

Judgment

After fate overtakes the king of the north, the final scene of the angelic discourse describes the divine intervention depicted in 12:1-3. Nickelsburg characterizes this passage as a "description of a judgment scene" with the elements of a witness, that is Michael, the angelic advocate, who stands (עמד) in court, the book of life containing the names of those who will survive divine judgment, and the resurrection of certain persons

---

[1]The second period evidently starts at the same time as the first, otherwise the blessing formula (אַשְׁרֵי) for those who are being patient and attain 1335 days does not make any sense.

[2]Collins, *Daniel* (1993), 400.

functioning as post-mortem judgment which vindicates the righteous and condemns the wicked.[1] Collins points out that the major element of a presiding judge is missing and thus the scene should better be designated as an "eschatological prophecy,"[2] although it involves a judgment insofar as there is a distinction between the good and the bad.[3] One could argue, however, that the presence of a judge is implied when Michael arises in court.[4]

In any case, Dan 12:1-3 presents the vindication of believers and as such is thematically linked to Dan 8:14 which, among other things, includes the restoration of the host of heaven to its rightful place. Although the creation theme is not specifically alluded to,[5] the resurrection in 12:2-3 implies a recreation. Hence, the hint to a recreation at the end of the vision of chap. 8 in vs. 14b is "replaced" by a resurrection at the end of the angelic discourse in 12:2-3.

Specific Phrases

In the final, climactic part of the angelic discourse two expressions attract attention that might shed light on phrases in Dan 8:9-14: הַשַּׂר הַגָּדוֹל "the great prince" (12:1) is reminiscent of the "commander of the host" in 8:11a, and the כּוֹכָבִים "stars"

[1]Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 11-27, 38.

[2]Collins, *Daniel*, FOTL, 100-101.

[3]Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 172.

[4]Inasmuch as the verb עמד is used for YHWH when he arises to judge the people (Isa 3:13), the phrase "Michael, the great prince, who stands [הָעֹמֵד] over the sons of your people, will arise [יַעֲמֹד]" might even allude to a judicial office of Michael.

[5]No explicit allusion to creation in Dan 11:2–12:3 is detected by Doukhan ("Allusions," 289).

(12:3) are reminiscent of the "stars" in 8:10b.

The reference to Michael as "the great prince" who stands protectively by the people of God (12:1) should be seen as an explicit link to the commander of the host (8:11a). Two aspects of this individual being are prominent in both passages: its leadership over the people of God and its high celestial status. The analysis of 8:10 has shown that the host of heaven and the stars are best understood to represent the people of God and that the שַׂר־הַצָּבָא is an expression for the supreme leader of the people of God. At the same time, the study of the term שַׂר in the book of Daniel made it evident that in revelatory material the term is generally used to refer to supernatural beings, to chief angels. The corresponding term שַׂר־שָׂרִים in 8:25 suggests that the commander of the host is none other than the commander of the chief angels. Daniel 12:1 corroborates such a two-faceted interpretation of the commander of the host in 8:11a. The celestial being Michael is said to "stand protectively by the sons of your people" which distinguishes him as the celestial representative of God's people.[1] He is also called "the great prince," an expression that places particular emphasis on his elevated status among the chief angels, specifically since no other celestial being, except God, is called גָּדוֹל "great" in the Hebrew Bible.[2] Both aspects are expressed in 10:21 where Michael receives the attribute שַׂרְכֶם "your prince." Thus it would be safe to conclude that 12:1 helps to

---

[1]Michael is thus portrayed distinctively different in activity from the horn/king of Dan 8. Whereas the horn/king aggressively opposes (עמד עַל) the prince of princes (8:25), the great prince protectively stands by (עמד עַל) the people of God (12:1).

[2]God is called the הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל "great God" in Dan 9:4. Elsewhere see Deut 7:21; 10:17; Jer 10:6; 32:18; Mal 1:14; Pss 47:3; 48:1; 86:10; 95:3; 96:4; 99:2; 135:5; 145:3; Neh 1:5; 8:6; 9:32; 1 Chr 16:25; and for God being greater than other gods, see Exod 18:11; Ps 77:14; 2 Chr 2:4.

identify the "commander of the host" in 8:11b as Michael. In addition, the relative clause הָעֹמֵד עַל־בְּנֵי עַמֶּךָ could possibly allude to Michael as having a priestly function for God's people and confirm the priestly role of the "commander of the host" in 8:11a.

Some see a connection between the "stars" in Dan 12:3 and the "stars" in 8:10. The astral imagery in 12:3 is often understood as an indication that believers will become like the angels in the heavenly world.[1] Collins asserts that "the astral imagery of 12:3 cannot be taken as simple comparison"[2] for the reason that "the stars had long been identified with the angelic host in Israelite tradition"[3]—a tradition which allegedly stems from Canaanite mythology—and that this tradition corresponds to "the crucial role played by the heavenly host throughout Daniel 7–12."[4] In spite of the fact that the idea of saints being reckoned among the celestial host after their resurrection would correspond well to the interrelation of earthly and heavenly worlds that runs throughout the visions, such an interpretation of 12:3 remains questionable. First, the comparative function of כ in כַּכּוֹכָבִים cannot be ignored. With an intransitive verb describing emission of light (in Dan 12:3 זהר "shine") the nominal expression following after כ is always understood to denote comparison and not identification.[5] At the same time individuals or groups of

---

[1]Cf. Hengel, *Judaism*, 196-197; Clifford, "History and Myth in Daniel 10–12," 26; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 308 ("stars" are probably a metaphor for celestial beings or angels).

[2]Collins, *Apocalyptic Vision*, 172.

[3]Ibid., 136.

[4]Ibid., 172.

[5]With אור hif. "shine" (Ps 139:12), בער qal "burn" (Isa 9:17; 62:1; Hos 7:6b; Mal 3:19; Pss 79:5; 89:47), בקע nif. "break forth light" (Isa 58:8), יפע hif. "shine" (Job 10:22b), and נצץ qal "sparkle" (Ezek 1:7). See Jenni, *Die Präposition Kaph*, 72.

people are compared, however not identified, with various entities from nature and life, usually in regard to a specific similarity.[1] The type of comparison in Dan 12:3 is similar to the Aramaic use of כ with the intransitive verb הוה "become" in 2:35 and with רבה "to become long" in 4:30. Further, even if the "stars" in 12:3 would stand metaphorically for celestial beings, the preposition כ indicates that those who lead the many to righteousness are compared only with these (simile); they will not necessarily be located among the angels nor will they become angels.[2] Second, the parallel thought in 12:3 precludes that "stars" is used in a metaphorical sense. Clause 3a (וְהַמַּשְׂכִּלִים יַזְהִרוּ כְּזֹהַר הָרָקִיעַ) and clause 3b (וּמַצְדִּיקֵי הָרַבִּים כַּכּוֹכָבִים לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד) are in parallel, displaying a matching order of the constituents and verbal ellipsis in 3b. However, the "glow of the firmament," which is the parallel expression to the "stars," is generally not understood to be metaphorical but rather literal. Hence, the "stars" should be understood in their literal meaning, too.

At the most, the simile with the brightness of the stars may associatively evoke 8:10, where the stars have already been symbolically used to represent the saints. Daniel 12:3 describes "a dramatic reversal of the situation described in 8:10, where the arrogant 'little one' is depicted as one who ascends the heavens, casting down some of the hosts thereby" so that the final vindication of the fallen ones in 12:3 suggests "that the host of

---

[1]See the list prepared by Jenni (ibid., 73).

[2]Bentzen, 85; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 26; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 308; cf. Friedrich Nötscher, *Altorientalischer und alttestamentlicher Auferstehungsglauben* (Würzburg: Becker, 1926), 164-165.

heaven are assuming once again their rightful stations in the heavens."[1]

Conclusion

In summary, the major themes of Dan 8:9-14 are expressed again in the angelic discourse of 11:2–12:3 as well as in the ensuing dialogue in 12:5-13. In some cases the themes are more developed. The terminological links to 8:9-14, however, do not appear evenly distributed over the text material but rather form intertextual clusters (11:28-31, 36-39; 12:1-3, 6-7, 11).

The revelation in chaps. 10–12 confirms in a forceful way that 8:9-14 portrays a climactic conflict between a power with religious interests and its forces, on the one side, and God and his people, on the other side. All the major components of the conflict in chap. 8 are also present in chaps. 11–12: the attack on the cult (11:31; 12:10-11), on the people of God (11:32-35; 12:7, 10-11), and on God himself (11:36-39), and the divine intervention associated with judgment (12:1-3). The mention of זְרֹעִים "forces" in 11:31 furnishes evidence that it is accurate to interpret the host in 8:12 as the host of the horn. Furthermore, the nature and activities of the king of the north from 11:28 on to a large extent clearly resemble the nature and activities of the horn/king in chap. 8. Table 47 summarizes the similarities between the two and demonstrates again that the king of the north designates, at least in 11:28-45, the same power as the horn/king.

---

[1]Seow, "The Rule of God," 244.

Table 47. Similarities of the Horn in Daniel 8 and the King of the North in Daniel 11

Similarity	Horn in Dan 8	King of the North in Dan 11
Hubris	Magnifies itself (גדל hif.) up to the commander of the host (8:11a); magnifies (גדל hif.) in his heart (8:25)	Exalts and magnifies (גדל hitp.) himself above every god and above all (11:36, 37)
Attack on the beauty	Goes forth (military term יצא) from smallness and grows against the beauty (הַצֶּבִי) (8:9b)	Stays (military term עמד) in the land of beauty (הַצְּבִי) (11:16) & enters (military term בוא) the land of beauty (הַצְּבִי) (11:41) & pitches up his state tent before the beautiful holy mountain (הַר־צְבִי־קֹדֶשׁ) (11:45)
Attack on the holy	Against the holy (8:13c)	Against the holy covenant (11:28, 30 [2x]) & the holy mountain (11:45) & the holy people (12:7)
Attack on the sanctuary	Throws down the foundation of the commander's sanctuary (מִקְדָּשׁ) (8:11c)	Desecrates the sanctuary (מִקְדָּשׁ), the fortress (11:31)
Attack on divine principles	Removal of the *tāmî d* (הֻרַים הַתָּמִיד) (8:11b, 12a)	Removal of the *tāmî d* (וְהֵסִירוּ הַתָּמִיד) (11:31; cf. 12:11)
Installation of false worship	Installation (נתן) of the sin that desolates (הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם) (8:13c)	Installation (נתן) of the abomination of desolation (הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשׁוֹמֵם) (11:31; cf. 12:11)
Attack on God's associates	Assault on the host of heaven (8:10, 13; "people of holy ones" in 8:24) & some of the host fall (8:10b)	Assault on the *maskilim* (11:33, 35) & some of the *maskilim* fall (11:33, 34, 35; cf. "holy people" in 12:7)

Table 47—*Continued.*

Similarity	Horn in Dan 8	King of the North in Dan 11
Attack on God	Against the commander of the host (שַׂר־הַצָּבָא) (8:11-12) and against the prince of princes (שַׂר־שָׂרִים) (8:25)	Against the prince of the covenant (11:22) and against the God of gods (11:36); implied: against Michael, the great prince (הַשַּׂר הַגָּדוֹל), who stands protectively by the people of God (12:1)
Host or Army	Host of the horn (8:12)	Forces of the king of the north (11:31)
Extraordinary activities	Destroys to an extraordinary degree (נִפְלָאוֹת) (8:24)	Speaks extraordinary things (נִפְלָאוֹת) (11:36; cf. 12:6)
Success	Host of the horn does (עשׂה) (8:12c, 24) & succeeds (הִצְלִיחַ) (8:12d, 24, 25)	Does (עשׂה) (11:16, 17, 24 [2x], 28, 30, 36 [2x], 39) & succeeds (הִצְלִיחַ) (11:36)
Wrath	What will occur at the end of indignation (זַעַם) (8:19)	He is enraged (זעם) at the holy covenant (11:30); successful until the indignation (זַעַם) is finished (11:36)
Time factor	The vision pertains to the "time of the end" (עֵת קֵץ) (8:17), to the "appointed time of the end" (לְמוֹעֵד קֵץ) (8:19)	Vocabulary of end time (עֵת קֵץ in 11:27, 35, 40; cf. 12:4, 9; לְמוֹעֵד in 11:27, 29, 35; cf. 12:7)
Supernatural destruction	Broken without human hand (8:25; implied in vs. 14c)	He will come to his end and no one will help him (11:45; 12:1)
Structural position	After the kingdoms of Medo-Persia and Greece (8:3-8; cf. vss. 20-22); final power before the divine intervention	After the kingdoms of Persia and Greece (11:2-4); final power after great conflict before the divine intervention

Finally, the identification of the "great prince" in 12:1 with the "commander of the host" in 8:11 implies that the one under attack by the horn (8:11) is the same who brings about the vindication of the sanctuary and God's people (8:14; cf. 12:1-3). This idea is not evident from chap. 8 itself, but presents an intertextual contribution of chaps. 11–12.

Intertextual Relations between Daniel 8:9-14 and Daniel 1–6

After studying the intertextual links between Dan 8:9-14 and blocks of literature in the visionary part of Daniel, the narratives are now investigated for textual relations. Intertextual connections between Dan 8:9-14 and the first six chapters of Daniel based on terminological links are rare. They are listed in table 48.

Table 48. Intertextual Relations between Daniel 8:9-14 and Daniel 1–6

Text	Word/Phrase	Intertextual Reference
8:11a (8:25)	וְעַד שַׂר־הַצָּבָא הִגְדִּיל "even up to the commander of the host it magnified itself" (8:11a) // וְעַל־שַׂר־שָׂרִים יַעֲמֹד "even against the prince of princes he will stand" (8:25e) // וְעַל מָרֵא־שְׁמַיָּא הִתְרוֹמַמְתָּ "and against the Lord of heaven you have exalted yourself" (5:23)	5:23
	וּבִלְבָבוֹ יַגְדִּיל "he will magnify himself in his heart" (8:25c) // רִם לִבְבֵהּ "his heart rose up" (5:20)	5:20
8:11b, 12a, 13c	תְּדִירָא // תָּמִיד	6:17, 21

There are two identifiable connections. First, Dan 8:11a recalls the language of 5:23 and 5:20, especially if the interpretation in 8:25 is included in the comparison.[1] Syntactically, 5:23 and 8:11a, 25e all front the prepositional object which refers to the divine being whom the subject offended by self-exaltation. Daniel 5:23 and 8:25e even use the same preposition עַל "against." Furthermore, both verbs, BH גדל (8:11a) and BA רום (5:23), designate the activity of self-exaltation. The relationship between the two verbs is again evident by comparing רִם לִבְבֵהּ "his heart rose up," that is, "he was arrogant," in 5:20 with וּבִלְבָבוֹ יַגְדִּיל "he will magnify himself in his heart" in 8:25. It might be purely incidental that the verb רום in 5:20, 23 also appears in 8:11b for it has a different semantic notion there, but an intertextual function cannot easily be dismissed. The thematic pattern is also similar: 5:23 speaks of Belshazzar's defiance of God, whereas 5:20 refers to Nebuchadnezzar's megalomania that was described in Dan 4. Hence, within the narrative framework both Nebuchadnezzar's and Belshazzar's self-exaltation serve as parallel and historical type to the horn's overbearing apotheosis in the vision of Dan 8. In 8:9-14 these historical types find their eschatological counterpart.

Second, the one-to-one relationship between תָּמִיד and תְּדִירָא indicates the close connection between Dan 8:11-13 and Dan 6:17, 21, which thematically is based on the question of worship. As the significance of this textual connection has already been discussed, there is no need to repeat it here.[2]

Thematically, Dan 8:9-14 reflects some of the main messages of the

---

[1]Except for Collins (*Daniel*, 250), such an association has surprisingly gone unnoticed.

[2]See on the meaning of תָּמִיד in chapter 2 (above).

concentrically arranged chapters of Dan 2–7.[1] With chaps. 4 and 5 it shares the theme of arrogant self-exaltation followed by divine intervention that brings about the fall of the defiant king. With chaps. 3 and 6 it shares the central issue of worship with a wrong system replacing the true worship of God. And with chaps. 2 and 7 it shares the general revelation of a succession of kingdoms that will finally come to a divinely appointed end.

Summary: Daniel 8:9-14 in the Book of Daniel

The intertextual analysis has shown that Dan 8 occupies a special place in the book of Daniel. Not only does chap. 7 function as the hinge between the two parts of Daniel,[2] chap. 8 also has an interlocking *Scharnierfunktion*, particularly owing to vss. 9-14. As has been presented above, chap. 8 is closely linked to the Aramaic prophecy in chap. 7, both in form and content, and via chap. 7 forges links to the dream of successive kingdoms in chap. 2. In addition, the text in 8:9-14 is reminiscent of the almost type scenic incidents of the proud and defiant self-magnification of the Babylonian kings Nebuchadnezzar in chap. 4 (5:20) and Belshazzar in chap. 5 (5:23), and evokes Daniel's continual cultic worship service of God in chap. 6 (6:11, 17, 21). At the same time 8:9-14 introduces new themes and motifs that are taken up in chap. 9 and chaps. 10–12. The

---

[1]For the chiastic arrangement of themes in Dan 2–7 see Lenglet, 169-190.

[2]Prominent features that link Dan 7 to the tales are its Aramaic language (chaps. 2–7), the theme of succession of four kingdoms taken over by the kingdom of God (chap. 2), and that it is part of the concentric arrangement of chaps. 2–7. Features that link Dan 7 to the visions are its form of a dream vision, the similar content to chap. 8 (horn from smallness), and that it does not follow chap. 6 chronologically but belongs to the beginning of the chronological sequence of the visions.

emphasis on the cult stands out especially.[1] Thus, the subsequent visions borrow major elements from the climax of the vision in chap. 8, and it has to be concluded that the central part of the second half of Daniel is rather to be found in 8:9-14 than in another place.[2]

In summary, out of Dan 8:9-14 originates a network of literary linkages found throughout the entire book of Daniel, most distinctly with regard to the visionary part of the book. It takes up prominent themes from chaps. 2–7 and dominates the visionary part of the book, thus elevating chap. 8 to the status of a twin pillar in the book of Daniel. Together with chap. 7, chap. 8 forms the thematic and structural center of the book of Daniel. One must therefore conclude that 8:9-14 is strategically situated in the book of Daniel and deeply embedded in its themes and, consequently, also in its theology.

---

[1]For example, terms newly introduced in chap. 8, even if one looks for equivalent Aramaic terms, are אֱמֶת, שֹׁמֵם, הַתָּמִיד with article, גדל hif. "to make oneself great," הַצְּבִי, מִקְדָּשׁ, and קֹדֶשׁ.

[2]*Pace* Steck ("Weltgeschehen und Gottesvolk im Buche Daniel," 65-67) and others who suppose a "change of perspective" in Dan 8 in comparison to the previous chapters of the so-called "Aramaic book of Daniel" and argue that chap. 8 has been written with chap. 9 in view. In such an interpretation, the dependence of Dan 8 on Dan 9:24-27 and the influence of the prayer of confession by Daniel in Dan 9 play too large a role in interpreting the final events of the vision in Dan 8. In fact, in such a view Dan 9 is designated to be "the central part of the whole book of Daniel, which also provides the key for the reinterpretation of the older parts" (Seidl, "Volk Gottes und seine Zukunft," 182; so also Steck, "Weltgeschehen und Gottesvolk," 76; Johannes Marböck, "Gottes Plan und Herrschaft: Zu den Anfängen apokalyptischen Schrifttums," *ThPQ* 137 [1989]: 344).

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Daniel 8:9-14 is indisputably one of the most challenging texts in the book of Daniel. In chapter 1 I observed that in previous research concerning this enigmatic text, only a few studies used linguistic methods and could therefore be categorized as text-oriented approaches. However, these linguistic studies, as informative and commendable as they are, pursued only selective tasks and are by no means dealing comprehensively with the text, lacking, for example, any intertextual analysis that focuses on the relationship with other passages in the book of Daniel. In fact, many intricacies of the text have not yet received copacetic explanations. The assessment of the research history therefore called for a new, systematic and comprehensive analysis which concentrates on the text and its language, and combines a linguistic, literary, and intertextual approach, that is, the basic three avenues of a text-oriented approach.

The text-oriented analysis of Dan 8:9-14 that has been undertaken has tried to provide satisfying answers to the questions that have been raised by comparing the different interpretations of these six verses. Each of the three avenues of the text-oriented analysis contributes to a better understanding of the text and its seemingly baffling features. The study of the text itself by means of linguistics solves some intricate

grammatical-syntactic and semantic problems (chapter 2). The study of the dynamics of the text in the literary analysis reveals a carefully styled composition, in which alleged irregularities turn out to be effective literary features of the text, and a thematically and theologically rich climax of the vision report (chapter 3). Finally, the study of the text in relationship with other texts in the intertextual analysis lends additional support to the linguistic and literary findings, helps to draw attention to features of the text that might not be easily noticed, and clarifies and underlines the central place and role of 8:9-14 in the book of Daniel (chapter 4).

Methodological Results

In the process of the study, two methodological observations in particular have crystallized: the value of a comprehensive systematic analysis for exegesis, and the complexity of interconnected levels of analysis. First, a systematic analysis from form to function proves to be a useful and commendable approach, specifically in dealing with such difficult texts as Dan 8:9-14. The information gained on lower levels of analysis, for example, the syntactic level, instructs, guides, provides limits for, and maximizes the analysis of higher levels, for example, the literary analysis. A good illustration of this lies in the linguistic analysis of 8:12a which shows, among other things, that direct speech commences in vs. 12a and that the transgression spoken of should be attributed to the horn. This informs the literary analysis with regard to both structure and thematic distribution of the text, as well as the intertextual analysis with regard to the relation between 8:9-14 and chap. 9.

Second, the different levels of analytical description of the text create an intricate web in which information on one level informs the analysis on another level and vice versa. The various levels of a text could perhaps adequately be compared to the elaborate interweaving of websites and their numerous hypertextual links in the internet. While reading and understanding the text in Dan 8:9-14—and for the sake of argumentation, any text—the reader opens consciously or unconsciously numerous hypertextual links in which information from various levels of analysis are "downloaded" into the present reading of the text. All contribute to the overall understanding of the text. The task of the text-oriented analysis is to detect systematically as many aspects as possible that are present in the text and its intertext, so that the process of understanding the text is as conscious as possible.

Major Contributions

In the course of this study I have given ample space to the summary of the exegetical results. The main points have been succinctly covered at the end of the individual subsections and chapters. Instead of compiling all of these findings again in tiresome repetition, I wish to concentrate on the major conclusions and contributions of the work at hand, presented according to the three text-oriented avenues: linguistic, literary, intertextual.

Linguistic Analysis

The linguistic analysis combined a systematic grammatical-syntactic and a semantic analysis. The syntax of Dan 8:9-14 was described clause by clause, and the

meaning of specific words, phrases, and sentences was analyzed. The more prominent results of the linguistic analysis may be summarized as follows.

The origin of the horn is not nearly as unambiguous as commentators believe. Syntactic arguments alone have been found insufficient to decide on the antecedent of הָאַחַת מֵהֶם "one of them" in Dan 8:9a. The literary-structural comparison of ram, he-goat, and horn demonstrates, however, that the horn functions on the same level as the other two powers. The intertextual comparison to Dan 7 confirms that the horn in chap. 8 has to be regarded as a power independent from the he-goat. In chap. 8 itself, its origin is concealed in mystery, which, as suggested, diverts from the idea that the horn is yet another power of purely military character, but rather draws attention to the religious interest and nature of the horn.

The first entity that experiences the terror of the horn is the "host of heaven" and the "stars" (vs. 10), which designate the same entity, and in their symbolic meaning both refer to the people of God. This is especially apparent with the expression "stars" on the basis of its use as metaphor and as simile in the Hebrew Bible (particularly in visions: Gen 37:9; Num 24:17) and the comparison with the "mighty ones" (עֲצוּמִים) in 8:24, a term that designates a group of people. At the same time the expression "host of heaven" hints at the involvement of the celestial host of angels. What is described here is nothing less than a cosmic battle fought on two levels: on the earth and in the supernatural world.

The supernatural level of the horn's assault becomes particularly evident in vs. 11, where the horn magnifies itself to divine-like status. While the phrase "commander of the host" (שַׂר־הַצָּבָא) is a technical term for the highest military rank elsewhere, in the

prophetic part of Daniel the term שַׂר usually refers to a celestial being. The intertextual relationship to the "prince of princes" in 8:25, who designates the same being, clarifies that the commander of the host is the supreme leader of celestial beings, probably to be identified with the Danielic figure of Michael. The traits of military leader and divine being are also combined in the celestial warrior of the crucial intertext of Josh 5:13-15. In light of the cultic terminology used in Dan 8:9-14, שַׂר־הַצָּבָא seems to have a priestly connotation as well, especially since the commander of the host is closely linked to the *tāmî d* and to the sanctuary (vs. 11b and 11c).

The cultic climax of the horn's adverse activities is found in vs. 11. In removing the *tāmî d* from the commander of the host, the horn carries out a pseudo-cultic act (רום hif. + מִן) and usurps priestly status. הַתָּמִיד is a cultic term par excellence. The present standard interpretation, namely that it refers to the "daily sacrifice," is not doing justice to its scope of meaning in this passage. Rather הַתָּמִיד designates both the cultic activities of the "commander of the host" as high priest (supported by its usage in cultic texts of the Hebrew Bible) and the continual cultic worship and service directed toward him as divine being (supported by its replacement by false worship or false cult practices in 11:31 and 12:11 and the lexical and thematic link to Daniel's continual cultic service of prayer in 6:11, 17, 21). Hence 8:11 describes the inconceivable act of the "ultimate cultic offense" perpetrated by the horn. In its hubris, the horn attempts to replace the commander of the host of heaven and reappropriate "the epitome of the cult" to itself. The results of the semantic analysis of vs. 11c reasserted such an assessment, for this clause describes the flinging down of the principles (metaphorical foundations) upon which the sanctuary of

the commander of the host rests.

Text-grammatically and consistent with the use of verbal sequences in the book of Daniel, the shift from past tense in vss. 9-11 (*qatal*, *wayyiqtol*, and *x-qatal*) to future tense in vs. 12 (*x-yiqtol*, *wᵉyiqtol*, and *wᵉqatal*) signals the shift of the text's character from describing the vision in vss. 9-11 to reporting the speech of one of the holy ones in vs. 12. The mention that a holy one had spoken (vs. 13a) refers back to the speech in vs. 12, and the *wayyiqtol* וָאֶשְׁמְעָה should be understood in a pluperfect sense.

The linguistic analysis also furnished a satisfying explanation for the other challenging syntactic and semantic aspects of vs. 12a. A new subject is introduced: "a host." Several features indicate that this host stands in contrast to the host of heaven, namely the sentence-initial position and indefiniteness of וְצָבָא, the surprising use of feminine gender, the clause meaning of vs. 12a, and the host's continuation as subject in vss. 12b-d, which have feminine verbs in sentence-initial position and no new subject introduced. With regard to the semantic function of the prepositions in vs. 12a, עַל indicates disadvantage ("against"), or is used in a metaphoric-locational sense ("control over"), and ב is used in a modal sense so that either the activity is criminal and rebellious, or the agent is in a condition of rebellion and transgression. The logical subject of vs. 12a is the horn. The association of פֶּשַׁע in vs. 13c with other activities of the horn, as well as the intertextual relation with 11:31 and 12:11, supports such a view. The clause in 8:12a therefore introduces a counter-host who is set up by the horn "against the *tāmî d* in rebellion." Verse 12b comments upon vs. 11c and describes the throwing down of the foundations of the sanctuary as the throwing down of truth. The end of vs. 12 shows

again that the horn lays claim to divine prerogatives, for it presumptiously grants success to its host in whatever it does.

Another holy being confronts the one who had just explained what the climax of the vision meant with a most urgent question: "How long the vision?" (vs. 13c). The definiteness of הֶחָזוֹן and its occurrences in chap. 8 imply that the question refers to the entire vision. The elements of the angelic cry for judgment have received a bewildering number of syntactic explanations. The best one, however, is that all the words following הֶחָזוֹן stand in apposition to it, and selectively specify four significant elements of the vision, all of which are associated with the destructive activities of the horn: the *tāmî d*, the setting up of the devastating transgression, the holy, and the host to be a trampling.

The visionary revelation ends in vs. 14 with a ray of hope when the first holy being announces the denouement of the intolerable, dramatic situation caused by the horn and its host and bemoaned by the other angel: "until 'evening-morning' two thousand and three hundred then will (the) holy be restored." The asyndetic and singular use of "evening" and "morning" evidences that the 2300 "evening-morning" designate 2300 days. The word sequence "evening-morning" is an allusion to creation, indicating that the restoration of (the) holy has to be understood as a divine act of creation, and further points to the Day of Atonement which is the only cultic day that explicitly starts in the evening and purges everything קֹדֶשׁ "holy," that is, the holy sanctuary and the holy people.

The *w^eqatal* וְנִצְדַּק follows the verbal forms in vs. 12c-d and, as *passivum divinum*, designates a divine activity that will happen after the completion of the "2300

evening-morning." The Niphal form of צדק, being a *hapax legomenon*, should be understood as passive to the Hiphil, which refers to declaring someone as "in the right." It therefore points to a divine judgment that will vindicate the "holy," which in this circumstance refers in its indefinite form to both the sanctuary and the people of God, the two associations the root קדשׁ has in the book of Daniel. The semantic range of the verbal root צדק is broad, and it is purposefully chosen to call to mind various contexts—relational (restoration), cultic (purification), and legal (vindication)—which fit both connotations of קֹדֶשׁ. Thus, both points of the horn's assault, the sanctuary and the people, are restored to their right status. Inasmuch as these entities are holy because of their relationship to God, it is theologically legitimate to infer that the restoration of holy to its right status necessarily implies the vindication of God himself.

A major conclusion of the linguistic analysis concerns the quality of the Hebrew of Dan 8:9-14, which frequently has been called poor and clumsy. However, my analysis of the MT of Dan 8:9-14 has shown that the text with its sentences is grammatically acceptable and well-formed, making full use of the entire range of syntactic possibilities. The grammatical idiosyncrasies need not necessarily be resolved by the assumption of textual corruption. Rather, the accumulation of peculiar cases in the Hebrew language serves the specific function of accentuating the passage and heightening the reader's attention. The same high quality applies to the literary character of the text.

Literary Analysis

The general conclusion from the literary analysis—which focused on literary style,

thematic distribution, *Leitwörter* and keywords, and literary structure—is that the text in 8:9-14 is a carefully crafted passage and must be considered as a highly artistic literary piece displaying unity rather than disunity. The literary artistry is particularly exhibited in the following features: the poetic style at the climax of the vision proper in vs. 11; the gender shift of verbs in vss. 9-12, in specific the one in vs. 11 that highlights the importance of this verse; and the use of the *Leitwort* גדל, which is part of a thematic "hubris-fall leads to a great fall"-pattern of the entire vision that moves in a literary *crescendo* to the culmination of hubris and rebellion in vs. 11—the horn's usurpation of divine prerogatives and imitation of the divine—and finds its denouement in the divine intervention predicted at the end of the audition.

The semantic isotopies of the text reveal an interweaving of significant themes. Special focus lies on the movement from "power and violence," expressed by military and royal terminology, to "cult and holiness," expressed by cultic terminology. The thematic center of 8:9-14 consists of a cultic assault that will come to an end by a cultic measure: an eschatological Day of Atonement, combining both judgment and creation.

The literary features and the thematic distribution suggest a structure that is coherent with the linguistic findings, and that basically consists of the climax of the vision describing the horn's assault on truth (vss. 9-11) and the audition (vss. 12-14). The latter can be further divided into an angelic comment elaborating on the climactic efforts of the horn (vs. 12), the angelic cry for judgment (vs. 13), and the final proclamatory answer that truth will eventually gain the upper hand (vs. 14). This structure is at the same time the last installment of the "hubris-fall"-pattern in the vision

report of chap. 8.

The theological force of the text is determined by the conflict between the horn and its host on one side, and the heavenly commander and the host of God's people on the other side. The horn power is characterized as the incarnation of anti-divine powers, and thus it typifies the role of a supernatural power who rages war against God and his celestial host. The conflict in chap. 8 is indeed stylized as a cosmic conflict.

The solution to this cosmic conflict is to be found in another master theme. As the horn power terrorizes the truth, attacks the holy people, and opposes God himself, it is deeply involved in cultic transgression. The final divine answer therefore needs to be a cultic one and is the eschatological Day of Atonement, the bringing together of judgment and re-creation. The attack on truth of the highest degree is met by the revelation of truth in the highest degree when everything holy is restored to its right place.

The literary artistry alone would identify 8:9-14 as an important section in the prophetic part of the book of Daniel. It is, however, in the intertextual analysis that the role of the climax of the vision in Dan 8 is perceived most clearly.

Intertextual Analysis

Finally, pursuing an author-intended and text-oriented intertextuality, the intertextual study systematically noted and carefully evaluated the lexical and thematic links of Dan 8:9-14 with other passages in the book of Daniel. The major conclusion of the intertextual analysis is that Dan 8:9-14 occupies a strategic place and role in the book of Daniel. Two main findings related to each other stand out.

First, each passage that forms an intertext contributes significantly to the understanding of 8:9-14. These texts help to support or clarify interpretations given in the linguistic and literary analyses. For example, the angelic comments in 8:23-26 give understanding to the horn as being a rebellious power of a different nature from the previous ones, while acting as a counterpart to the sage and assaulting both God and his people.

Second, Dan 8:9-14 is closely interwoven into the second part of the book of Daniel. Beyond this, it plays a strategic role in the thematic fabric of the entire book. In regard to the narrative section, Dan 8:9-14 takes up themes from major crises in the lives of Daniel and the Babylonian kings (chaps. 4-6) and projects these crises into an eschatological setting. The chapters following chap. 8 are dependent upon 8:9-14 in their choice of words and themes. While the prophetic word in chap. 9 sheds light on the time aspect of the 2300 "evening-morning" and points to the inauguration of the sanctuary that needs restoration in 8:14, chaps. 10-12 build upon the culmination of the vision of chap. 8 and expand the activities of the horn considerably. The close structural and thematic similarity between chap. 7 and chap. 8 is particularly interesting for the intertextual exegete, because these visions explain each other and reveal with more clarity both the distinct and the latent themes in the other vision. Above all, these two visions exhibit the crucial connection between judgment, creation, and cult, leading to the conclusion that the Day of Atonement, which uniquely combines these themes, constitutes the thematic and theological matrix of divine activities in both visions.

Perspectives

Several suggestions can be drawn from this study. First, my hope is that the present analysis invites the study of other passages in the book of Daniel using a similar approach, that is, by applying a text-oriented analysis. There are still obscurities in other Danielic texts that remain to be solved, and a systematic text-oriented approach might help to clarify some of them. Second, since the Day of Atonement motif with its thematic combination of judgment, creation, and cult has been found at the heart of Dan 8:9-14 (and of the vision in chap. 7), it suggests itself to trace such a motif in the book of Daniel, and, if other occurrences are detected, to specify their reason and function. At least in the prophetic part of the book, the motif of the Day of Atonement seems to play a significant role, so that the prophecies might be paradigmatically understood against it. Third, a systematic intertextual analysis of Dan 8:9-14 with other texts in the Hebrew Bible has yet to be carried out. Although I suspect that there are not many intertextual relations to be found on a terminological level, one should at least pursue the question whether the specific interplay of the thematic concepts of Dan 8:9-14 are found elsewhere. Finally, it would be worthwhile to examine the reception history of Dan 8:9-14, that is, the interpretations and appropriations the text has received. The application or recurrence of Danielic concepts present in 8:9-14, especially the Day of Atonement motif, in apocalyptic literature of the Second Temple period and the New Testament book of Revelation would appear to be a profitable subject for study as well.

Final Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that, as the text stands, Dan 8:9-14 is a well-crafted literary piece, which employs the entire range of linguistic possibilities, and plays an important role within the entire book, particularly within its prophetic section. The message of 8:9-14 is that truth and everything associated with it is terrorized by an ultimate incarnation of anti-divine power. However, at last God will intervene in a final restoration of everything holy to its rightful place, carrying out an eschatological day of atonement, and truth will stand victorious.

APPENDIX 1

A CONCORDANCE OF THE VOCABULARY OF DANIEL 8:9-14 IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL

The following table lists the words occurring in Dan 8:9-14 in alphabetic order. For each word is given the number of its occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, in the book of Daniel, and in Dan 8[1]; the references where it occurs in Dan 8, the references where it occurs elsewhere in the Hebrew parts of Daniel (Dan 1 and 9–12); a translation equivalent; and notes, if necessary. If a word occurs more than once in the same verse, an indexed number after the reference shows how often this is the case. Pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, and particles are not included in the list.

---

[1]The statistics have been compiled with the help of *Bible Works for Windows* 6.0, and have been checked against *DCH*; *HALOT*; Abraham Even-Shoshan, *A New Concordance of the Bible: Thesaurus of the Language of the Bible, Hebrew and Aramaic, Roots, Words, Proper Names, Phrases and Synonyms*, 2d ed. (Jerusalem: "Kiryat Sepher," 1990); and Gerhard Lisowski, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Alten Testament*, 2d ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1981). Not infrequently, these sources differ slightly in the statistics of words that occur more than a hundred times in the Hebrew Bible. In such cases I chose usually the statistics given by the computer program.

Entry / Translation	*Statistics: OT / Dan / Dan 8*	*References in Dan 8*	*References in Dan 1 and 9–12*	*Notes on Phrases*
אֶחָד "one"	977 / 19 / 6	**8**:3^{2}, 9^{2}, 13^{2}	**1**:21; **9**:1, 2, 27; **10**:5, 13^{2}, 21; **11**:1, 20, 27; **12**:5^{2}	
אֶלֶף "thousand"	496 / 3 / 1	**8**:14	**12**:11, 12	אַלְפַּיִם וּשְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת only in Dan 8:14b
אמר "say"	5309 / 23 / 6	**8**:13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 26	**1**:3, 10, 11, 18; **2**:2, 3; **9**:4, 22; **10**:11, 12, 16, 19^{2}, 20; **12**:6, 8, 9	
אֱמֶת "truth"	127 / 6 / 2	**8**:12, 26	**9**:13; **10**:1, 21; **11**:2	
אֶרֶץ "earth"	2504 / 20 / 6	**8**:5^{2}, 7, 10, 12, 18	**1**:2; **9**:6, 7, 15; **10**:9, 15; **11**:16, 19, 28^{2}, 40, 41, 42^{2}	
בֹּקֶר "morning"	214 / 2 / 2	**8**:14, 26	—	
גדל "grow"	117 / 9 / 6	**8**:4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 25	**1**:5; **11**:36, 37	
דבר "speak"	1142 / 19 / 3	**8**:13^{2}, 18	**1**:19; **2**:4; **9**:6, 12, 20, 21, 22; **10**:11^{2}, 15, 16, 17, 19^{2}; **11**:27, 36	
חָזוֹן "vision"	35 / 12 / 7	**8**:1, 2^{2}, 13, 15, 17, 26	**1**:17; **9**:21, 24; **10**:14; **11**:14	
יצא "come out"	1076 / 7 / 1	**8**:9	**9**:15, 22, 23; **10**:20; **11**:11, 44	
יֶתֶר "excessively"	96 / 1 / 1	**8**:9	—	
כּוֹכָב "star"	37 / 2 / 1	**8**:10	**12**:3	
מֵאָה "hundred"	585 / 3 / 1	**8**:14	**12**:11, 12	

Entry / Translation	*Statistics: OT / Dan / Dan 8*	*References in Dan 8*	*References in Dan 1 and 9–12*	*Notes on Phrases*
מִזְרָח "the east"	74 / 2 / 1	**8**:9	**11**:44	
מָכוֹן "place," "foundation"	17 / 1 / 1	**8**:11	—	מְכוֹן מִקְדָּשׁ only in Dan 8:11c
מִקְדָּשׁ "sanctuary"	75 / 3 / 1	**8**:11	**9**:17; **11**:31	
מִרְמָס "trampling	7 / 1 / 1	**8**:13	—	
מָתַי "when?"	43 / 2 / 1	**8**:13	**12**:6	עַד־מָתַי (29 / 2 / 1)
נֶגֶב "the south"	110 / 12 / 2	**8**:4, 9	**11**:5, 6, 9, 11, 14, 15, 25^{2}, 29, 40	always הַנֶּגֶב (except in 8:4)
נפל "fall"	434 / 8 / 2	**8**:10, 17	**9**:18, 20; **10**:7; **11**:12, 19, 26	
נתן "give"	2012 / 17 / 2	**8**:12, 13	**1**:2, 9, 12, 16, 17; **9**:3, 10; **10**:12, 15; **11**:6, 11, 17, 21, 31; **12**:11	
עֶרֶב "evening"	139 / 3 / 2	**8**:14, 26	**9**:21	
עשׂה "do"	2629 / 24 / 4	**8**:4, 12, 24, 27	**1**:13; **9**:12^{2}, 14, 15, 19; **11**:3, 6, 7, 16, 17, 23, 24^{2}, 28, 30, 32, 36^{2}, 39	
פַּלְמוֹנִי "so-and-so"	1 / 1 / 1	**8**:13		
פֶּשַׁע "crime"	93 / 3 / 2	**8**:12, 13	**9**:24	
צָבָא "host"	484 / 6 / 5	**8**:10^{2}, 11, 12, 13	**10**:1	צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם (18/1/1)

Entry / Translation	*Statistics: OT / Dan / Dan 8*	*References in Dan 8*	*References in Dan 1 and 9–12*	*Notes on Phrases*
צְבִי "beauty"	31 / 4 / 1	**8**:9	**11**:16, 41, 45	הַצְּבִי in 8:9; בְּאֶרֶץ־הַצְּבִי in 11:16 and 11:41; הַר־צְבִי־קֹדֶשׁ in 11:45
צדק "justify"	41 / 2 / 1	**8**:14	**12**:3	
צלח "succeed"	65 / 5 / 3	**8**:12, 24, 25	**11**:27, 36	
צָעִיר "small"	24 / 1 / 1	**8**:9	—	
קָדוֹשׁ "holy"	117 / 3 / 3	**8**:13^2, 24	—	
קֹדֶשׁ "holy," "holiness"	293 / 13 / 2	**8**:13, 14	**9**:16, 20, 24^3, 26; **11**:28, 30^2, 45; **12**:7	
קֶרֶן "horn"	79 / 9 / 9	**8**:3^2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 20, 21	—	
רום "take away," "raise up"	193 / 4 / 1	**8**:11	**11**:12, 36; **12**:7	
רמס "trample"	19 / 2 / 2	**8**:7, 10	—	
שַׂר "prince"	421 / 17 / 3	**8**:11, 25^2	**1**:7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 18; **9**:6, 8; **10**:13^2, 20^2, 21; **11**:5; **12**:1	שַׂר־הַצָּבָא (37 / 1 / 1)
שׁלך "throw"	125 / 3 / 3	**8**:7, 11, 12	—	
שָׁלֹשׁ "three"	431 / 9 / 2	**8**:1, 14	**1**:1, 5; **10**:1, 2, 3; **11**:2; **12**:12	
שָׁמַיִם "heaven"	421 / 5 / 2	**8**:8, 10	**9**:12; **11**:4; **12**:7	

Entry / Translation	*Statistics: OT / Dan / Dan 8*	*References in Dan 8*	*References in Dan 1 and 9–12*	*Notes on Phrases*
שׁמם "devastate," "desolate"	92 / 8 / 2	**8**:13, 27	**9**:18, 26, 27^{2}; **11**:31; **12**:11	adjective שָׁמֵם in 9:17
שׁמע "hear"	1159 / 15 / 2	**8**:13, 16	**1**:14; **9**:6, 10, 11, 14, 17, 18, 19; **10**:9^{2}, 12; **12**:7, 8	
תָּמִיד "continually," "regularly"	104 / 5 / 3	**8**:11, 12, 13	**11**:31; **12**:11	always הַתָּמִיד

APPENDIX 2

THE SEMANTIC FUNCTION OF THE PREPOSITION עַל IN CLAUSES WITH נתן[1]

The basic function of the preposition עַל in clauses with נתן is to indicate spatial position. Under this category fall the specific functions of the simple locative and the metaphorical locative. Other semantic functions are to indicate disadvantage, goal, comitative, and comparison. The following classification of 214 נתן-clauses that govern a prepositional phrase with עַל categorizes according to these semantic functions.[2]

---

[1]The semantic model upon which the classification of the preposition עַל (Appendix 1) and the preposition ב is based is *X - r - Y*, in which r means the relation in which X, the core of the phrase preceding the preposition, stands to Y, the core of the phrase following the preposition (so Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 14-16). The use of X and Y in the classification refers to this semantic model.

[2]The clauses are counted according to the prepositional phrases with עַל, which means that if more than one prepositional phrase with עַל is governed by the same verbal root of נתן, each instance is counted separately. The classification does not list clauses in which עַל is not governed by the verb נתן though both occur in the same clause. In a number of cases the preposition עַל relates to a whole נתן-clause (X = נתן-clause), and the function of עַל is then, of course, not dependent upon the verb נתן. In these cases the preposition עַל indicates cause ("because"; Ps 115:1), or reference ("concerning," "with regard to"; 2 Sam 18:11), or in the fixed construction עַל־פִּי followed by a personal entity it specifies the norm according to which the giving process is performed ("according to," "at," "at the command of"; Gen 45:21; Josh 19:50; 2 Kgs 23:35). In other instances the preposition עַל occurs in a clause with נתן but the prepositional phrase is part of a clause element (direct object, indirect object etc.) and is not directly governed by the verb נתן (Gen 48:22; 1 Kgs 1:48 [cp. 3:6]; Isa 42:5; Jer 45:5; Ezek 28:18; 2 Chr 13:5; 35:25).

1 Simple locative ("on," "upon," "over") (178 times)

X, an entity which can be localized, is related to Y, a place or an entity which is located in space, in such a way that X is on or over Y. X can be a physical object (11) or a hypostatized abstract entity (12).

11 Localization of a physical object (X = physical object)

X is usually a thing, seldom a person (1 Kgs 5:5; 10:9; 2 Kgs 18:23=Isa 36:8; Jer 20:2; 2 Chr 9:8). Y is a place or a physical object which occupies a place: a thing, an animal, a person, or a part of a person (sometimes used *pars pro toto*).

111 Y is a place—contingent locative ("at," "next to")
Exod 26:35; 40:22; 1 Kgs 7:39 (twice עַל); 8:36; 17:14; 18:1; 2 Kgs 16:14; 23:33; Ezek 32:5; Job 5:10; 2 Chr 6:27.

112 Y is physical object

1121 Y is a thing
Exod 12:7 (twice עַל); 25:12, 21, 26, 30; 26:32, 34; 28:14, 23, 24, 25 (twice), 27; 29:3, 6, 12; 37:13; 39:17, 18, 25, 31; 39:16, 18, 20; 40:20; Lev 1:7; 2:1, 15; 4:7, 18, 25, 30, 34; 5:11; 8:15; 9:9; 11:38 (Qal passive of נתן); 14:17, 28; 16:13, 18; 17:11; 22:22; 24:7; 26:30; Num 4:6, 7, 10, 12, 14; 5:15, 6:18; 15:38; 16:17, 18; 17:11; 19:17; 1 Kgs 5:5; 7:16; 10:9; 18:23; 2 Kgs 16:17; 18:23; Isa 22:22; 36:8; Jer 20:2; Ezek 21:20; 24:8; 37:19; 43:20; 2 Chr 3:16; 9:8 (first נתן + עַל).

1122 Y is an animal
Lev 16:8.

1123 Y is a person
Lev 8:7 (twice), 1 Kgs 12:4, 9; 2 Kgs 11:12; 18:14; Jer 26:15; Ezek 3:25; 4:8; 37:6; Jonah 1:14; Neh 10:33; 2 Chr 10:4, 9; 23:11.

1124 Y is part of a person[3]
Gen 40:11; 40:21; 41:42; 42:37; Exod 29:20 (four times עַל); 30:33; 34:33; Lev 8:23 (three times עַל), 24 (three times עַל), 27 (twice עַל); 14:14 (three times עַל), 17 (three times עַל), 18, 25 (three times עַל), 28 (three times עַל), 29; Num 5:18; 6:19; Deut 28:48; 1 Sam 17:38; 2 Kgs 12:16;

---

[3]A specific phrase which falls into this category is נתן עַל־יָד "entrust to": Gen 42:37; 2 Kgs 12:16; 22:5, 7, 9; 1 Chr 29:8; 2 Chr 34:10, 17. See Lipiński in E. Lipiński and Heinz-Josef Fabry, "נָתַן *nātan*," *TDOT*, 10:94.

22:5, 7 (נתן-N), 9; Jer 27:2; 28:14; Ezek 16:11, 12; 23:42; Mic 3:5; Esth 6:9; 1 Chr 29:8; 2 Chr 34:10, 17.

In some of the above noted instances, the נתן-clause, in which the preposition עַל relates two physical objects with one another, is used metaphorically, though the function of עַל needs to be marked as simple locative. There are different metaphors, like to give a yoke on the neck of someone as metaphor for a burden or punishment (Deut 28:48; 1 Kgs 12:4, 9; Jer 28:14; 2 Chr 10:4, 9), to put a specific amount of money upon persons or a land as metaphor for a duty (2 Kgs 18:14; 23:33; Neh 10:33), to put a key on someone's shoulder as metaphor for transferring authority (Isa 22:22), to give innocent blood upon persons as metaphor for criminal responsibility (Jer 26:15; Jonah 1:14), to give cords or ropes on someone as metaphor for restriction (Ezek 3:25; 4:8), or to give a sword over city gates as metaphor for war or slaughter (Ezek 21:20).

12 Localization of an abstract entity (X = abstract entity)

An abstract entity is hypostatized and treated as concrete thing. In that way an abstract entity can be localized and can be given on or upon another entity. Again, Y can be a place, which usually implies a person or persons located there, or it can be a physical object which occupies a place—a thing, an animal, or a person—or, once, another hypostatized abstract entity.

121 Y is a place (the place may refer to persons located in that place)
Deut 11:25, 29 (twice עַל); Ezek 32:8; Ps 8:2.[4]

122 Y is a physical object

1221 Y is a thing
No entry.

1222 Y is an animal
Lev 16:21.

1223 Y is a person
Exod 32:29; Num 27:20; Deut 2:25; 26:6; 30:7; 1 Kgs 8:32; Jer 23:40; Ezek 7:3, 4, 8, 9; 23:7, 49; 36:29; Dan 11:21; 1 Chr 14:17; 22:9; 29:25. "To give the divine spirit over you" could also be regarded as a metaphorical locative (2111): Num 11:25, 29; Isa 42:1.

---

[4]*BHRG*, 291 (§39.19/1[ii]), marks the function of עַל here as comprehensive locative hypostatized

123 Y is an abstract entity
Ps 69:28.

2 Metaphorical locative ("over") (17 times)

21 Indicating incumbency or rank ("over," "in control of") (X = person)

X, a personal entity, is set in a position over Y, a system which is usually personal but could also be a geographical name, a military entity, etc. Syntactically, the clauses can be distinguished between those which have a double direct object, one affected and another one effected (212), and those which do not have a double direct object (211).

211 without double direct object

2111 Y is a person
Deut 17:15; 1 Sam 12:13; 1 Kgs 2:35; 5:21; Neh 9:37; 2 Chr 32:6.

2112 Y is a place
Gen 41:41, 43.

212 with double direct object

The person (affected) is the direct object and a designation of position or rank (effected), which has the same grammatical function, is added, usually without preposition.

2121 Y is a person
Exod 18:25; Deut 1:15; 1 Kgs 14:7; 16:2; Neh 13:26; 2 Chr 2:10; 9:8b (the rank is added with the preposition לְ).

22 Indicating value or supremacy ("over," "above") (category of X = category of Y)
Deut 26:19; 28:1.

3 Disadvantage ("against") (11 times)

An entity X is given for the disadvantage of an entity Y, which means that the giving process is carried out in a hostile sense and is directed toward or against a person, place, or abstract. The Y-complement can be regarded as an indirect object which is affected negatively.

31 Y is a person

Jer 12:8; Ezek 19:8; 26:8; Neh 5:7; 2 Chr 20:22 (three עַל in one נתן-sentence).

32 Y is a place > person (a place name is used to refer to persons living there)

Jer 4:16; Ezek 4:2 (twice).

33 Y is an abstract

Dan 8:12.

4 Goal ("to," "for") (4 times)

In these cases the preposition עַל, functioning similar to the preposition אֶל, identifies the goal of the giving process. This function could be mistaken as indicating advantage ("for," "on behalf of").

41 Y is a person

Isa 29:12 (נתן-N); Mic 1:14; Neh 2:7.

42 Y is an abstract

Exod 30:16.

5 Comitative ("along with," "together with," "in addition to") (4 times)

The preposition עַל is joining the two entities X (in below cases always the direct object) and Y, expressing that X undergoes the same action as Y.

51 Accompaniment ("along with," "together with")

Exod 29:17 (twice עַל); Ezek 25:10.

52 Addition ("in addition to")

Num 35:6.

APPENDIX 3

THE SEMANTIC FUNCTION OF THE PREPOSITION ב

IN CLAUSES WITH נתן[5]

In the following list, the semantic functions of all the 563 instances where the preposition ב occurs in a clause with נתן (except Dan 8:12a) are systematically classified. It is again necessary to point out that my analysis has shown that ב has the same semantic functions in a נתן-clause as in clauses with other verbal predicates. Hence, this classification serves as exemplary overview of the wide range of semantic functions which ב can possess. The classification system follows Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth* (1992). Each entry has been looked up in Jenni's exhaustive reference list and classified accordingly. The numbering system has been retained in order to facilitate easy comparison with Jenni's list. Included are also those functions of ב which are not exemplified in clauses with נתן. Those occurrences of ב in נתן-sentences where ב introduces a dependent clause (e.g., a temporal clause or a causal clause) or where it is part of a sentence constituent phrase/clause are not referenced in the classification that follows, because in these cases the prepositional phrase with ב is not governed by the verb נתן. Since there is no functional difference of ב in clauses with נתן in the Niphal (54

[5]The semantic classification of ב is again based on the model *X* - *r* - *Y* (see Appendix 2, n. 1).

times) and in clauses with נתן in the Qal (509 times), both groups of clauses are compiled in one list. The clauses with נתן in the Niphal are marked by underlining.

1 Realization or circumstantial use[6] (72 times)

11 *Beth essentiae*
1126 Num 18:26; 36:2; Josh 21:8, 12; 1 Chr 6:50.

12 *Beth exclamationis*
No entry.

13 *Beth constitutionis*
No entry.

14 *Beth comitantiae*
No entry.

15 *Beth gesticulationis*
1517 Jer 12:8; Pss 46:7; 68:34.

16 *Beth causae*
1643 Exod 16:3.
1656 Jer 32:36 (3x); Ezra 9:7 (4x).

17 *Beth instrumenti*
1713 2 Kgs 5:1.
1724 Lev 26:46; Dan 9:10; Neh 10:30.
1727 Ezek 25:14.
1731 Exod 29:12; Lev 8:15.
1744 Ezek 19:9.
1758 Num 36:2.
1778 Jer 21:10.
1795 2 Chr 31:15.

18 *Beth pretii*
1811 Gen 47:16, 17 (4x); Ezek 27:12, 13, 16 (2x), 17, 19, 22 (2x); Joel 4:3.
1812 Gen 23:9; Lev 25:37; Deut 2:28; 14:25; 1 Kgs 21:6, 15; Jer 15:13; 1 Chr

---

[6] The preposition ב equates in some way an entity Y with an entity X which is part of or presupposed by the predicate of the clause or sentence (Jenni, *Die Präposition Beth*, 67). For definitions of the specific uses of ב in this category see ibid., 74-78.

21:22.
1813 Gen 29:27.
1814 Deut 14:26 (6x); Cant 8:7; Lam 1:11; 1 Chr 21:25.
1815 Lev 25:37; Ezek 18:8, 13; Ps 15:5.
1816 Exod 21:22.
1831 Esth 7:3 (2x).
1871 Ezra 9:7.
1872 Jer 15:13; 17:3; Neh 9:37.
1881 Deut 9:6.
1896 1 Kgs 14:16 (the secondary preposition בִּגְלַל "on account of").

19 *Beth communicationis*

No entry.

2 Localization[7] (447 times)

21 Y is a place = way

No entry.

22 Y is a place = area

2211 1 Kgs 10:27; 15:4; Isa 46:13; Ezra 9:9; 2 Chr 1:15; 9:27; 24:9.
2213 1 Kgs 12:29.
2216 Esth 3:15; 4:8; 8:14; 9:14; 2 Chr 36:7.
2218 2 Chr 5:10.
2221 Ezek 39:11.
2222 Ezra 9:9; 2 Chr 17:19; 2 Chr 24:9.
2225 Josh 20:8 (3x); 22:7; Jer 22:20.
2228 Job 14:13.
2241 2 Chr 17:2 (2x).
2242 Gen 41:48; 1 Sam 27:5; Amos 4:6; 2 Chr 17:19.
2243 Ezek 6:14.
2244 Prov 1:20.
2245 2 Chr 11:11.
2251 Gen 47:11 (2x); Exod 16:3; Num 35:14; 1 Kgs 9:11; Ezek 30:13; 1 Chr 6:40; 2 Chr 17:2.
2252 Lev 25:24; 26:1, 6; Josh 14:4; Ezek 25:4; Ps 105:32; Neh 3:36.
2253 Joel 3:3.
2256 Deut 11:15; Ezek 17:5; Zech 10:1.
2258 Josh 20:8; Isa 41:19; 43:20 (2x); Jer 9:1.

---

[7]The preposition ב is followed by a designation of place or space, which is not necessarily geographical.

2259 Esth 3:14; 8:13.
2261 Lev 26:46; Josh 21:11, 21; 24:33.
2268 Gen 1:17; Joel 3:3.
2269 Ezek 26:20; 32:23, 24, 25, 26, 32.
2271 Lev 14:34; Isa 56:5.
2272 2 Chr 3:16.
2277 1 Kgs 2:5 (2x).
2278 Job 19:23.
2281 Lev 19:28; 24:19, 20, 20; Deut 7:15.
2283 1 Kgs 8:32; Ezek 9:10; 11:21; 16:12, 43; 17:19; 22:31; Esth 6:8; 2 Chr 6:23.
2293 Gen 47:11.

23 Y is a place = space

2314 Exod 36:1.
2316 Num 5:20; 2 Kgs 19:7; Isa 37:7.
2319 Ezek 37:14.
2321 Gen 27:17; 40:13; Exod 5:21; Deut 24:1, 3; Judg 7:16; 1 Sam 21:4; 1 Kgs 15:18; Ezek 21:16; 23:31; 30:24, 25.
2322 Gen 9:2; 30:35; 32:17; 39:4, 8, 22; Exod 10:25; 23:31; Num 7:8; 21:2, 34; Lev 26:25; Deut 1:27; 2:24, 30; 3:2, 3; 7:24; 19:12; 20:13; 21:10; Josh 2:24; 6:2; 7:7; 8:1, 7, 18; 10:8, 19, 30, 32; 11:8; 21:44; 24:8, 11; Judg 1:2, 4; 2:14, 23; 3:10, 28; 4:7, 14; 6:1, 13; 7:2, 7, 9, 14, 15; 8:3, 7, 15; 9:29; 11:21, 30, 32; 12:3; 13:1; 15:12, 13, 18; 16:23, 24; 18:10; 20:28; 1 Sam 14:10, 12, 37; 17:47; 23:4, 14; 24:5, 11; 26:23; 28:19 (2x); 30:23; 2 Sam 5:19 (2x); 10:10; 16:8; 21:9; 1 Kgs 18:9; 20:13, 28; 22:6, 12, 15; 2 Kgs 3:10, 13, 18; 13:3 (2x); 17:20; 18:30; 19:10; 21:14; Isa 22:21; 36:15; 37:10; 47:6; Jer 20:4, 5; 21:7 (3x), 10; 22:25 (4x); 26:24; 27:6; 29:21; 32:3, 4, 24, 25, 28 (2x), 36, 43; 34:2, 3, 20 (2x), 21 (3x); 37:17; 38:3, 16, 18, 19; 39:17; 43:3; 44:30 (3x); 46:24, 26 (3x); Ezek 7:21; 11:9; 16:39; 21:36; 23:9 (2x), 28; 31:11; 39:23; Pss 10:14; 78:61; 106:41; Job 9:24; Lam 1:14; Dan 1:2; 11:11; Ezra 9:7; Neh 9:24, 27, 30; 1 Chr 5:20; 14:10 (2x); 16:7; 19:11; 22:18; 2 Chr 13:16; 16:8; 18:5, 11, 14; 24:24; 25:20; 28:5, 5, 9; 34:16; 36:17.
2323 Jer 12:7.
2324 Ezek 38:4.
2325 Deut 15:17.
2326 Deut 18:18; 1 Kgs 22:23; Jer 1:9; 5:14; Ps 40:4; 2 Chr 18:22.
2327 Gen 16:5; 2 Sam 12:8; Ezek 37:6.
2328 Exod 31:6; 35:34; 36:2; 1 Kgs 10:24; Jer 32:40; Ps 4:8; Eccl 3:11; Ezra 7:27; 2 Chr 9:23.
2329 Ezek 16:27; Pss 27:12; 41:3.
2331 Lev 20:15.

2333 Ezek 29:4.
2341 2 Chr 9:16.
2342 Exod 26:34; 30:36; 40:22; 1 Kgs 7:51; Isa 56:5; Lam 2:7; Ezra 1:7; Neh 13:4; 2 Chr 4:7; 5:1; 35:3.
2344 Gen 42:27; Jer 52:11; Ps 33:7; 2 Chr 36:7.
2345 2 Chr 22:11.
2346 Deut 15:17.
2347 2 Chr 24:8.
2353 Jer 32:14; Ezek 4:9; Prov 23:31.
2354 Gen 43:23.
2357 Jer 27:8; Ezek 19:9.
2359 Lev 10:1; Num 16:7.
2361 Isa 43:16.
2363 Ps 69:22.
2366 Lam 3:29.
2367 Gen 9:13.
2369 2 Kgs 19:18; Isa 37:19.
2373 1 Sam 24:11.
2376 Isa 43:16.
2395 Gen 40:3; 41:10; Num 21:29.
2397 Eccl 10:6.

24 Y is the metaphorical expression בְּעֵינֵי "in the eyes of"
2411 Gen 39:21; Exod 3:21; 11:3; 12:36.

25 Y is a relative localization
2511 Jer 14:13.
2512 Ezra 9:8.
2514 Jer 24:9; Amos 4:6.
2518 Gen 48:9.
2523 Jer 15:13; 17:3.
2531 Exod 39:25 (2x).
2535 Gen 41:48; 2 Chr 6:13.
2536 1 Kgs 6:27.
2538 Gen 23:9; Lev 26:11; Num 5:21; 27:4, 7; 26:62; Josh 14:3; 15:13; 17:4 (2x); 19:49; Ezek 29:21; 32:25, 25; 37:26; Job 42:15.
2539 Ezek 29:12; 31:14.
2542 Jer 31:33; Ezek 11:19; 36:26, 27.
2548 Deut 21:8.
2564 1 Sam 9:22.
2576 Ezek 32:23.
2581 Deut 3:20; Josh 1:15; 13:8; 22:4.
2588 2 Kgs 12:10 (*ketib*).

26 Y is a contact[8]

2611 Exod 7:4.
2613 Ezek 26:9.
2617 Ezek 30:8, 14, 16.
2621 Lev 17:10; 20:3, 6; 26:17; Ezek 14:8; 15:7.
2624 Dan 1:17.
2631 Joel 2:17.
2636 Ps 50:20.
2637 Deut 6:22 (3x); Num 31:3; Ezek 25:14, 17; Neh 9:10 (3x).
2638 Ezek 23:25.
2647 Deut 21:17.

27 Y = X = series of temporal or abstract expressions

2711 1 Kgs 5:25.

28 Y is a set to which X is given

2811 Jer 6:27.
2817 Ezek 44:28.
2824 1 Chr 12:19.
2827 2 Sam 24:15; 1 Chr 21:14.
2841 Isa 8:18.
2843 Zeph 3:20.
2844 Jer 29:18; Ezek 5:14; Joel 2:19; 2 Chr 7:20.
2858 Ezek 39:21.
2875 Ezek 32:25.

29 Y is a set to which X already belongs

2914 Jer 49:15 (2x); Obad 2.
2952 2 Chr 31:19 (2x).
2956 Num 18:21.

3 Temporalization[9] (34 times)

3111 Neh 10:33.
3113 2 Chr 27:5.
3151 Deut 24:15; Jer 52:34; Neh 12:47.
3154 Lev 27:23; Josh 9:27; 1 Sam 12:18; 27:6; 1 Kgs 13:3; Jer 39:10; Esth 8:1; 1 Chr 16:7.

---

[8]The preposition ב expresses contact, whereby the activity is always for the disadvantage of the referent of the prepositional phrase.

[9]The preposition ב is followed by a designation of time (Y = temporal expression).

3155 Exod 16:29; 22:29.
3159 Lev 5:24.
3163 Neh 12:47 (2x).
3165 1 Chr 22:9.
3172 Exod 16:8; Zeph 3:5 (2x).
3175 Exod 16:8.
3177 Job 35:10.
3351 Ezra 9:8.
3415 Lev 26:4; Deut 11:14; 28:12; Jer 5:24; Pss 1:3; 104:27; 145:15.
3442 Lev 7:36.
3512 1 Chr 16:7.

4 Modalization[10] (8 times)

41 Y is an abstract of quality
4134 Isa 61:8.
4135 2 Chr 31:15.

42 Y is an abstract of an activity which is expressed by an intransitive verb
4261 Gen 45:2.

43 Y is an abstract of an inner activity expressed by an intransitive verb
4311 Ezek 36:5.

44 Y is an abstract of an activity which is expressed by a transitive verb
4411 Isa 27:4.
4451 Hos 13:11.
4462 Ezek 36:5.
4469 Prov 13:10.

5 Parallelization [11] (2 times)
5211 1 Kgs 13:5.
5311 Ezek 32:29.

---

[10]The preposition ב is followed by an abstract expression (Y = abstract) that qualifies the predicate X.

[11]The preposition ב is followed by a complete predicate that is nominalized or pronominalized.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aalders, G. Charles. *Daniël: verklaard.* Commentaar op het Oude Testament. Kampen: Kok, 1962.

________. *Het boek Daniël: Opnieuw uit den grondtekst vertaald en verklaard.* Korte verklaring der Heilige Schrift met nieuwe vertaling, vol. 27. Kampen: Kok, 1928.

Abel, Félix M. "L'apparition du chef de l'armée de Yahveh à Josué (Jos. V, 13-15)." In *Miscellanea Biblica et Orientalia: R. P. Athanasio Miller completis LXX annis oblata*, ed. Adalberti Metzinger, 109-113. Studia anselmiana, no. 27-28. Rome: "Orbis Catholicus," Herder, 1951.

Abrams, M. H. *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition.* London: Oxford University Press, 1953.

Achtemeier, Elizabeth Rice. "The Gospel of Righteousness: A Study of the Meaning of *Ṣdq* and Its Derivates in the Old Testament." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1959.

Ahlström, G. W. "Judges 5:20f. and History." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 36 (1977): 287-288.

Aichele, George, and Gary A. Phillips. "Introduction: Exegesis, Eisegesis, Intergesis." *Semeia* 69/70 (1995): 7-18.

Aichele, George, and Gary A. Phillips, eds. "Intertextuality and the Bible." *Semeia* 69/70 (1995): 1-305.

Albani, Matthias. "'Kannst du die *Sternbilder* hervortreten lassen zur rechten Zeit ...?' (Hi 38,32): Gott und Gestirne im Alten Testament und im Alten Orient." In *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Beate Ego, 181-226. Forschungen zum Alten Testament, no. 32. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.

Albertz, Rainer. "The Social Setting of the Aramaic and Hebrew Book of Daniel." In *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, 171-204. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 83/1. Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature, no. 2/1. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Albrecht, Karl. "Das Geschlecht der hebräischen Hauptwörter." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 15 (1895): 313-325.

________. "Das Geschlecht der hebräischen Hauptwörter: (Fortsetzung)." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 16 (1896): 41-121.

Alexander, Patrick H., et al., eds. *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies*. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999.

Alkier, Stefan. "Intertextualität: Annäherungen an ein texttheoretisches Paradigma." In *Heiligkeit und Herrschaft: Intertextuelle Studien zu Heiligkeitsvorstellungen und zu Psalm 110*, ed. D. Sänger, 1-26. Biblisch-theologische Studien, no. 55. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2003.

Allen, Graham. *Intertextuality*. The New Critical Idiom. London: Routledge, 2000.

Allen, Leslie C. *Psalms 101-150*, rev. ed. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 21. Nashville: Nelson, 2002.

Allen, Sydney. "On Schedl's Attempt to Count the Days of Daniel." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 4 (1966): 105-106.

Alomía, Merling. "La identidad del cuerno pequeño en Daniel 8: Un examen de la hipótesis de Antíoco Epífanes." *Theologika* 3 (1988): 82-115.

________. "Lesser Gods of the Ancient Near East and Some Comparisons with Heavenly Beings of the Old Testament." Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1987.

Alonso Schökel, Luis. "Hermeneutical Problems of a Literary Study of the Bible." In *Congress Volume: Edinburgh 1974*, 1-15. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 28. Leiden: Brill, 1975.

________. *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics*. Subsidia biblica, no. 11. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1988.

________. *A Manual of Hermeneutics*. With José María Bravo. Translated by Liliana M. Rosa. Edited by Brook W. R. Pearson. The Biblical Seminar, no. 54. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998.

________. "Of Methods and Models." In *Congress Volume: Salamanca 1983*, ed. J. A. Emerton, 3-13. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 36. Leiden: Brill, 1985.

________. "Sobre el estudio literario del Antiguo Testamento." [Review of *Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft*, by Wolfgang Richter.] *Biblica* 53 (1972): 544-556.

________. "Trend: Plurality of Methods, Priority of Issues." In *Congress Volume: Jerusalem 1986*, ed. J. A. Emerton, 285-292. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 40. Leiden: Brill, 1988.

Alter, Robert, and Frank Kermode, "General Introduction." In *The Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Robert Alter and Frank Kermode. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1987.

Althann, R. "The Inverse Construct Chain and Jer 10:13, 51:16." *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 15 (1989): 7-13.

Altpeter, Gerda. *Textlinguistische Exegese alttestamentlicher Literatur: Eine Dekodierung*. Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 23, Theologie, no. 110. Bern: Lang, 1978.

Andersen, Francis I., and A. Dean Forbes. "'Prose Particles' Counts of the Hebrew Bible." In *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. C. L. Meyers and M. O'Connor, 165-183. American Schools of Oriental Research Special Volume Series, no. 1. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983.

Anderson, Gary A. "The Praise of God as a Cultic Event." In *Priesthood and Cult in Ancient Israel*, ed. Gary A. Anderson and Saul M. Olyan, 15-33. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 125. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991.

________. "Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings (OT)." *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992. 5:870-886.

Anderson, Lewis O., Jr. "The Michael Figure in the Book of Daniel." Th.D. diss., Andrews University, 1997.

Anderson, Robert A. *Signs and Wonders: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel.* International Theological Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984.

Andreasen, Niels-Erik. "The Heavenly Sanctuary in the Old Testament." In *The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical, and Theological Studies*, ed. Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Lesher, 67-86. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1981.

________. "Translation of *Nisdaq/Katharisthēsetai* in Daniel 8:14." In *Symposium on Daniel: Introductory and Exegetical Studies*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, 475-496. Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 2. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986.

Ap-Thomas, D. R. "Two Notes on Isaiah." In *Essays in Honour of Griffithes Wheeler Thatcher 1863-1950*, ed. E. C. B. MacLaurin, 45-61. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1967.

Arambarri, Jesús. *Der Wortstamm "hören" im Alten Testament: Semantik und Syntax eines hebräischen Verbs*. Stuttgarter Biblische Beiträge, no. 20. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1990.

Archer, Gleason L. "Daniel." *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*. Edited by Frank E. Gaebelein. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985. 7:1-157.

Arneth, Martin. *"Sonne der Gerechtigkeit": Studien zur Solarisierung der Jahwe-Religion im Lichte von Psalm 72*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte, no. 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000.

Arnold, Bill T. "Wordplay and Characterization in Daniel 1." In *Puns and Pundits: Word Play in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature*, ed. Scott B. Noegel, 231-248. Bethesda: CDL, 2000.

________. "Wordplay and Narrative Techniques in Daniel 5 and 6." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 112 (1993): 479-485.

Asurmendi, Jesús. "El Libro de Daniel en la investigación reciente." *Estudiós Biblicos* 55 (1997): 509-540.

Auberlen, Carl August. *The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations of St John, Viewed in Their Mutual Relation: With an Exposition of the Principal Passages*. Translated by Adolph Saphir. Edinburgh: Clark, 1856.

Auchincloss, W. S. *The Only Key to Daniel's Prophecies*. New York: Van Nostrand, 1903.

Auerbach, Erich. *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. Translated by Willard Trask. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953.

Avalos, Hector I. "The Comedic Function of the Enumeration of Officials and Instruments in Daniel 3." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 53 (1991): 580-588.

Averbeck, Richard E. "מִקְדָּשׁ (# 5219)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 2:1078-1087.

Bader, Winfried. "Reale und gedachte Welt: Die Modalitäten in Daniel 8." In *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert*, ed. Winfried Bader, 39-58. THLI, no. 9. Tübingen: Francke, 1994.

Bader, Winfried, ed. *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert.* Textwissenschaft, Theologie, Hermeneutik, Linguistik, Literaturanalyse, Informatik (THLI), no. 9. Tübingen: Francke, 1994.

Bail, Ulrike. *Gegen das Schweigen klagen: Eine intertextuelle Studie zu den Klagepsalmen Ps 6 und Ps 55 und der Erzählung von der Vergewaltigung Tamars.* Gütersloh: Kaiser, Gütersloher, 1998.

________. "Psalm 110: Eine intertextuelle Lektüre aus alttestamentlicher Perspektive." In *Heiligkeit und Herrschaft: Intertextuelle Studien zu Heiligkeitsvorstellungen und zu Psalm 110*, ed. D. Sänger, 94-121. Biblisch-theologische Studien, no. 55. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2003.

Baker, David W. "The Consecutive Non-perfective as Pluperfect in the Historical Books of the Hebrew Old Testament (Genesis – Kings)." Master of Christian Studies thesis, Regent College, 1973.

________. "Further Examples of the *Wāw Explicativum*." *Vetus Testamentum* 30 (1980): 129-136.

Baldwin, Joyce G. *Daniel.* Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries. Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity, 1978.

Balentine, Samuel E. *Prayer in the Hebrew Bible: The Drama of Divine-Human Dialogue.* Overtures to Biblical Theology. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.

Baltzer, Klaus. *Deutero-Isaiah: A Commentary on Isaiah 40–55.* Translated by Margaret Kohl. Edited by Peter Machinist. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001.

Bampfylde, Gillian. "The Prince of the Host in the Book of Daniel and the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 14 (1983): 129-134.

Bar, Shaul. *A Letter That Has Not Been Read: Dreams in the Hebrew Bible.* Monographs of the Hebrew Union College, no. 25. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2001.

Barker, Margaret. *The Older Testament: The Survival of Themes from the Ancient Royal Cult in Sectarian Judaism and Early Christianity.* London: SCPK, 1987.

Barnes, Albert. *Daniel.* 2 vols. Notes on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1950.

Barr, James. *The Bible in the Modern World: The Croall Lectures Given in New College, Edinburgh in November 1970.* London: SCM, 1973.

________. *The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective.* Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999.

________. *The Semantics of Biblical Language.* London: Oxford University Press, 1961.

________. "The Synchronic, the Diachronic and the Historical: A Triangular Relationship?" In *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, 1-14. Oudtestamentische studiën, no. 34. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Bartelmus, Rüdiger. Review of *Methoden im Widerstreit*, by Oskar Dangl. *Theologische Zeitschrift* 52 (1996): 271-272.

________. Review of *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert*, ed. by Winfried Bader. *Theologische Zeitschrift* 52 (1996): 274-276.

________. "שָׁמַיִם *šāmajim.*" *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament.* Edited by Heinz-Josef Fabry and Helmer Ringgren. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995. 8:204-239.

________. "*šāmajim* – Himmel: Semantische und traditionsgeschichtliche Aspekte." In *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Beate Ego, 87-124. Forschungen zum Alten Testament, no. 32. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001.

________. "Die Tierwelt der Bibel II: Tiersymbolik im Alten Testament exemplarisch dargestellt am Beispiel von Dan 7, Ez 1/10 und Jes 11,6-8." In *Gefährten und Feinde des Menschen: Das Tier in der Lebenswelt des alten Israel*, ed. Bernd Janowski, Ute Neumann-Gorsolke, and Uwe Gleßmer, 283-306. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1993.

Barth, Jacob. *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, 2d ed. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1967.

Barthélemy, Dominique. *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament.* Vol. 3, *Ézéchiel, Daniel at les 12 Prophètes.* Orbus biblicus et orientalis, no. 50/3. Fribourg, Switzerland: Éditions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992.

Barton, George A. "The Composition of the Book of Daniel." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 17 (1898): 62-86.

Barton, John. "Canonical Approaches Ancient and Modern." In *The Biblical Canons*, ed. J.-M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge, 199-209. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 163. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters: 2003.

________. "Classifying Biblical Criticism." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 29 (1984): 19-35.

________. "Historical Criticism and Literary Interpretation: Is There Any Common Ground?" In *Crossing the Boundaries: Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, Paul Joyce, and David E. Orton, 3-15. Biblical Interpretation Series, no. 8. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

________. *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study*, rev. and enlarged ed. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996.

________. "Thinking About Reader-Response Criticism." *Expository Times* 113 (2002): 147-151.

________. "What Is a Book? Modern Exegesis and the Literary Conventions of Ancient Israel." In *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel: Papers Read at the Tenth Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and Het Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland en België Held at Oxford, 1997*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, 1-14. Oudtestamentische Studiën, no. 40. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Baudissin, Wolf Wilhelm. *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*. Vol. 2. Berlin: Reimer, 1911.

Bauer, Dieter. *Das Buch Daniel*. Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar: Altes Testament, vol. 22. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1996.

________. "Daniel 8 – eine 'Leitwortuntersuchung.'" In *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert*, ed. Winfried Bader, 73-85. THLI, no. 9. Tübingen: Francke, 1994.

Bauer, Hans, and Pontus Leander. *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1927. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1962.

________. *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testamentes*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1922. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1962.

Bauer, Uwe F. W. *"Warum nur übertretet ihr SEIN Geheiß!": Eine synchrone Exegese der Anti-Erzählung von Richter 17-18* = לָמָּה זֶּה אַתֶּם עֹבְרִים אֶת־פִּי יְהוָה. Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums, no. 45. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998.

Baumgarten, Joseph M. "The Heavenly Tribunal and the Personification of Ṣedeq in Jewish Apocalyptic." *Auftieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung.* Pt. 2, *Principat.* Vol. 19.1, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase, 219-239. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1979.

Baumgartner, Walter. "Ein Viertel Jahrhundert Danielforschung." *Theologische Rundschau* 11 (1939): 59-83, 125-144, 201-228.

Bayer, Edmund. *Danielstudien.* Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen, vol. 3, pt. 5. Münster: Aschendorf, 1912.

Beale, G. K. *The Temple and the Church's Mission: A Biblical Theology of the Dwelling Place of God.* New Studies in Biblical Theology, no. 17. Downers Grove: InterVarsity; Leicester: Apollos, 2004.

Becker, Eve-Marie. "Was ist 'Kohärenz'? Ein Beitrag zur Präzisierung eines exegetischen Leitkriteriums." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 94 (2003): 97-121.

Becker, Joachim. Review of *Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis*, by Bemhard Hasslberger. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 24 (1980): 312-314.

Becker-Spörl, Silvia. *"Und sang Debora an jenem Tag": Untersuchungen zu Sprache und Intention des Deboraliedes (Ri 5).* Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 23, Theologie, no. 620. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998.

Becking, Bob. "No More Grapes from the Vineyard? A Plea for a Historical Critical Approach in the Study of the Old Testament." In *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø, 123-141. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 80. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Beckwith, Roger T. *Calendar and Chronology, Jewish and Christian: Biblical, Intertestamental and Patristic Studies.* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums, no. 33. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

________. "The Day, Its Divisions and Its Limits, in Biblical Thought." *Evangelical Quarterly* 43 (1971): 218-227.

Beek, Martinus Adrianus. *Das Danielbuch: Sein historischer Hintergrund und seine literarische Entwicklung, Versuch eines Beitrages zur Lösung des Problems.* Leiden: Ginsberg, 1935.

Behrens, Achim. *Prophetische Visionsschilderungen im Alten Testament: Sprachliche Eigenarten, Funktion und Geschichte einer Gattung.* Alter Orient und Altes Testament, no. 292. Münster: Ugarit, 2002.

Behrmann, Georg. *Das Buch Daniel übersetzt und erklärt.* Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, vol. 3/3, 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1894.

Bentzen, Aage. *Daniel,* 2d ed. Handbuch zum Alten Testament, vol. 19. Tübingen: Mohr, 1952.

Berg, Horst Klaus. *Ein Wort wie Feuer: Wege lebendiger Bibelauslegung.* Handbuch des Biblischen Unterrichts, vol. 1. Munich: Kösel; Stuttgart: Calwer, 1991.

Bergen, Robert D., ed. *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics.* Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1994.

Bergman, J., H. Lutzmann, and W. H. Schmidt. "דָבָר *dābhar.*" *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis, Geoffrey W. Bromiley, and David E. Green. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978. 3:84-125.

Bergman, J., Helmer Ringgren, and Ch. Barth. "בֹּקֶר *bōqer.*" *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975. 2:217-228.

Bergman, J., Helmer Ringgren, and R. Mosis. "גָּדַל *gādhal.*" *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975. 2:390-416.

Bergsträsser, Gotthelf. *Hebräische Grammatik: mit Benutzung der von E. Kautzsch bearbeiteten 28. Auflage von Wilhelm Gesenius' hebräischer Grammatik.* 2 vols. Leipzig: Vogel, 1918; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1962.

Berkovits, Eliezer. *Man and God: Studies in Biblical Theology.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1969.

Berlin, Adele. *Biblical Poetry through Medieval Jewish Eyes.* Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.

________. *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.

________. "Introduction to Hebrew Poetry." *The New Interpreter's Bible.* Edited by Leander E. Keck. Nashville: Abingdon, 1996. 4:301-315.

________. "Literary Exegesis of Biblical Narrative: Between Poetics and Hermeneutics." In *"Not in Heaven": Coherence and Complexity in Biblical Narrative*, ed. Jason P. Rosenblatt and Joseph C. Sitterson, Jr., 120-128. Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991.

________. Review of *Metaphors and Monsters*, by Paul A. Porter. *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 80 (1989-1990): 133-134.

________. *Zephanaiah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary.* The Anchor Bible, vol. 25A. New York: Doubleday, 1994.

Bernstein, Moshe J. "*4Q252* i 2 לא ידור רוחי באדם לעולם: Biblical Text or Biblical Interpretation?" *Revue de Qumran* 16 (1993-1995): 421-427.

Bertholdt, Leonhard. *Daniel aus dem Hebräisch-Aramäischen neu übersetzt und erklärt: mit einer vollständigen Einleitung und einigen historisched und exegetischen Excursen.* 2 pts. Erlangen: Palm, 1806, 1808.

Beuken,W. A. M. *Jesaja: deel II A.* De Prediking van het Oude Testament. Nijkerk: Callenbach, 1979.

Bevan, A. A. *A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1892.

Beyer, Klaus. *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten.* Göttingen: Vandehoeck & Ruprecht, 1984.

Beyerle, Stefan. "Die apokalyptische Vision in Daniel 8." In *Apokalyptik in Antike und Aufklärung*, ed. Jürgen Brokoff and Bernd U. Schipper, 25-44. Studien zu Judentum und Christentum. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2004.

Beyse, K.-M. "תָּמִיד *tāmîḏ*." *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament.* Edited by Heinz-Josef Fabry and Helmer Ringgren. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995. 8:680-683.

Bible Works for Windows, Version 6.0. Big Fork: Hermeneutika Bible Research Software, 2003.

Bickermann, Elias. *The God of the Maccabees: Studies on the Meaning and Origin of the Maccabean Revolt.* Translated by Horst R. Moehring. Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity, no. 32. Leiden: Brill, 1979.

Bietenhard, Sophia Katharina. *Des Königs General: Die Heerführertraditionen in der vorstaatlichen und frühen staatlichen Zeit und die Joabgestalt in 2 Sam 2-20; 1 Kön 1-2.* Orbis biblicus et orientalis, no. 163. Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitäts-Verlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998.

Blake, Frank R. *A Resurvey of Hebrew Tenses: With an Appendix Hebrew Influence on Biblical Aramaic.* Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici, no. 103. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1951.

Blenkinsopp, Joseph. "Ballad Style and Psalm Style in the Song of Deborah: A Discussion." *Biblica* 42 (1961): 61-76.

________. *Isaiah 40-55.* The Anchor Bible, vol. 19. New York: Doubleday, 2000.

Bloomfield, Arthur E. *The End of the Days: A Study of Daniel's Visions.* Minneapolis: Bethany, 1961.

Bludau, August. *Die Alexandrinische Übersetzung des Buches Daniel und ihr Verhältniss zum Massorethischen Text.* Biblische Studien, vol. 2, pts. 2 & 3. Freiburg: Herder, 1897.

Blum, Erhard. "Der 'Schiqquz Schomem' und die Jehud-Drachme BMC Palestine S. 181, Nr. 29." *Biblische Notizen* 90 (1997): 13-27.

Boadt, Lawrence. "Reflections on the Study of Hebrew Poetry Today." *Concordia Journal* 24 (1998): 156-163.

Boccaccini, Gabriele. *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, from Ezekiel to Daniel.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002.

________. "The Solar Calendars of Daniel and Enoch." In *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, 311-328. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 83/2. Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature, no. 2/2. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Boccaccio, P. P. "I termini contrari come espressioni della totalità in ebraico." *Biblica* 33 (1952): 173-190.

Bodine, Walter R., ed. *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992.

Boecker, Hans Jochen. *Redeformen des Rechtslebens im Alten Testament*, 2d ed. WMANT, no. 14. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1970.

Boogart, T. A. "Daniel 6: A Tale of Two Empires." *Reformed Review* 39 (1986): 106-112.

Boorer, Suzanne. "The Importance of a Diachronic Approach: The Case of Genesis-Kings." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 51 (1989): 195-208.

Bosman, Hendrik Jan. Review of *Biblica Hebraica transcripta BH^t 10. Kleine Propheten; 12. Ijob; 13. Megillot*, by Wolfgang Richter. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 40 (1995): 97-103.

Bovati, Pietro. *Re-establishing Justice: Legal Terms, Concepts and Procedures in the Hebrew Bible*. Translated by Michael J. Smith. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 105. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994.

Bowley, James E., and John C. Reeves. "Rethinking the Concept of 'Bible': Some Theses and Proposals." *Henoch* 25 (2003): 3-18.

Breasted, James H. "The Order of the Sentence in the Hebrew Portions of Daniel." *Hebraica* 7 (1890-1891): 245-252.

Brekelmans, C. H. W. "The Saints of the Most High and Their Kingdom." In כה*: 1940-1965*. Oudtestamentische Studiën, no. 14, 305-329. Leiden: Brill, 1965.

Brensinger, Terry L. "Compliance, Dissonance, and Amazement in Daniel 3." *Evangelical Journal* 20 (2002): 7-19.

Brett, Mark G. *Biblical Criticism in Crisis? The Impact of the Canonical Approach on Old Testament Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Breuer, Mordechai, ed. *Jerusalem Crown: The Bible of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem*. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi; Basel: Karger, 2000.

Brin, Gershon. *The Concept of Time in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, no. 39. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Brockelmann, Carl. *Hebräische Syntax*. Neukirchen: Erziehungsverein, 1956.

Broich, Ulrich. "Formen der Markierung von Intertextualität." In *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, anglistische Fallstudien*, ed. Ulrich Broich, Manfred Pfister, and Bernd Schulte-Middelich, 31-47. Konzepte der Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, no. 35. Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1985.

Broich, Ulrich, Manfred Pfister, and Bernd Schulte-Middelich, eds. *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, anglistische Fallstudien.* Konzepte der Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, no. 35. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985.

Brooke, George. "4QCommentary on Genesis A." In *Qumran Cave 4: XVII, Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. James VanderKam, 185-207. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, vol. 22. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.

Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1907.

Broyles, Craig C. "Traditions, Intertextuality, and Canon." In *Interpreting the Old Testament: A Guide for Exegesis*, ed. C. C. Broyles, 157-175. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001.

Bryan, David. *Cosmos, Chaos and the Kosher Mentality.* Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series, no. 12. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.

Bubenik, Anthony B. "Epigenetical, Morphobiological, Physiological, and Behavioral Aspects of Evolution of Horns, Pronghorns, and Antlers." In *Horns, Pronghorns, and Antlers: Evolution, Morphology, Physiology, and Social Significance*, ed. George A. Bubenik and Anthony B. Bubenik, 3-113. New York: Springer, 1990.

Buber, Martin. "*Leitwort* Style in Pentateuch Narrative." In *Scripture and Translation*, by Martin Buber and Franz Rosenzweig. Translated by Lawrence Rosenwald with Everett Fox. Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature, 114-128. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.

________. *Werke.* Vol. 2, *Schriften zur Bibel.* Munich: Kösel; Heidelberg: Schneider, 1964.

Buchanan, George Wesley. *The Book of Daniel.* Mellen Biblical Commentary, vol. 25. Lewiston: Mellen, 1999.

Bucher-Gillmayr, Susanne. [See under Gillmayr-Bucher, Susanne.]

Budie, Max. *Die hebräische Präposition ʿal (על).* Halle: Niemeyer, 1882.

Bultmann, Rudolf. "Untersuchungen zum Johannesevangelium." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 27 (1928): 113-163.

Bunge, J. G. "Der 'Gott der Festungen' und der 'Liebling der Frauen': Zur Identifizierung der Götter in Dan. 11, 36-39." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 4 (1973): 169-182.

Bunzel, Ulrich. *Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im Alten Testament: Eine ideologische Untersuchung*. Lauban: Baumeister, 1914.

Burgmann, Hans. "Die vier Endzeittermine im Danielbuch." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 86 (1974): 543-550.

Buschhaus, Martin. "Traumpsychologisch-parapsychologische Bemerkungen zu drei Übersetzungsschwierigkeiten im Buch Daniel." *Biblische Notizen* 38-39 (1987): 26-29.

Buth, Randall. "The Hebrew Verb in Current Discussion." *Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics* 5 (1992): 91-105.

________. "Methodological Collision Between Source Criticism and Discourse Analysis: The Problem of 'Unmarked Temporal Overlay' and the Pluperfect/Nonsequential *Wayyiqtol*." In *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics*, ed. Robert D. Bergen, 138-154. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1994.

________. "Word Order in Aramaic from the Perspective of Functional Grammar and Discourse Analysis." Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1987.

Buzy, R. P. Denis. "Les symboles de Daniel." *Revue Biblique* 15 (1918): 403-431.

Callaway, Mary C. "Canonical Criticism." In *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application*, rev. and expanded, ed. Steven L. McKenzie and Stephen R. Haynes, 142-155. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999.

Calvin, John. *Commentaries on the Book of the Prophet Daniel*. 2 vols. Translated by Thomas Myers. Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1852-1853.

Caquot, André. "Sur les quatre bêtes de Daniel VII." *Semitica* 5 (1955): 6-13.

Caragounis, C. C. "History and Supra-History: Daniel and the Four Empires." In *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, 387-397. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 106. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993.

Carmignac, Jean. "Un aramaïsme biblique et qumrânien: l'infinitif placé après son complément d'objet."*Revue de Qumran* 5 (1966): 503-520.

Carpenter, Eugene, and Michael E. Grisanti. "פֶּשַׁע (# 7322)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 3:706-710.

Casey, Maurice. *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7*. London: SPCK, 1979.

Casey, P. M. Review of *Metaphors and Monsters*, by Paul A. Porter. *Journal of Theological Studies* 38 (1987): 454-457.

Caspari, C. P. *Zur Einführung in das Buch Daniel*. Leipzig: Dörffling and Francke, 1869.

Ceriani, A. M., ed. *Codex syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus*. Monumenta sacra et profana, no. 7. Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, 1874.

Charles, R. H. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel: With Introduction, Indexes and a New English Translation*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1929.

Charlesworth, James H. "Intertextuality: Isaiah 40:3 and the *serek ha-yaḥad*." In *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*, ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon, 197-224. Biblical Interpretation Series, no. 28. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Chazon, Esther. "When Did They Pray? Times for Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature." In *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, ed. Randal A. Argall, Beverly A. Bow, and Rodney A. Werline, 42-51. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2000.

Childs, Brevard S. *Biblical Theology in Crisis*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970.

________. *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflections on the Christian Bible*. London: SCM, 1992; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.

________. "Critique of Recent Intertextual Canonical Interpretation." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 115 (2003): 173-184.

________. "The Exegetical Significance of the Canon for the Study of the Old Testament." In *Congress Volume: Göttingen 1977*, 66-80. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 29. Leiden: Brill, 1978.

________. *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979.

________. *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context*. London: SCM, 1985. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986.

________. "Die theologische Bedeutung der Endform eines Textes." *Theologische Quartalschrift* 167 (1987): 242-251.

Chilton, Bruce. "Aramaic and Targumic Antecedents of Pauline 'Justification.'" In *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara, 379-397. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 166. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994.

Clarke, E. G. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance.* With collaboration by W. E. Aufrecht, J. C. Hurd, and F. Spitzer. Hoboken: Ktav, 1984.

Clarke, Kent D. "Canonical Criticism: An Integrated Reading of Biblical Texts for the Community of Faith." In *Approaches to New Testament Study*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and David Tombs, 170-221. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series, no 120. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.

Clements, R. E. "כּוֹכָב *kôkāḇ*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by David E. Green. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995. 7:75-85.

Clifford, Richard J. *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament.* Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 4. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.

________. "History and Myth in Daniel 10–12." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 220 (1975): 23-26.

________. *Proverbs: A Commentary.* The Old Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999.

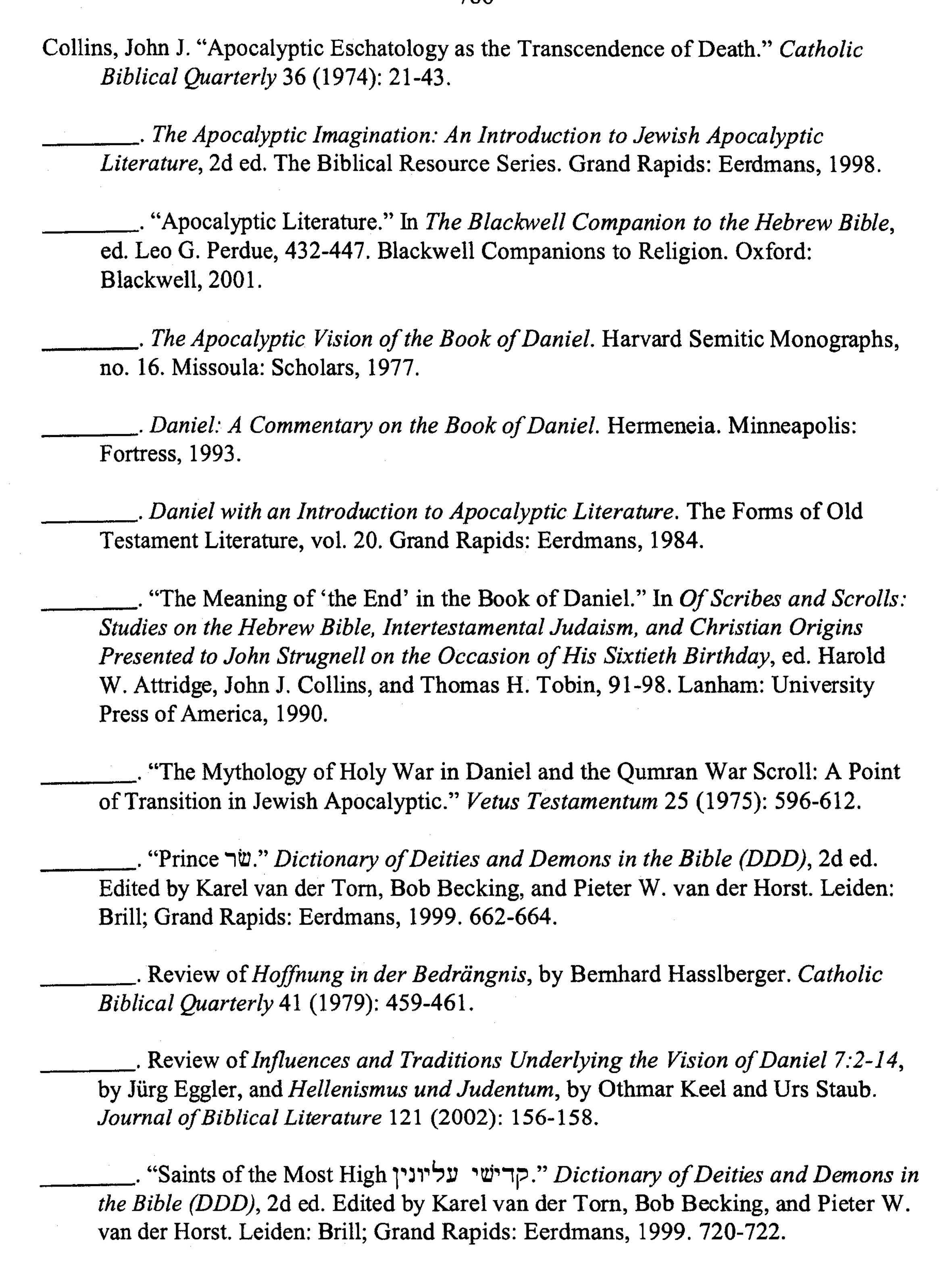
Clines, David J. A. "Beyond Synchronic/Diachronic." In *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, 52-71. Oudtestamentische studiën, no. 34. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Clines, David J. A., ed. *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew.* 8 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-.

Clines, David J. A., and J. Cheryl Exum. "The New Literary Criticism." In *The New Literary Criticism and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. J. Cheryl Exum and David J. A. Clines, 11-25. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 143. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993.

Coetzee, J. H. "Close Reading of the Bible." *Old Testament Essays* 7, no. 4 (1994): 72-77.

Collins, C. John. "The *Wayyiqtol* as 'Pluperfect': When and Why." *Tyndale Bulletin* 46 (1995): 117-140.



Collins, John J. "Apocalyptic Eschatology as the Transcendence of Death." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 36 (1974): 21-43.

________. *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature*, 2d ed. The Biblical Resource Series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.

________. "Apocalyptic Literature." In *The Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Leo G. Perdue, 432-447. Blackwell Companions to Religion. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.

________. *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*. Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 16. Missoula: Scholars, 1977.

________. *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.

________. *Daniel with an Introduction to Apocalyptic Literature*. The Forms of Old Testament Literature, vol. 20. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984.

________. "The Meaning of 'the End' in the Book of Daniel." In *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin, 91-98. Lanham: University Press of America, 1990.

________. "The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll: A Point of Transition in Jewish Apocalyptic." *Vetus Testamentum* 25 (1975): 596-612.

________. "Prince שׂר." *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD)*, 2d ed. Edited by Karel van der Torn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. 662-664.

________. Review of *Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis*, by Bernhard Hasslberger. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 41 (1979): 459-461.

________. Review of *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2-14*, by Jürg Eggler, and *Hellenismus und Judentum*, by Othmar Keel and Urs Staub. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 121 (2002): 156-158.

________. "Saints of the Most High קדישי עליונין." *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD)*, 2d ed. Edited by Karel van der Torn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. 720-722.

________. "The Son of Man and the Saints of the Most High in the Book of Daniel." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 93 (1974): 50-66.

________. "Stirring up the Great Sea: The Religio-Historical Background of Daniel 7." In *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, 121-136. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 106. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993.

Collins, John J., and Peter W. Flint, eds. *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*. 2 vols. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 83. Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature, no. 2. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Conrad, Edgar W. *Reading the Latter Prophets: Toward a New Canonical Criticism*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 376. London: Clark, 2003.

Cook, Joan E. "Beyond 'Form Criticism and Beyond': James Muilenburg's Influence on a Generation of Biblical Scholars." *Proceedings: Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies* 17 (1997): 19-27.

Cook, John A. "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System: A Grammaticalization Approach." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 2002.

________. "The Semantics of Verbal Pragmatics: Clarifying the Roles of *Wayyiqtol* and *Weqatal* in Biblical Hebrew Prose." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 49 (2004): 247-273.

Coppens, J. "Les Saints du Très-Haut sont-ils à identifier avec les Milices célestes?" *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* 39 (1963): 94-100

________. "La vision danièlique du Fils d'Homme." *Vetus Testamentum* 19 (1969): 171-182.

Corbet, G. B., and J. E. Hill. *A World List of Mammalian Species*, 2d ed. London: British Museum, 1986.

Cotterell, Peter. "Linguistics, Meaning, Semantics, and Discourse Analysis." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 1:134-160.

Cover, Robin C. "Sin, Sinners (OT)." *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992. 6:31-40.

Cowe, S. Peter. *The Armenian Version of Daniel*. University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies, no. 9. Atlanta: Scholars, 1992.

Coxon, Peter W. "The 'List' Genre and Narrative Style in the Court Tales of Daniel." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 35 (1986): 95-121.

Craigie, P. C. "Deborah and Anat: A Study of Poetic Imagery (Judges 5)." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 90 (1978): 374-381.

________. "Three Ugaritic Notes on the Song of Deborah." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 2 (1977): 33-49.

Cross, Frank Moore, Jr., and David Noel Freedman. *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry.* Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, no. 21. Missoula: Scholars, 1975.

Crüsemann, Frank. "Jahwes Gerechtigkeit (*ṣedāqā/ṣädäq*) im Alten Testament." *Evangelische Theologie* 36 (1976): 427-450.

Culley, Robert C. "Exploring New Directions." In *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters*, ed. Douglas A. Knight and Gene M. Tucker, 167-200. The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters, vol. 1. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985.

Cumont, Franz. "La plus ancienne géographie astrologique." *Klio* 9 (1909): 263-273.

Dahood, Mitchell. *Ugaritic-Hebrew Philology: Marginal Notes on Recent Publications.* Biblica et orientalia, no. 17. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965.

Dangl, Oskar. "Ich-Konstanz und Welt-Kohärenz: Zum Verhältnis von Transzendentalphilosophie und Exegese." In *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert*, ed. Winfried Bader, 111-122. THLI, no. 9. Tübingen: Francke, 1994.

________. "Vom Traum zum Trauma: Apokalyptische Literatur im aktuellen Kontext." *Protokolle zur Bibel* 6 (1997): 123-132.

"Daniel." *Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary.* Edited by F. D. Nichol. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1953-1957. 5:741-881.

"Daniel and Bel and the Dragon." Prepared by the Peshiṭta Institute on the basis of material collected and studied by Th. Sprey. In *Vetus Testamentum syriace: iuxta simplicem syrorum versionem.* Pt. 3, fasc. 4, *Dodekapropheton—Daniel-Bel-Draco.* Leiden: Brill, 1980.

Daniel, Suzanne. *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante.* Études et commentaires, 61. Paris: Klincksieck, 1966.

David, Pablo S. "The Composition and Structure of the Book of Daniel: A Synchronic and Diachronic Reading." Ph.D. diss., University of Leuven, 1991.

Davidson, A. B. *Hebrew Syntax*, 3d ed. Edinburgh: Clark, 1901.

Davidson, Richard M. "The Meaning of *Nisdaq* in Daniel 8:14." *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 7/1 (1996): 107-119.

Davies, Eryl W. "Reader-Response Criticism and Old Testament Studies." In *Honouring the Past and Shaping the Future: Religious and Biblical Studies in Wales, Essays in Honour of Gareth Lloyd Jones*, ed. Robert Pope, 20-37. Leominster: Gracewing, 2003.

Davies, Graham I. Review of *Metaphorische Grammatik*, by Harald Schweizer. *Vetus Testamentum* 35 (1985): 503-504.

Davies, Philip R. *Daniel*. Old Testament Guides. Sheffield: JSOT, 1985.

Davila, James R. "The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 9 (2002): 1-19.

Dawson, David Allan. *Text-Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 177. Sheffield: JSOT, 1994.

Day, John. *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament*. University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, no. 35. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

________. "Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan." In *Ein Gott allein? JHWH-Verehrung und biblischer Monotheismus im Kontext der israelitischen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. Walter Dietrich and Martin A. Klopfenstein, 181-196. Orbis biblicus et orientalis, no. 139. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1994.

________. *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 265. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.

De Rossi, Giovanni Bernardo. *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti librorum: ex immensa manuscriptorum editorumque codicum congerie haustae et ad Samaritanum textum, ad vetustissimas versiones, ad accuratiores sacrae criticae fontes ac leges examinatae*. Vols. 3-5. Bibliotheca Rossiana, vol. 7. Parma: Bodoni, 1786-1798. Reprint, Amsterdam: Philo, 1970.

Deist, Ferdinand E. "On 'Synchronic' and 'Diachronic': wie es eigentlich gewesen." *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 21 (1995): 37-48.

Del Olmo Lete, Gregorio, and Joaquín Sanmartín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson. Handbook of Oriental Studies: Section 1, The Near and Middle East, vol. 67. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Delcor, Mathias. *Le Livre de Daniel.* Sources Biblique. Paris: Gabalda, 1971.

Delekat, L. "Zum hebräischen Wörterbuch" *Vetus Testamentum* 14 (1964): 7-66.

Delitzsch, Friedrich. *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament: nebst den dem Schrifttexte einverleibten Randnoten klassifiziert; ein Hilfsbuch für Lexikon und Grammatik, Exegese und Lektüre.* Berlin: de Gruyter, 1920.

Denio, F. B. "The Relations Expressed by the Genitive in Hebrew." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 19 (1900): 107-113.

Dequeker, L. "Daniel VII et les Saints du Très-Haut." *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* 36 (1960): 353-392.

________. "The 'Saints of the Most High' in Qumran and Daniel." In *Syntax and Meaning: Studies in Hebrew Syntax and Biblical Exegesis*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, 108-187. Oudtestamentische studiën, no. 18. Leiden: Brill, 1973.

Deventer, Hans van. "The End of the End: Or, What Is the Deuteronomist (Still) Doing in Daniel?" In *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor and Harvey F. Van Rooy, 62-75. Oudtestamentische Studiën, no. 44. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Dexinger, Ferdinand. *Das Buch Daniel und seine Probleme.* Stuttgarter Bibelstudien, no. 36. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1969.

Di Lella, Alexander, A. "Daniel 4:7-14: Poetic Analysis and Biblical Background." In *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles*, ed. A. Caquot and M. Delcor, 247-258. Alter Orient und Altes Testament, no. 212. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukichen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1981.

________. *Daniel: A Book for Troubling Times; Spiritual Commentaries.* Hyde Park: New City, 1997.

________. "The One in Human Likeness and the Holy Ones of the Most High in Daniel 7." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 39 (1977): 1-19.

________. "Strophic Structure and Poetic Analysis of Daniel 2:20-23, 3:31-33, and 6:26b-28." In *Studia Hierosolymitana III: Nell'ottavo centenario Francescano (1182-1982)*, ed. Giovanni Claudio Bottini, 91-96. Studium Biblicum Franciscanum: Collectio maior, no. 30. Jerusalem: Franciscan, 1982.

________. "The Textual History of Septuagint-Daniel and Theodotion-Daniel." In *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, 586-607. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 83/2. Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature, no. 2/2. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Diamond, A. R. Pete. "Introduction." In *Troubling Jeremiah*, ed. A. R. Pete Diamond, Kathleen M. O'Connor, and Louis Stulman, 15-32. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 260. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.

Diebner, Bernd Jörg. "Bibelwissenschaft I/2: Entwicklungen und Tendenzen in der jüngsten Vergangenheit." *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980. 6:361-374.

Diehl, Wilhelm. *Das Pronomen personale suffixum 2. und 3. pers. plur. des Hebräischen in der alttestamentlichen Ueberlieferung*. Giessen: Ricker, 1895.

Dietrich, Manfried, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places (KTU: second, enlarged edition)*. Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien Palästinas und Mesopotamiens, no. 8. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.

Díez Merino, Luis. *Targum de Proverbios: Edición Príncipe del Ms. Villa-Amil n°. 5 de Alfonso de Zamora*. Bibliotheca hispana biblica, no. 11. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Instituto "Francisco Suárez," 1984.

________. *Targum de Salmos: Edición Príncipe del Ms. Villa-Amil n. 5 de Alfonso de Zamora*. Bibliotheca hispana biblica, no. 6. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Instituto "Francisco Suárez," 1982.

Díez Macho, Alejandro. *Neophyti 1: Targum Palestinense Ms de la Biblioteca Vaticana*. 5 vols. Textos y estudios, 7-11. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968-1978.

Dillmann, August. *Der Prophet Jesaia*, 5th ed. Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament, vol. 5. Leipzig: Hirzel, 1890.

Dimant, Devorah. "The Seventy Weeks Chronology (Dan 9,24-27) in the Light of New Qumran Texts." In *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, 57-76. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 106. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993.

Diße, Andreas. *Informationsstruktur im Biblischen Hebräisch: Sprachwissenschaftliche Grundlagen und exegetische Konsequenzen einer Korpusuntersuchung zu den Büchern Deuteronomium, Richter und 2 Könige.* Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, no. 56, pt. 1. St. Ottilien: EOS, 1998.

Dobbs-Allsopp, F. W. "Rethinking Historical Criticism." *Biblical Interpretation* 7 (1999): 235-271.

Dohmen, Christoph. "Der biblische Kanon in der Diskussion." *Theologische Revue* 91 (1995): 451-460.

________. "Vom vielfachen Schriftsinn: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen neuerer Zugänge zu biblischen Texten." In *Neue Formen der Schriftauslegung*, ed. Thomas Sternberg, 13-74. Quaestiones disputatae, no. 140. Freiburg: Herder, 1992.

________. "Das Zelt außerhalb des Lagers: Exodus 33,7-11 zwischen Synchronie und Diachronie." In *Textarbeit: Studien zu Texten und ihre Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels, Festschrift für Peter Weimar zur Vollendung seines 60. Lebensjahres*, ed. Klaus Kiesow and Thomas Meurer, 157-169. Alter Orient und Altes Testament, no. 294. Münster: Ugarit, 2003.

Dohmen, Christoph, and Günter Stemberger. *Hermeneutik der Jüdischen Bibel und des Alten Testaments.* Kohlhammer—Studienbücher Theologie, no. 1, pt. 2. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1996.

Dohmen, Christoph, and Manfred Oeming. *Biblischer Kanon — warum und wozu? Eine Kanontheologie.* Quaestiones disputatae, no. 137. Freiburg: Herder, 1992.

Dörfel, Donata. *Engel in der apokalyptischen Literatur und ihre theologische Relevanz: Am Beispiel von Ezechiel, Sacharja, Daniel und Erstem Henoch.* Theologische Studien. Aachen: Shaker, 1998.

Doukhan, Jacques B. "Allusions à la création dans le livre de Daniel: Dépistage et significations." In *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, 285-292. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 106. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993.

________. *Daniel: The Vision of the End*, rev. ed. Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1989.

________. *Secrets of Daniel: Wisdom and Dreams of a Jewish Prince in Exile.* Hagerstwon: Review and Herald, 2000.

________. "The Seventy Weeks of Dan 9: An Exegetical Study." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 17 (1979): 1-22.

Driver, G. R. "Sacred Numbers and Round Figures." In *Promise and Fulfilment: Essays Presented to Professor S. H. Hooke in Celebration of His Ninetieth Birthday, 21st January 1964*, ed. F. F. Bruce, 62-90. Edinburgh: Clark, 1963.

Driver, S. R. *The Book of Daniel.* Cambridge Bible for Schools and College. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900.

________. *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew and Some Other Syntactical Questions*, 3d ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1892.

Duhm, Bernhard. *Das Buch Jesaia: übersetzt und erklärt*, 4th ed. Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, section 3, vol. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1922.

Dünner, Alfred. *Die Gerechtigkeit nach dem Alten Testament.* Schriften zur Rechtslehre und Politik, no. 42. Bonn: Bouvier, 1963.

Eaton, John. *The Psalms: A Historical and Spiritual Commentary with an Introduction and New Translation*. London: Clark, 2003.

Eco, Umberto. *The Limits of Interpretation*. Advances in Semiotics. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Egger, Wilhelm. *How to Read the New Testament: An Introduction to Linguistic and Historical-Critical Methodology*. Edited and with an introduction by Hendrikus Boers. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996.

Eggler, Jürg. "Iconographic Motifs from Palestine/Israel and Daniel 7:2-14." D.Lit. thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1998. TMs (photocopy), 2d ed., Neyruz, Switzerland, 1999.

________. *Influences and Traditions Underlying the Vision of Daniel 7:2-14: The Research History from the End of the 19th Century to the Present.* Orbis biblicus et orientalis, no. 177. Fribourg: University Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.

Ego, Beate. "Daniel und die Rabbinen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Kanons." *Judaica* 51 (1995): 18-32.

________. "Der Diener im Palast des himmlischen Königs: Zur Interpretation einer priesterlichen Tradition im rabbinischen Judentum." In *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult: im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt*, ed. Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, 361-384. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, no. 55. Tübingen: Mohr, 1991.

Ehrlich, Arnold B. *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel: Textkritisches, Sprachliches und Sachliches*. Vol. 7, *Hohes Lied, Ruth, Klagelieder, Koheleth, Esther, Daniel, Esra, Nehemia, Könige, Chronik, Nachträge und Gesamtregister*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1914. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1968.

Ehrlich, Ernst Ludwig. *Der Traum im Alten Testament*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, no. 73. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1953.

Eichrodt, Walther. *Theology of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Translated by J. A. Baker. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1961.

Eißfeldt, Otto. "Baʿalšamēm und Jahwe." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 57 (1939): 1-31.

Elliger, Karl. *Deuterojesaja*. Vol. 1, *Jesaja 40,1–45,7*. Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament, vol. 11/1. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1978.

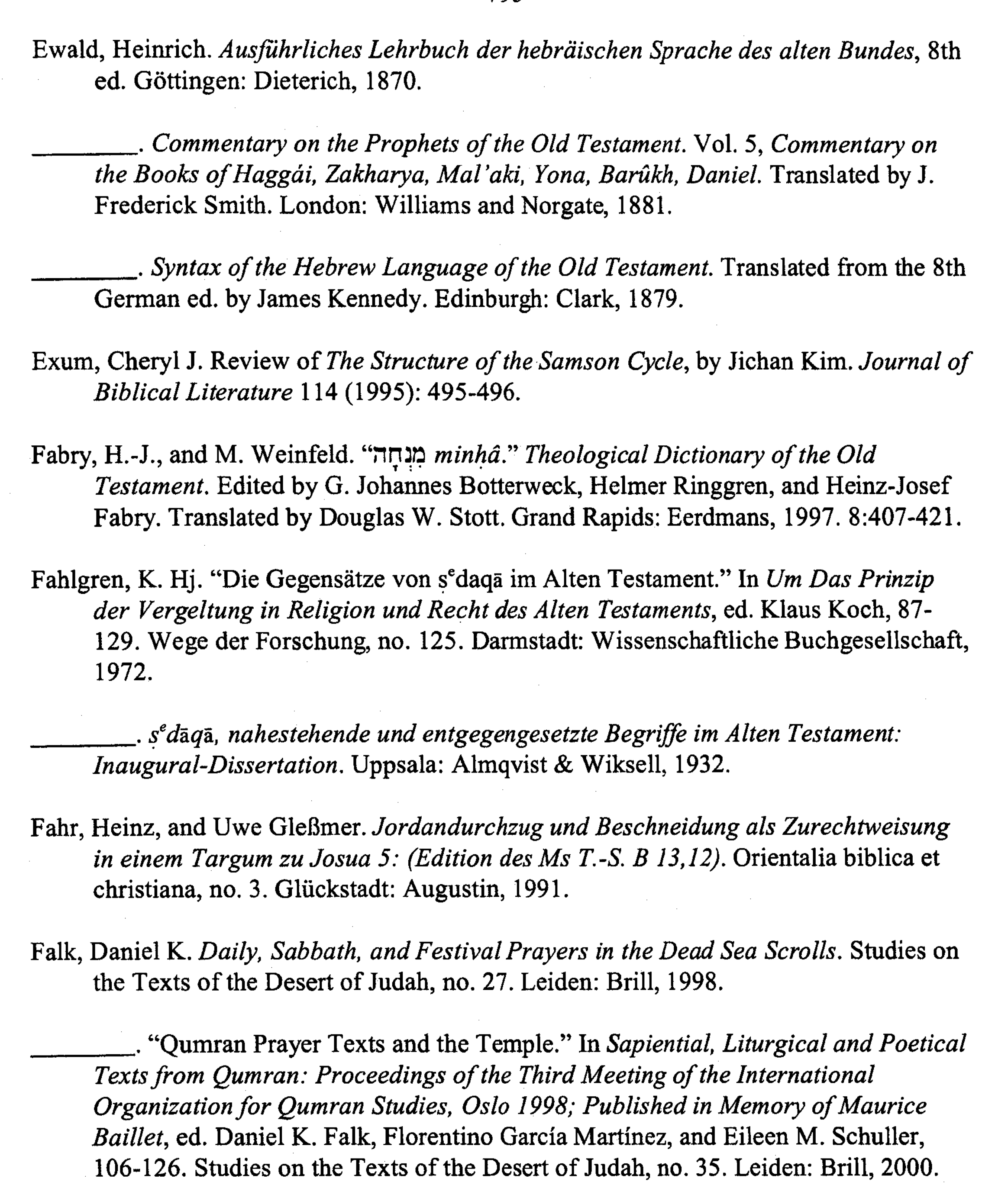
Elliger, Karl, and W. Rudolph, eds. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.

Eshkult, Mats. "Über einige hebräische Verben des Sprechens – Etymologie und Metapher." *Orientalia Suecana* 38-39 (1989-1990): 31-35.

Eslinger, Lyle. "Inner-Biblical Exegesis and Inner-Biblical Allusion: The Question of Category." *Vetus Testamentum* 42 (1992): 47-58.

Evans, Craig A., and Shemaryahu Talmon, eds. *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders*. Biblical Interpretation Series, no. 28. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Even-Shoshan, Abraham. *A New Concordance of the Bible: Thesaurus of the Language of the Bible, Hebrew and Aramaic, Roots, Words, Proper Names, Phrases and Synonyms*, 2d ed. Jerusalem: "Kiryat Sepher," 1990.



Ewald, Heinrich. *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des alten Bundes*, 8th ed. Göttingen: Dieterich, 1870.

________. *Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament*. Vol. 5, *Commentary on the Books of Haggâi, Zakharya, Mal'aki, Yona, Barûkh, Daniel*. Translated by J. Frederick Smith. London: Williams and Norgate, 1881.

________. *Syntax of the Hebrew Language of the Old Testament*. Translated from the 8th German ed. by James Kennedy. Edinburgh: Clark, 1879.

Exum, Cheryl J. Review of *The Structure of the Samson Cycle*, by Jichan Kim. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 114 (1995): 495-496.

Fabry, H.-J., and M. Weinfeld. "מִנְחָה *minḥâ*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by Douglas W. Stott. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997. 8:407-421.

Fahlgren, K. Hj. "Die Gegensätze von ṣᵉdaqā im Alten Testament." In *Um Das Prinzip der Vergeltung in Religion und Recht des Alten Testaments*, ed. Klaus Koch, 87-129. Wege der Forschung, no. 125. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972.

________. *ṣᵉdāqā, nahestehende und entgegengesetzte Begriffe im Alten Testament: Inaugural-Dissertation*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1932.

Fahr, Heinz, and Uwe Gleßmer. *Jordandurchzug und Beschneidung als Zurechtweisung in einem Targum zu Josua 5: (Edition des Ms T.-S. B 13,12)*. Orientalia biblica et christiana, no. 3. Glückstadt: Augustin, 1991.

Falk, Daniel K. *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, no. 27. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

________. "Qumran Prayer Texts and the Temple." In *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998; Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*, ed. Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller, 106-126. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, no. 35. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Fausset, A. R. "Job-Malachi." *A Commentary, Critical and Explanatory on the Old and New Testaments*. Vol. 1, *Old Testament*, by Robert Jamieson, A. R. Fausset, and David Brown. New York: Scranton, 1873.

Ferch, Arthur J. "The Judgment Scene in Daniel 7." In *The Sanctuary and the Atonement*, ed. Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Lesher, 157-176. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1981.

________. *The Son of Man in Daniel Seven*. Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, no. 6. Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1979.

Feuillet, A. "Le Fils de l'homme de Daniel et la tradition biblique." *Revue Biblique* 60 (1953): 170-202, 321-346.

Fewell, Danna Nolan. *Circle of Sovereignty: Plotting Politics in the Book of Daniel*, 2d ed. Nashville: Abingdon, 1991.

Fewell, Danna Nolan, ed. *Reading between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*. Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992.

Fiedler, Martin Johannes. "Δικαιοσύνη in der diaspora-jüdischen und intertestamentarischen Literatur." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 1 (1970): 120-143.

Fillmore, Charles J. "Pragmatics and the Description of Discourse." In *Pragmatik / Pragmatics II: Zur Grundlegung einer expliziten Pragmatik*, ed. Siegfried J. Schmidt, 83-104. Kritische Information, no. 25. Munich: Fink, 1976.

Firmage, E., Jr., J. Milgrom, and U. Dahmen. "רום *rûm*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by David E. Green. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004. 13:402-412.

Fishbane, Michael. *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1985.

________. "Inner-Biblical Exegesis." In *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*. Vol. 1, *From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (until 1300)*. Pt. 1, *Antiquity*, ed. M. Sæbø, in co-operation with C. Brekelmans and M. Haran, 33-48. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996.

________. "Types of Biblical Intertextuality." In *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø, 39-44. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 80. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Flannery-Dailey, Frances. *Dreams, Scribes, and Priests: Jewish Dreams in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism, no. 90. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Fletcher-Louis, Crispin H. T. "The High Priest as Divine Mediator in the Hebrew Bible: Dan 7:13 as a Test Case." In *Society of Biblical Literature 1997 Seminar Papers*. Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers Series, no. 36, 161-193. Atlanta: Scholars, 1997.

Fohrer, Georg, Hans Werner Hoffmann, Friedrich Huber, Ludwig Markert, and Günther Wanke. *Exegese des Alten Testaments: Einführung in die Methodik*, 5th ed. Uni-Taschenbücher, no. 267. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1989.

Fokkelman, J. P. "Is the Literary Approach to the Bible a New Paradigm?" In *The Literary Analysis of Hebrew Texts: Papers Read at a Symposium Held at the Juda Palache Institute, University of Amsterdam (5 February 1990)*, ed. E.G.L. Schrijver, N. A. van Uchelen, and I. E. Zwiep, 11-34. Publications of the Juda Palache Institute, no. 7. Amsterdam: Juda Palache Institute, 1992.

________. *Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible: At the Interface of Prosody and Structural Analysis*. Vol. 2, *85 Psalms and Job 4-14*. Studia semitica neerlandica, no. [41]. Assen: Van Gorcum, 2000.

________. *Major Poems of the Hebrew Bible: At the Interface of Prosody and Structural Analysis*. Vol. 3, *The Remaining 65 Psalms*. Studia semitica neerlandica, no. [43]. Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003.

________. *Reading Biblical Narrative: An Introductory Guide*. Translated by Ineke Smit. Louisville: Westminster, 1999.

________. *Reading Biblical Poetry: An Introductory Guide*. Translated by Ineke Smit. Louisville: Westminster, 2001.

________. "Stylistic Analysis of Isaiah 40:1-11." In *Remembering All the Way . . . : A Collection of Old Testament Studies Published on the Occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, 68-90. Oudtestamentische Studiën, no. 21. Leiden: Brill, 1981.

Ford, Desmond. *The Abomination of Desolation in Biblical Eschatology*. Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1979.

________. *Daniel*. Nashville: Southern, 1978.

________. *Daniel and the Coming King*. Newcastle: by the author, 1996.

Ford, J. Massyngberde. "Jewish Law and Animal Symbolism." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 10 (1979): 203-212.

Fornara, Roberto. *La visione contraddetta: La dialettica fra visibilità e non-visibilità divina nella Bibbia ebraica*. Analecta biblica, no. 155. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004.

Fox, Michael V. *Proverbs 1-9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible, vol. 18A. New York: Doubleday, 2000.

Fox, Nili Sacher. *In the Service of the King: Officialdom in Ancient Israel and Judah*. Monographs of the Hebrew Union College, no. 23. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2000.

Freedman, David Noel. Prolegomenon to *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry*, by George Buchanan Gray. N.p.: Ktav, 1915. Reprint, 1972.

________. "The Structure of Isaiah 40:1-11." In *Perspectives on Language and Text: Essays and Poems in Honor of Francis I. Andersen's Sixtieth Birthday July 28, 1985*, ed. Edgar W. Conrad and Edward G. Newing, 167-193. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1987.

Freedman, David Noel, and Jeffrey C. Geoghegan. "Quantitative Measurement in Biblical Hebrew Poetry." In *Ki Baruch Hu: Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine*, ed. Robert Chazan, William W. Hallo, and Lawrence H. Schiffman, 229-249. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999.

Freedman, David Noel, and A. Welch. "שקץ *šqṣ*." *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Edited by Heinz-Josef Fabry and Helmer Ringgren. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995. 8:461-465.

Freedman, David Noel, et al., eds. *The Leningrad Codex: A Facsimile Edition*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Freer, Kenneth Orville. "A Study of Vision Reports in Biblical Literature." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1975.

Fritz, Volkmar. *Das Buch Josua*. Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Reihe 1, vol. 7. Tübingen: Mohr, 1994.

Fuerst, Julius. *A Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament*, 3d ed. Translated by Samuel Davidson. Leipzig: Tauchnitz; London: Williams & Norgate, 1867.

Fuhs, Hans F. *Sehen und Schauen: Die Wurzel ḥzh im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament. Ein Beitrag zum prophetischen Offenbarungsempfang*. Forschung zur Bibel, no. 32. Würzburg: Echter, 1978.

Gammie, John G. *Holiness in Israel.* Overtures to Biblical Theology. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989.

Gane, Roy. *Cult and Character: Purification Offerings, Day of Atonement, and Theodicy.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005.

________. "Hurrian Ullikummi and Daniel's 'Little Horn.'" [*Festschrift Shalom Paul.*] Leiden: Brill, in press.

________. "Judgment as Covenant Review." *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 8/1-2 (1997): 181-194.

________. "The Syntax of *Tēt Ve* . . . in Daniel 8:13." In *Creation, Life, and Hope: Essays in Honor of Jacques B. Doukhan*, ed. Jiří Moskala, 367-382. Berrien Springs: Old Testament Department, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 2000.

Gane, R., and J. Milgrom. "קָרַב *qāraḇ*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by David E. Green. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004. 13:135-148.

García Martínez, Florentino, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition.* 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Gardner, Anne E. "The Great Sea of Dan. vii 2." *Vetus Testamentum* 49 (1999): 412-415.

Gaß, Erasmus. "Genus und Semantik am Beispiel von 'theologischem' *rūḥ*." *Biblische Notizen* 109 (2001): 45-55.

Gehman, Henry S. "The 'Polyglot' Arabic Text of Daniel and Its Affinities" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 44 (1925): 327-352.

________. "The Sahidic and the Bohairic Versions of the Book of Daniel." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 46 (1927): 279-330.

Geißen, Angelo, ed. *Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel, Kap. 5-12, zusammen mit Susanna, Bel et Draco, sowie Esther Kap. 1,1a-2,15 nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967.* Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen, no. 5. Bonn: Habelt, 1968.

Gelb, Ignace J., et al., eds. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.* Vol. 5, *G.* Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1956.

Geller, Stephen A. *Parallelism in Early Biblical Poetry.* Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 20. Missoula: Scholars, 1979.

________. "A Poetic Analysis of Isaiah 40:1-2." *Harvard Theological Review* 77 (1984): 413-420.

Genette, Gérard. *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree.* Translated by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Gentry, Peter J. "The System of the Finite Verb in Classical Biblical Hebrew." *Hebrew Studies* 39 (1998): 7-39.

Gerleman, G. "דָּבָר *dābār* word." *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997. 1:325-332.

Gerstenberger, Erhard S. *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations.* The Forms of the Old Testament Literature, vol. 15. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001.

Gese, Hartmut. "Die dreieinhalb Jahre des Danielbuches." In *Ernten, was man sät: Festschrift für Klaus Koch zu seinem 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Dwight R. Daniels, Uwe Gleßmer, and Martin Rösel, 399-421. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991.

Gesenius, Wilhelm. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament,* 18th ed. Edited by Rudolf Meyer and Herbert Donner. Berlin: Springer, 1987-.

Gesenius, Wilhelm, Emil Kautzsch, and A. E. Cowley. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar,* 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.

Gesenius, Wilhelm, and Frants Buhl. *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament,* 17th ed. Berlin: Springer, 1915.

Gianto, Agustinus. "Some Notes on Evidentiality in Biblical Hebrews." In *Biblical and Oriental Essays in Memory of William L. Moran,* ed. Agustinus Gianto, 133-153. Biblica et orientalia, no. 48. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2005.

Gibson, J. C. L. *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar, Syntax: 4th Edition.* Edinburgh: Clark, 1994.

Gillingham, S. E. *The Poems and Psalms of the Hebrew Bible.* Oxford Bible Series. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Gillmayr-Bucher, Susanne. "Gedankenverlauf und Textgliederung in Daniel 8." In *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert*, ed. Winfried Bader, 59-71. THLI, no. 9. Tübingen: Francke, 1994.

________. "Intertextualität: Zwischen Literaturtheorie und Methodik." *Protokolle zur Bibel* 8 (1999): 5-20.

Ginsberg, H. Louis. "The Book of Daniel." In *The Cambridge History of Judaism.* Vol. 2, *The Hellenistic Age*, ed. W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein, 504-523. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

________. *Studies in Daniel.* Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, no. 14. New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1948.

Ginsburg, Christian D. *The Massorah: Compiled from Manuscripts, Alphabetically and Lexically Arranged.* 4 vols. London: by the author, 1880-1905. Reprint, New York: Ktav, 1975.

________. *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible.* London: Trinitarian Bible Society, 1897.

Ginsburger, Moses, ed. *Pseudo-Jonathan (Thargum Jonathan ben Usiel zum Pentateuch): Nach der Londoner Handschrift.* Berlin: Calvary, 1903. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1971.

Gitin, Seymour. "The Four-Horned Altar and Sacred Space: An Archaeological Perspective." In *Sacred Time, Sacred Space: Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, ed. Barry M. Gittlen, 95-123. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002.

Gnuse, Robert Karl. *The Dream Theophany of Samuel: Its Structure in Relation to Ancient Near Eastern Dreams and Its Theological Significance.* Lanham: University Press of America, 1984.

Gnuse, Robert Karl. *Dreams and Dream Reports in the Writings of Josephus: A Traditio-Historical Analysis.* Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums, no. 36. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Goettsberger, Johann. *Das Buch Daniel: übersetzt und erklärt.* Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testamentes, vol. 8, pt. 2. Bonn: Hanstein, 1928.

Goldfajn, Tal. *Word Order and Time in Biblical Hebrew Narrative.* Oxford Theological Monographs. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.

Goldingay, John E. *Daniel.* Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 30. Dallas: Word, 1989.

________. "'Holy Ones on High' in Daniel 7:18." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 107 (1988): 495-501.

________. "Story, Vision, Interpretation: Literary Approaches to Daniel." In *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, 295-313. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 106. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993.

Goldstein, Jonathan A. *I Maccabees.* The Anchor Bible, vol. 41. Garden City: Doubleday, 1976.

________. *II Maccabees.* The Anchor Bible, vol. 41A. Garden City: Doubleday, 1983.

________. "The Persecution of the Jews by Antiochus IV." In *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem 13-19 August 1973 under the Auspices of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, ed. Avigdor Shinan, 1:135-147. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1977.

________. *Peoples of an Almighty God: Competing Religions in the Ancient World.* The Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 2002.

Goldwurm, Hersh. *Daniel: A New Translation with a Commentary Anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic and Rabbinic Sources*, 2d ed. Brooklyn: Mesorah, 1980.

Good, Edwin M. "Apocalyptic as Comedy: The Book of Daniel." *Semeia* 32 (1985): 41-70.

Görg, Manfred. "Das Übersetzungsproblem in Gen 2,1." *Biblische Notizen* 95 (1998): 5-11.

Gorman, Frank H. "Priestly Rituals of Founding: Time, Space, and Status." In *History and Interpretation: Essays in Honour of John H. Hayes*, ed. M. Patrick Graham, William P. Brown, and Jeffrey K. Kuan, 47-64. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 173. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993.

Goshen-Gottstein, Moshe H., ed., *The Aleppo Codex.* Jerusalem: Magnes, 1976.

Gossai, Hemchand. *Justice, Righteousness and the Social Critique of the Eighth-Century Prophets.* American University Studies: Series 7, Theology and Religion, no. 141. New York: Lang, 1993.

Gowan, Donald E. *Daniel.* Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries. Nashville: Abingdon, 2001.

________. *When Man Becomes God: Humanism and* Hybris *in the Old Testament.* Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series, no. 6. Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1975.

Grabbe, Lester L. "Maccabean Chronology: 167-164 or 168-165 BCE." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 110 (1991): 59-74.

Gradl, Felix W. Review of *Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis*, by Bernhard Hasslberger. *Liber annuus* 29 (1979): 359-360.

Graetz, Heinrich. "Beiträge zur Sach- und Worterklärung des Buches Daniel." *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 20 (1871): 337-352, 385-406, 433-449.

Greenberg, Irving. *The Jewish Way: Living the Holidays.* New York: Summit, 1988.

Greenberg, Moshe. *Ezekiel 1-20.* The Anchor Bible, vol. 22. Garden City: Doubleday, 1983.

________. "On the Refinement of the Conception of Prayer in the Hebrew Scriptures." *Association for Jewish Studies* 1 (1976): 57-92.

________. "The Use of Ancient Versions for Understanding the Hebrew Text: A Sampling from Ezek II,1-III,11." In *Congress Volume: Göttingen 1977*, 146-164. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 29. Leiden: Brill, 1978.

Greenspahn, Frederick E. *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew: A Study of the Phenomenon and Its Treatment Since Antiquity with Special Reference to Verbal Forms.* Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, no. 74. Chico: Scholars, 1984.

Grelot, P. Review of *Daniel*, by John J. Collins. *Revue Biblique* 102 (1995): 278-290.

Gretler, Trix. *Zeit und Stunde: Theologische Zeitkonzepte zwischen Erfahrung und Ideologie in den Büchern Kohelet und Daniel.* TVZ Dissertationen. Zürich: TVZ, 2004.

Grisanti, Michael A. "שקץ (# 9210)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis.* Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 4:243-246.

Groß, Walter. *Doppelt besetztes Vorfeld: Syntaktische, pragmatische und übersetzungstechnische Studien zum althebräischen Verbalsatz.* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, no. 305. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001.

________. *Die Pendenskonstruktion im Biblischen Hebräisch: Studien zum althebräischen Satz I.* Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, no. 27. St. Ottilien: EOS, 1987.

________. Review of *Biblica Hebraica transcripta BH^t 1* by Wolfgang Richter. *Theologische Quartalsschrift* 173 (1993): 247-249, 314.

________. *Die Satzteilfolge im Verbalsatz alttestamentlicher Prosa: Untersucht an den Büchern Dth, Ri und 2Kön.* In collaboration with Andreas Diße and Andreas Michel. Forschungen zum Alten Testament, no. 17. Tübingen: Mohr, 1996.

Grubb, Peter. "Order Artiodactyla." In *Mammal Species of the World: A Taxonomic and Geographic Reference*, 2d ed., ed. Don E. Wilson and DeeAnn M. Reeder, 377-414. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1993.

Gruber, Mayer I. "Abomination שקוץ." *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD)*, 2d ed. Edited by Karel van der Torn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. 2-3.

Gruenthaner, Michael J. "The Four Empires of Daniel." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 8 (1946): 72-82, 201-212.

________. "The Seventy Weeks." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 1 (1939): 44-54.

Grzimek's Encyclopedia of Mammals. 5 vols. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990.

Gunkel, Hermann. *Genesis*, 3d ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910.

________. *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895.

Gunn, David M. "Narrative Criticism." In *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application*, rev. and expanded, ed. Steven L. McKenzie and Stephen R. Haynes, 201-229. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999.

Gunn, David M., and Danna Nolan Fewell. *Narrative in the Hebrew Bible.* Oxford Bible Series. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Gzella, Holger. *Cosmic Battle and Political Conflict: Studies in Verbal Syntax and Contextual Interpretation of Daniel 8.* Biblica et orientalia, no. 47. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2003.

Haag, Ernst. *Daniel.* Die Neue Echter Bibel: Kommentar zum Alten Testament mit der Einheitsübersetzung, vol. 30. Würzburg: Echter, 1993.

________. "Der Kampf der Engelmächte in Daniel 10-12." In *Textarbeit: Studien zu Texten und ihrer Rezeption aus dem Alten Testament und der Umwelt Israels; Festschrift für Peter Weimar zur Vollendung seines 60. Lebensjahres*, ed. Klaus Kiesow and Thomas Meurer, 245-253. Alter Orient und Altes Testament, no. 294. Münster: Ugarit, 2003.

________. "Der Menschensohn und die Heiligen (des) Höchsten: Eine literar-, form- und traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Daniel 7." In *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, 137-185. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 106. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993.

Haas, Volkert. *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion.* Handbuch der Orientalistik: Erste Abteilung, Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, vol. 15. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Hall, Roger Alan. "Post-Exilic Theological Streams and the Book of Daniel." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1974.

Hamerton-Kelly, R. G. "The Temple and the Origin of Jewish Apocalyptic." *Vetus Testamentum* 20 (1970): 1-15.

Hamilton, Victor P. *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 18–50.* New International Commentary of the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995.

Hammer, Raymond. *The Book of Daniel.* The Cambridge Bible Commentary. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Hammershaimb, E. "On the So-called *Infinitive Absolutus* in Hebrew." In *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday, 20 August 1962*, ed. D. Winton Thomas and W. D. McHardy, 85-94. Oxford: Clarendon, 1963.

Hänel, Johannes. "Das Recht des Opferschlachtens in der chronistischen Literatur." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 55 (1937): 46-67.

Hanhart, K[arel]. "The Four Beasts of Daniel's Vision in the Night in the Light of Rev. 13.2." *New Testament Studies* 27 (1980-81): 576-583.

Hanhart, Robert. "Die Heiligen des Höchsten." In *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner.* Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 16, 90-101. Leiden: Brill, 1967.

Hannah, Darrell D. *Michael and Christ: Michael Traditions and Angel Christology in Early Christianity*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament; Reihe 2, no. 109. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999.

Haran, Menahem. "Cult and Prayer." In *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, ed. Ann Kort and Scott Morschauser, 87-92. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985.

________. "Priesthood, Temple, Divine Service: Some Observations on Institutions and Practices of Worship." *Hebrew Annual Review* 7 (1983): 121-135.

________. *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into the Character of Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1978.

Hardmeier, Christof. "Literaturwissenschaft, biblisch." In *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4th ed., ed. Hans Dieter Betz et al. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003. 5:426-429

________. "Old Testament Exegesis and Linguistic Narrative Research." *Poetics* 15 (1986): 89-109.

________. *Texttheorie und biblische Exegese: Zur rhetorischen Funktion der Trauermetaphorik in der Prophetie*. Beiträge zur evengelischen Theologie, no. 79. Munich: Kaiser, 1978.

________. *Textwelten der Bibel entdecken: Grundlagen und Verfahren einer textpragmatischen Literaturwissenschaft der Bibel*. Textpragmatische Studien zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte der Hebräischen Bibel, no. 1/1. Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 2003.

Hardy, Frank Wilton. "An Historicist Perspective on Daniel 11." M.A. thesis, Andrews University, 1983.

Harnickell, Bernhard. "Der historische Hintergrund des Danielbuches." In *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert*, ed. Winfried Bader, 123-147. THLI, no. 9. Tübingen: Francke, 1994.

Harris, Scott L. *Proverbs 1–9: A Study of Inner-Biblical Interpretation*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, no. 150 Atlanta: Scholars, 1996.

Hartley, John E. *Leviticus*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 4. Dallas: Word, 1992.

Hartman, Louis F., and Alexander A. Di Lella. *The Book of Daniel.* The Anchor Bible, vol. 23. Garden City: Doubleday, 1978.

Hasel, Gerhard F. "Day." *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia.* Edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979. 1:877-878.

________. "The Identity of 'The Saints of the Most High' in Daniel 7." *Biblica* 56 (1975): 173-192.

________. "The 'Little Horn,' the Heavenly Sanctuary and the Time of the End: A Study of Daniel 8:9-14." In *Symposium on Daniel: Introductory and Exegetical Studies,* ed. Frank B. Holbrook, 378-461. Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 2. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986.

________. "The 'Little Horn,' the Saints, and the Sanctuary in Daniel 8." In *The Sanctuary and the Atonement,* ed. Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Lesher, 177-227. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1981.

Hasslberger, Bernhard. *Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis: Eine formkritische Untersuchung zu Dan 8 und 10-12.* Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, no. 4. St. Ottilien: EOS, 1977.

Hatav, Galia. *The Semantics of Aspect and Modality: Evidence from English and Biblical Hebrew.* Studies in Language Companion Series, no. 34. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1997.

Hatch, Edwin, and Henry A. Redpath. *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books).* 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1897-1906.

Hatina, Thomas R. "Intertextuality and Historical Criticism in New Testament Studies: Is There a Relationship?" *Biblical Interpretation* 7 (1999): 28-43.

Hausmann, Jutta. "צָלַח *ṣālaḥ.*" *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by Douglas W. Stott. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003. 12:382-385.

Hävernick, Heinrich Andreas Christoph. *Commentar über das Buch Daniel.* Hamburg: Perthes, 1832.

Heawood, P. J. "The Beginning of the Jewish Day." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 36 (1945-1946): 393-401.

Heger, Paul. *The Three Biblical Altar Laws: Developments in the Sacrificial Cult in Practice and Theology; Political and Economic Background.* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, no. 279. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999.

Heimerdinger, Jean-Marc. *Topic, Focus and Foreground in Ancient Hebrew Narratives.* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 295. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.

Heinen, Karl. *Das Gebet im Alten Testament: Eine exegetisch-theologische Untersuchung zur hebräischen Gebetsterminologie.* Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana: Facultas Theologiae, 1971.

Heiser, Michael S. "The Divine Council in Late Canonical and Non-Canonical Second Temple Jewish Literature." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2004.

Helberg, J. L. "The Determination of History According to the Book of Daniel: Against the Background of Deterministic Apocalyptic." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 107 (1995): 273-287.

Heller, Nachman. *Daniel and Ezra: The Canonized Aramaic Text, Translated into Hebrew, Yiddish and English, and Supplemented with Footnotes and Marginal Comments.* New York: Rosenberg, 1905.

Heller, Roy L. *Narrative Structure and Discourse Constellation: An Analysis of Clause Function in Biblical Hebrew Prose.* Harvard Semitic Studies, no. 55. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004.

Hengel, Martin. *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period.* Vol. 1, *Text.* Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974.

________. "Judaism and Hellenism Revisited." In *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*, ed. John J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling, 6-37. Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series, no. 13. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001.

Henze, Matthias. *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar: The Ancient Near Eastern Origins and Early History of Interpretation of Daniel 4.* Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism, no. 61. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

________. "The Narrative Frame of Daniel: A Literary Assessment." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 32 (2001): 5-24.

Herner, Sven. *Syntax der Zahlwörter im Alten Testament.* Lund: Berling, 1893.

Hess, Richard S. *Joshua: An Introduction and Commentary.* Tyndale Old Testament Commentary Series, vol. 6. Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity, 1996.

Hilde, Reuben Lynn. "An Exegesis of the Little Horn of Daniel 8." M.A. thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1953.

Hillers, Delbert R. "Delocutive Verbs in Biblical Hebrew." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 86 (1967): 320-324.

Hippolyt. *Kommentar zu Daniel*, 2d ed. Edited by Marcel Richard. Hippolyt Werke, vol. 1, pt. 1. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte, n. s., vol. 7. Berlin: Akademie, 2000.

Hitzig, Ferdinand. *Das Buch Daniel: Erklärt.* Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch, vol. 10. Leipzig: Weidmann, 1850.

Ho, Ahuva. *Ṣedeq and Ṣedeqah in the Hebrew Bible.* American University Studies: Series 7, Theology and Religion, no. 78. New York: Lang, 1991.

Höffken, Peter. "Neuere Arbeiten zur Sprachgestalt alttestamentlicher Texte." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 43 (1986): 647-660.

Hoffmann, Heinrich. *Das Gesetz in der frühjüdischen Apokalyptik.* Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments, no. 23. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999.

Hofius, Otfried. "Der Septuaginta-Text von Daniel 7,13-14: Erwägungen zu seiner Gestalt und seiner Aussage." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 117 (2005): 73-90.

Hoftijzer, Jacob. "Holistic or Compositional Approach? Linguistic Remarks to the Problem." In *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, 98-114. Oudtestamentische studiën, no. 34. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

________. "Remarks Concerning the Use of the Particle *ʾt* in Classical Hebrew." In כה*: 1940–1965*, ed. P.A.H. de Boer, 1-99. Oudtestamentische Studiën, no. 14. Leiden: Brill, 1965.

________. *A Search for Method: A Study in the Syntactic Use of the* H*-Locale in Classical Hebrew.* Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics, no. 12. Leiden: Brill, 1981.

Hoftijzer, J., and K. Jongeling. *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions.* 2 vols. Handbuch der Orientalistik: Erste Abteilung, Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, vol. 21. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Holladay, Carl R. "Contemporary Methods of Reading the Bible." *The New Interpreter's Bible.* Edited by Leander E. Keck. Nashville: Abingdon, 1994. 1:125-149.

Holladay, William L. *Hebrew Verse Structure* Revisited (I): Which Words 'Count'?" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 118 (1999): 19-32.

Holm, Tawny L. "Daniel 1-6: A Biblical Story-Collection." In *Ancient Fiction: The Matrix of Early Christian and Jewish Narrative*, ed. Jo-Ann A. Brant, Charles W. Hedrick, and Chris Shea, 149-166. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series, no. 32. Atlanta: SBL, 2005.

Hölscher, Gustav. "Die Entstehung des Buches Daniel." *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 92 (1919): 113-138.

Hooker, Morna D. *The Son of Man in Mark: A Study of the Background of the Term "Son of Man" in Its Use in St Mark's Gospel.* London: SPCK, 1967.

House, Paul R. "The Rise and Current Status of Literary Criticism of the Old Testament." In *Beyond Form Criticism: Essays in Old Testament Literary Criticism*, ed. Paul R. House, 3-22. Sources for Biblical and Theological Study, no. 2. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992.

Houtman, Cornelis. *Der Himmel im Alten Testament: Israels Weltbild und Weltanschauung.* Oudtestamentische studiën, no. 30. Leiden: Brill, 1993.

Howard, David M., Jr. *Joshua.* The New American Commentary, vol. 5. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1998.

________. "Recent Trends in Psalms Study." In *The Face of Old Testament Studies: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches*, ed. David W. Baker and Bill T. Arnold, 329-368. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999.

________. *The Structure of Psalms 93-100.* Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego, no. 5. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997.

Huesman, John. "Finite Uses of the Infinitive Absolute." *Biblica* 37 (1956): 271-295.

Husser, Jean-Marie. *Dreams and Dream Narratives in the Biblical World.* Translated by Jill M. Munro. The Biblical Seminar, no. 63. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.

Jahn, G. *Das Buch Daniel nach der Septuaginta hergestellt: übersetzt und kritisch erklärt.* Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1904.

Janowski, Bernd. *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen: Traditions- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien zur Sühnetheologie der Priesterschrift.* Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, no. 55. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1982.

Janssen, Enno. *Das Gottesvolk und seine Geschichte: Geschichtsbild und Selbstverständnis im palästinischen Schrifttum von Jesus Sirach bis Jehuda ha-Nasi.* Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1971.

Japhet, Sara. *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary.* Old Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993.

Jastrow, Marcus. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature.* 2 vols. New York: Title, 1943.

Jeansonne, Sharon Pace. *The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 7-12.* Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series, no. 19. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1988.

Jeffery, Arthur. "The Book of Daniel: Introduction and Exegesis." *The Interpreter's Bible.* Edited by George Arthur Buttrick. New York: Abingdon, 1956. 6:339-549.

Jenner, Konrad D. "Syriac Daniel." In *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, 573-585. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 83/2. Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature, no. 2/2. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Jenni, Ernst. "גָּדוֹל *gādôl.*" *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997. 1:302-307.

________. *Das hebräische Piᶜel: Syntaktisch-semasiologische Untersuchung einer Verbalform im Alten Testament.* Zürich, EVZ, 1968.

________. *Die hebräischen Präpositionen.* Vol. 1, *Die Präposition Beth.* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1992.

________. *Die hebräischen Präpositionen.* Vol. 2, *Die Präposition Kaph.* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1994.

________. "מָתַי mātay when?" *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997. 2:691-692.

________. "Die Präposition *min* in zeitlicher Verwendung bei Deuterojesaja." In *Werden und Wirken des Alten Testaments: Festschrift für Claus Westermann zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Rainer Albertz et al., 288-301. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1980.

Jenson, Philip Peter. *Graded Holiness: A Key to the Priestly Conception of the World.* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 106. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992.

Jepsen, Alfred. "אָמַן ᵓāman." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977. 1:292-323.

________. "Bemerkungen zum Danielbuch." *Vetus Testamentum* 11 (1961): 386-391.

________. "חָזָה *chāzāh.*" *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by David E. Green. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980. 4:280-290.

________. "צדק and צדקה im Alten Testament." In *Gottes Wort und Gottes Land: Hans-Wilhelm Hertzberg zum 70. Geburtstag am 16. Januar 1965*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow, 78-89. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965.

Jeremias, Joachim. *New Testament Theology: The Proclamation of Jesus.* New York: Scribner, 1971.

Jerome. *Commentariorum in Danielem, libri III (IV).* Edited by Francisci Glorie. Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina, vol. 75A. S. Hieronymi Presbyteri opera, pars I: opera exegetica, 5. Turnholt: Brepols, 1964.

Jobling, David. "Methods of Modern Literary Criticism." In *The Blackwell Companion to the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Leo G. Perdue, 19-35. Blackwell Companions to Religion. Oxford: Blackwell, 2001.

Johnstone, William. *1 and 2 Chronicles.* Vol. 2, *2 Chronicles 10-36: Guilt and Atonement.* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 254. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997.

Jonker, Louis C. *Exclusivity and Variety: Perspectives on Multidimensional Exegesis*. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology, no. 19. Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996.

________. "Reading Jonah Multidimensionally: A Multidimensional Reading Strategy for Biblical Interpretation." *Scriptura* 64 (1998): 1-15.

________. "'Text' in a Multidimensional Exegetical Approach." *Scriptura* 46 (1993): 100-115.

Joosten, Jan. "Biblical Hebrew *w*^{e}*qāṭal* and Syriac *hwā qāṭel* Expressing Repetition in the Past." *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 5 (1992): 1-14.

________. "The Long Form of the Prefix Conjugation Referring to the Past in Biblical Hebrew Prose." *Hebrew Studies* 40 (1999): 15-26.

Joüon, Paul, and T. Muraoka. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Subsidia biblica, no. 14/I-II. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1991.

Joyce, Paul. "First Among Equals? The Historical-Critical Approach in the Marketplace of Methods." In *Crossing the Boundaries: Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder*, ed. Stanley E. Porter, Paul Joyce, and David E. Orton, 17-27. Biblical Interpretation Series, no. 8. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Judisch, Douglas MacCallum Lindsay. "The Saints of the Most High." *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 53 (1989): 96-103.

Junker, Hubert. *Untersuchungen über literarische und exegetische Probleme des Buches Daniel*. Bonn: Hanstein, 1932.

Jürgens, Benedikt. *Heiligkeit und Versöhnung: Levitikus 16 in seinem literarischen Kontext*. Herders Biblische Studien, no. 28. Freiburg: Herder, 2001.

Justesen, Jerome P. "On the Meaning of *ṢĀḎAQ*." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 2 (1964): 53-61.

Kaiser, Otto. "Von Stand und Zukunft der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft." In *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø, 489-507. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 80. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Kalluveettil, Paul. *Declaration and Covenant: A Comprehensive Review of Covenant Formulae from the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East*. Analecta biblica, no. 88. Rome: Biblical Institute, 1982.

Kalverkämper, Hartwig. *Orientierung zur Textlinguistik.* Linguistische Arbeiten, no. 100. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1981.

Kamphausen, A. *The Book of Daniel: Critical Edition of the Hebrew and Aramaic Text Printed in Colors Exhibiting the Bilingual Character of the Book, with Notes.* Translated by B. W. Bacon and D. B. Macdonald. The Sacred Books of the Old Testament, pt. 18. Leipzig: Hinrichs; Baltimore: Hopkins; London: Nutt, 1896.

Kaufman, Stephen A., and Michael Sokoloff. *A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance to Targum Neofiti: A Guide to the Complete Palestinian Aramaic Text of the Torah.* With the assistance of Edward M. Cook. Publications of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project, 2. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Kedar-Kopfstein, Benjamin. "קֶרֶן *qeren.*" *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by David E. Green. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004. 13:167-174.

Keel, Othmar. "Die kultischen Massnahmen Antiochus' IV: Religionsverfolgung und/oder Reformversuch? Eine Skizze." In *Hellenismus und Judentum: Vier Studien zu Daniel 7 und zur Religionsnot unter Antiochus IV*, by Othmar Keel and Urs Staub, 87-121. Orbis biblicus et orientalis, no. 178. Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.

________. "Die Tiere und der Mensch in Daniel 7." In *Hellenismus und Judentum: Vier Studien zu Daniel 7 und zur Religionsnot unter Antiochus IV*, by Othmar Keel and Urs Staub, 1-35. Orbis biblicus et orientalis, no. 178. Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.

Keel, Othmar, and Christoph Uehlinger. *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel.* Translated by Thomas H. Trapp. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998.

________. "Jahwe und die Sonnengottheit von Jerusalem." In *Ein Gott allein? JHWH-Verehrung und biblischer Monotheismus im Kontext der israelitischen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. Walter Dietrich and Martin A. Klopfenstein, 269-306. Orbis biblicus et orientalis, no. 139. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1994.

Keil, Carl Friedrich. *The Book of the Prophet Daniel.* Translated by M. G. Easton. Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament. Edinburgh: Clark, 1872.

Kellermann, D. "עוֹלָה/עֹלָה *ʿōlâ/ʿôlâ.*" *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by David E. Green. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001. 11:96-113.

Kelley, Page H., Daniel S. Mynatt, and Timothy G. Crawford. *The Masorah of the "Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia": Introduction and Annotated Glossary.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.

Kellner, Wendelin. *Der Traum vom Menschensohn: Die politisch-theologische Botschaft Jesu.* Munich: Kösel, 1985.

Kessler, Rainer. *Staat und Gesellschaft im vorexilischen Juda: Vom 8. Jahrhundert bis zum Exil.* Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 47. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

Kiesow, Klaus. *Exodustexte im Jesajabuch: Literarkritische und motivgeschichtliche Analysen.* Orbis biblicus et orientalis, no. 24. Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires Fribourg; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1979.

Kim, Jichan. *The Structure of the Samson Cycle.* Kampen, Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1993.

Kirkpatrick, Shane. *Competing for Honor: A Social-Scientific Reading of Daniel 1-6.* Biblical Interpretation Series, no. 74. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Klein, Michael L. *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch.* Vol. 1. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1986.

Kliefoth, Th[eodor F]. *Das Buch Daniel: Uebersetzt und erklärt.* Schwerin: Sandmeyer, 1868.

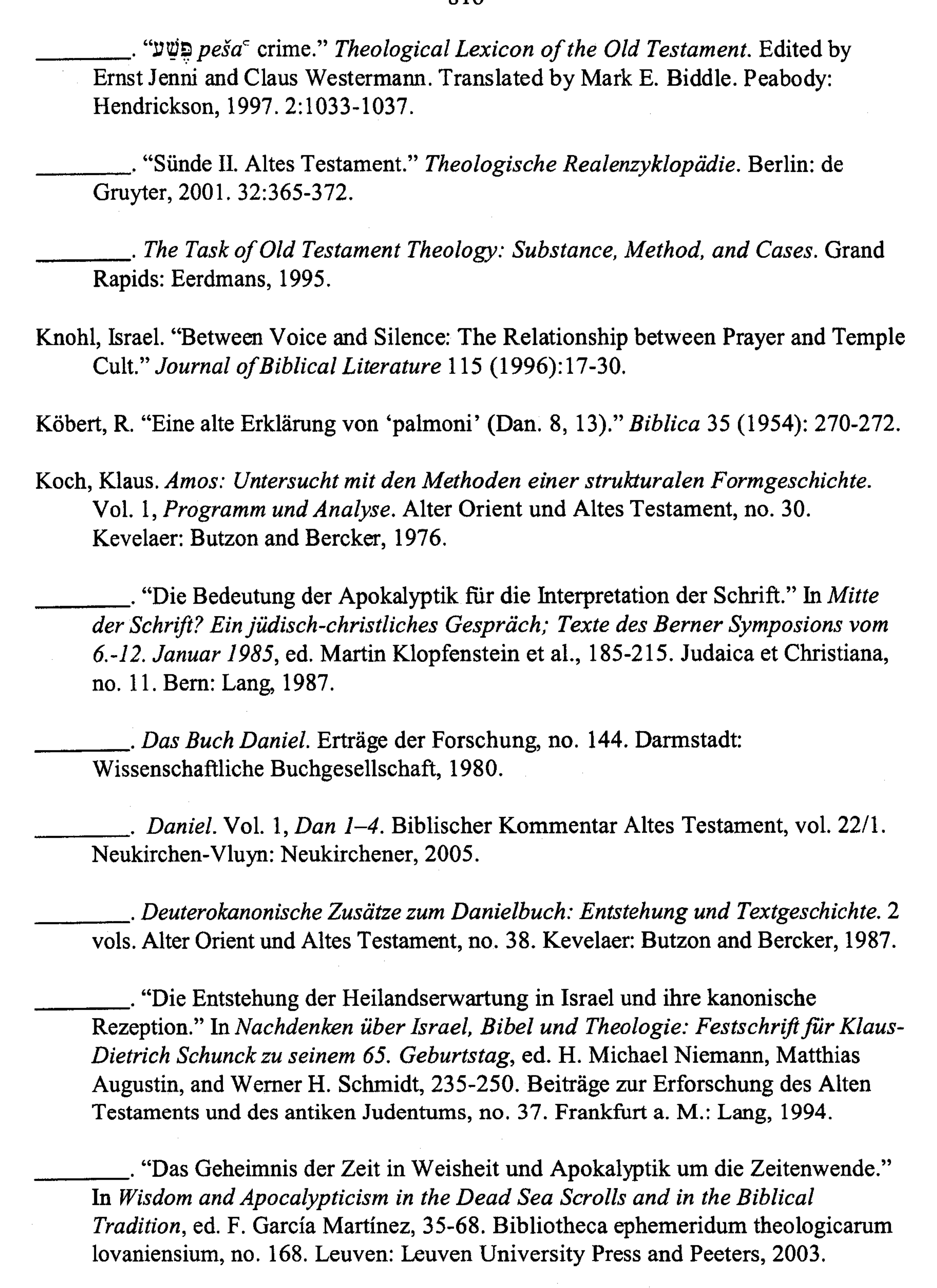
Kline, Meredith G. "Abram's Amen." *Westminster Theological Journal* 31 (1968): 1-11.

________. "The Covenant of the Seventieth Week." In *The Law and the Prophets: Old Testament Studies Prepared in Honor of Oswald Thompson Allis*, ed. John H. Skilton, 452-469. Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1974.

Knabenbauer, Joseph. *Commentarius in Danielem Prophetam, Lamentationes et Baruch.* Cursus Scripturae Sacrae, pt. 3, vol. 4. Paris: Lethielleux, 1891.

Knibb, Michael. A. "'You Are Indeed Wiser Than Daniel': Reflections on the Character of the Book of Daniel." In *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, 399-411. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 106. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993.

Knierim, Rolf. *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im Alten Testament*, 2d ed. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1967.



________. "פֶּשַׁע *peša*^{c} crime." *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997. 2:1033-1037.

________. "Sünde II. Altes Testament." *Theologische Realenzyklopädie.* Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001. 32:365-372.

________. *The Task of Old Testament Theology: Substance, Method, and Cases.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995.

Knohl, Israel. "Between Voice and Silence: The Relationship between Prayer and Temple Cult." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 115 (1996):17-30.

Köbert, R. "Eine alte Erklärung von 'palmoni' (Dan. 8, 13)." *Biblica* 35 (1954): 270-272.

Koch, Klaus. *Amos: Untersucht mit den Methoden einer strukturalen Formgeschichte.* Vol. 1, *Programm und Analyse.* Alter Orient und Altes Testament, no. 30. Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker, 1976.

________. "Die Bedeutung der Apokalyptik für die Interpretation der Schrift." In *Mitte der Schrift? Ein jüdisch-christliches Gespräch; Texte des Berner Symposions vom 6.-12. Januar 1985*, ed. Martin Klopfenstein et al., 185-215. Judaica et Christiana, no. 11. Bern: Lang, 1987.

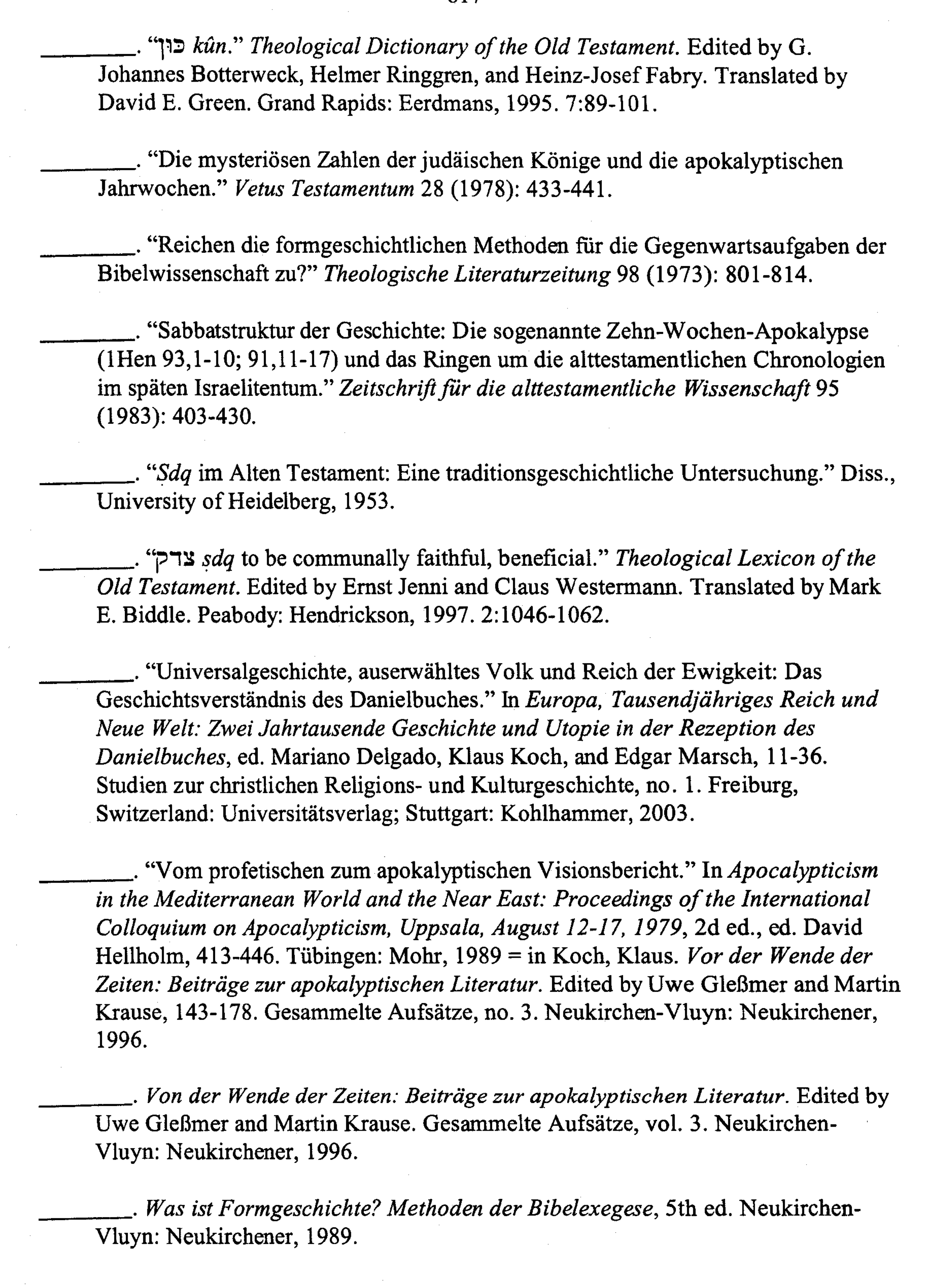
________. *Das Buch Daniel.* Erträge der Forschung, no. 144. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980.

________. *Daniel.* Vol. 1, *Dan 1–4.* Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament, vol. 22/1. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2005.

________. *Deuterokanonische Zusätze zum Danielbuch: Entstehung und Textgeschichte.* 2 vols. Alter Orient und Altes Testament, no. 38. Kevelaer: Butzon and Bercker, 1987.

________. "Die Entstehung der Heilandserwartung in Israel und ihre kanonische Rezeption." In *Nachdenken über Israel, Bibel und Theologie: Festschrift für Klaus-Dietrich Schunck zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Michael Niemann, Matthias Augustin, and Werner H. Schmidt, 235-250. Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums, no. 37. Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1994.

________. "Das Geheimnis der Zeit in Weisheit und Apokalyptik um die Zeitenwende." In *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. F. García Martínez, 35-68. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 168. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2003.



________. "כון *kûn*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by David E. Green. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995. 7:89-101.

________. "Die mysteriösen Zahlen der judäischen Könige und die apokalyptischen Jahrwochen." *Vetus Testamentum* 28 (1978): 433-441.

________. "Reichen die formgeschichtlichen Methoden für die Gegenwartsaufgaben der Bibelwissenschaft zu?" *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 98 (1973): 801-814.

________. "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte: Die sogenannte Zehn-Wochen-Apokalypse (1Hen 93,1-10; 91,11-17) und das Ringen um die alttestamentlichen Chronologien im späten Israelitentum." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 95 (1983): 403-430.

________. "*Sdq* im Alten Testament: Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung." Diss., University of Heidelberg, 1953.

________. "צדק *ṣdq* to be communally faithful, beneficial." *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997. 2:1046-1062.

________. "Universalgeschichte, auserwähltes Volk und Reich der Ewigkeit: Das Geschichtsverständnis des Danielbuches." In *Europa, Tausendjähriges Reich und Neue Welt: Zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des Danielbuches*, ed. Mariano Delgado, Klaus Koch, and Edgar Marsch, 11-36. Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, no. 1. Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2003.

________. "Vom profetischen zum apokalyptischen Visionsbericht." In *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979*, 2d ed., ed. David Hellholm, 413-446. Tübingen: Mohr, 1989 = in Koch, Klaus. *Vor der Wende der Zeiten: Beiträge zur apokalyptischen Literatur.* Edited by Uwe Gleßmer and Martin Krause, 143-178. Gesammelte Aufsätze, no. 3. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1996.

________. *Von der Wende der Zeiten: Beiträge zur apokalyptischen Literatur.* Edited by Uwe Gleßmer and Martin Krause. Gesammelte Aufsätze, vol. 3. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1996.

________. *Was ist Formgeschichte? Methoden der Bibelexegese*, 5th ed. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1989.

________. "Die Winde des Himmels über dem Chaosmeer (Dan 7,1f): Schöpfung oder Chaos?" In *"Unter dem Fußboden ein Tropfen Wahrheit": Festschrift für Johann Michael Schmidt zum 65jährigen Geburtstag*, ed. Hans-Joachim Barkenings and Uwe F. W. Bauer, 46-55. Düsseldorf: Presseverband der Evangelischen Kirche im Rheinland e.V., 2000.

Koch, Klaus and Martin Rösel. *Polyglottensynopse zum Buch Daniel*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000.

Koch, Robert. *Die Sünde im Alten Testament*. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1992.

Köhler, Ludwig. *Old Testament Theology*. Translated by A. S. Todd. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1957.

________. "Zu Ex 22:8: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des hebräischen Rechts." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 46 (1928): 213-218.

Koehler, Ludwig, and Walter Baumgartner. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. 4 vols. Revised by Walter Baumgartner and Johann Jakob Stamm. Translated and edited by M. E. J. Richardson. Leiden: Brill, 1994-1999.

König, Friedrich Eduard. *Historisch-kritisches Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*. 3 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1881-1897. Reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1979.

________. "Zur Syntax der Zahlwörter im Alten Testament." *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 18 (1901–1902): 129-148.

Konkel, A. H. "בֹּקֶר (# 1332)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 1:710-720.

Kooij, Arie van der. "A Case of Reinterpretation in the Old Greek of Daniel 11." In *Tradition and Re-interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honour of Jürgen C. H. Lebram*, ed. J. W. Van Henten et al., 72-80. Studia post-biblica, no. 36. Leiden: Brill, 1986.

________. "The Concept of Covenant (*B^erît*) in the Book of Daniel." In *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, 495-501. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 106. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993.

Koole, Jan L. *Isaiah: Part 3, Volume 1: Isaiah 40-48*. Historical Commentary on the Old Testament. Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1997.

Kornfeld, W., and Helmer Ringgren. "קדשׁ *qdš*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by Douglas W. Stott. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003. 12:521-545.

Korpel, Marjo Christina Annette. *A Rift in the Clouds: Ugaritic and Hebrew Descriptions of the Divine*. Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur, no. 8. Münster: UGARIT-Verlag, 1990.

Kraeling, Emil G. *Commentary on the Prophets*. Vol. 2, *Daniel-Malachi*. Camden: Nelson, 1966.

Kranichfeld, Rudolph. *Das Buch Daniel: Erklärt*. Berlin: Schlawitz, 1868.

Krašovec, Jože. *La justice (ṢDQ) de Dieu dans la Bible hébraïque et l'interprétation juive et chrétienne*. Orbis biblicus et orientalis, no. 76. Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988.

Kratz, Reinhard G. Review of *Metaphors and Monsters*, by Paul A. Porter. *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 114 (1989): 422-423.

________. *Translatio imperii: Untersuchungen zu den aramäischen Danielerzählungen und ihrem theologie-geschichtlichen Umfeld*. Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und neuen Testament, no. 63. Neukirchen: Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991.

________. "The Visions of Daniel." In *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, 91-113. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 83/1. Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature, no. 2/1. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Kraus, Hans-Joachim, "Hören und Sehen in der althebräischen Tradition." *Studium Generale* 19 (1966): 115-123. Reprint, *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze*, 84-101. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1972.

Krauss, Samuel. "Some Remarks on Daniel 8.5 ff." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 15 (1940): 305-311.

Krinetzki, Leo. "Zur Stilistik von Jes 40, 1-8." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 16 (1972): 54-69.

Kristeva, Julia. "Bakhtine, le mot, le dialogue et le roman." *Criticque* 239 (1967): 438-465.

________. "Word, Dialogue and Novel." In *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. L. Roudiez, 64-91. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.

Kroeze, Jan H. "Die chaos van die genitief in Bybelse Hebreeus." *Journal for Semitics* 3, no. 2 (1991): 129-143.

________. "Semantic Relations in Construct Phrases of Biblical Hebrew: A Functional Approach." *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 10 (1997): 27-41.

________. "Underlying Syntactic Relations in Construct Phrases of Biblical Hebrew." *Journal for Semitics* 5, no. 1 (1993): 68-88.

Kropat, Arno. *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik verglichen mit der seiner Quellen: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Syntax des Hebräischen.* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, no. 16. Gießen: Töpelmann, 1909.

Krüger, Thomas. *Qoheleth: A Commentary.* Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004.

Kugel, James L. *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.

________. "Some Thoughts on Future Research into Biblical Style: Addenda to *The Idea of Biblical Poetry.*" *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 28 (1984): 107-117.

Kühlewein, J. "קרב *qrb* to approach." *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997. 3:1164-1169.

Kuhn, Heinz-Wolfgang. *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran.* Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments, no. 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967.

Kuhn, Thomas S. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Kuntz, J. Kenneth. "Biblical Hebrew Poetry in Recent Research, Part I." *Currents in Research: Biblical Studies* 6 (1998): 31-64.

________. "Biblical Hebrew Poetry in Recent Research, Part II." *Currents in Research: Biblical Studies* 7 (1999): 35-79.

Kutsch, Ernst. *Salbung als Rechtsakt im Alten Testament und im Alten Orient.* Beihefte der Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, no. 87. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1963.

Kvanvig, Helge S. *The Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man*. Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, no. 61. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988.

________. "Struktur und Geschichte in Dan. 7,1-14." *Studia theologica* 32 (1978): 95-117.

Laato, Antti. "The Eschatological Act of *kipper* in the *Damascus Document*." In *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Jósef Tadeusz Milik*, ed. Zdzisław J. Kapera, 91-107. Qumranica mogilanensia, no. 6. Kraków: Enigma, 1992.

Lacocque, André. "Allusions to Creation in Daniel 7." In *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, 114-131. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 83/1. Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature, no. 2/1. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

________. *The Book of Daniel*. Translated by David Pellauer. Atlanta: Knox, 1979.

________. "The Socio-Spiritual Formative Milieu of the Daniel Apocalypse." In *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, 315-343. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 106. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993.

Lagrange, M. J. "Les prophéties messianiques de Daniel." *Revue Biblique* 1 (1904): 494-520.

Lamberigts, S. "Le sens de Qdwšym dans les textes de Qumrân." *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* 46 (1970): 24-39.

Lambert, Mayer. "L'emploi du Nifal en Hébreu." *Revue des études juives* 41 (1900): 196-214.

________. *Traité de grammaire hébraïque*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1946.

Landersdorfer, Simon. *Studien zum biblischen Versöhnungstag*. Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen, no. 10/1. Münster: Aschendorff, 1924.

Lange, Armin. "Interpretation als Offenbarung: Zum Verhältnis von Schriftauslegung und Offenbarung in apokalyptischer und nichtapokalyptischer Literatur." In *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. F. García Martínez, 17-33. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 168. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2003.

Langer, Gerhard. "Die Isotopie der Macht." In *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert*, ed. Winfried Bader, 87-102. THLI, no. 9. Tübingen: Francke, 1994.

Langlamet, François. Review of *Biblica Hebraica transcripta BH*ᵗ, by Wolfgang Richter. *Revue Biblique* 101 (1994): 416-421.

________. Review of *Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft*, by Wolfgang Richter. *Revue Biblique* 79 (1972): 275-288.

Lategan, Bernard C. "Reader Response Theory." *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992. 5:625-628.

Lattey, C. *The Book of Daniel*. The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1948.

Le Déaut, R., and J. Robert. *Targum des Chroniques*. 2 vols. Analecta biblica, no. 51. Rome: Biblical Institute, 1971.

Leatherman, Donn Walter. "Structural Considerations regarding the Relation of Daniel 8 & Daniel 9." In *The Cosmic Battle for Planet Earth: Essays in Honor of Norman R. Gulley*, ed. Ron du Preez and Jiří Moskala, 293-305. Berrien Springs: Old Testament Department, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, 2003.

Lebram, Jürgen-Christian. "Apokalyptik and Hellenismus im Buche Daniel: Bemerkungen und Gedanken zu Martin HENGELS Buch über 'Judentum und Hellenismus.'" *Vetus Testamentum* 20 (1970): 503-524.

________. *Das Buch Daniel*. Zürcher Bibelkommentare: Altes Testament, vol. 23. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1984.

________. "König Antiochus im Buch Daniel." *Vetus Testamentum* 25 (1975): 737-772.

________. "Perspektiven der gegenwärtigen Danielforschung." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 5 (1974): 1-33.

Leclerc, Thomas L. *Yahweh Is Exalted in Justice: Solidarity and Conflict in Isaiah*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001.

Leenhardt, Franz J. *La notion de sainteté dans l'Ancien Testament: Étude de la racine QDS*. Montpellier: Causse, Graille and Castelnau for Faculté Libre de Théologie Protestante de Montpellier, 1929.

Lelli, Fabrizio. "Stars כוכבים." *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD)*, 2d ed. Edited by Karel van der Tom, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. 809-815.

Lenglet, A. "La structure littéraire de Daniel 2-7." *Biblica* 53 (1972): 169-190.

Lettinga, Jan P. *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique.* Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Leupold, H. C. *Exposition of Daniel.* N.p.: Wartburg, 1949. Reprint, Grand Rapids: Baker, 1969.

Levenson, Jon D. *The Hebrew Bible, the Old Testament, and Historical Criticism: Jews and Christians in Biblical Studies.* Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993.

Levine, Baruch A. *Numbers 1-20.* The Anchor Bible, vol. 4. New York: Doubleday, 1993.

________. *Numbers 21-36.* The Anchor Bible, vol. 4A. New York: Doubleday, 2000.

Lindenberger, James L. "Daniel 12:1-4." *Interpretation* 39 (1985): 181-186.

Linder, Joseph. *Commentarius in librum Daniel: quem exaravit.* Cursus Scripturae Sacrae, vol. 23. Paris: Lethielleux, 1939.

Lipiński, E. "עַם *ʿam.*" *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by David E. Green. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001. 11:163-177.

Lipiński, E., and Heinz-Josef Fabry. "נָתַן *nātan.*" *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by Douglas W. Stott. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. 10:90-108.

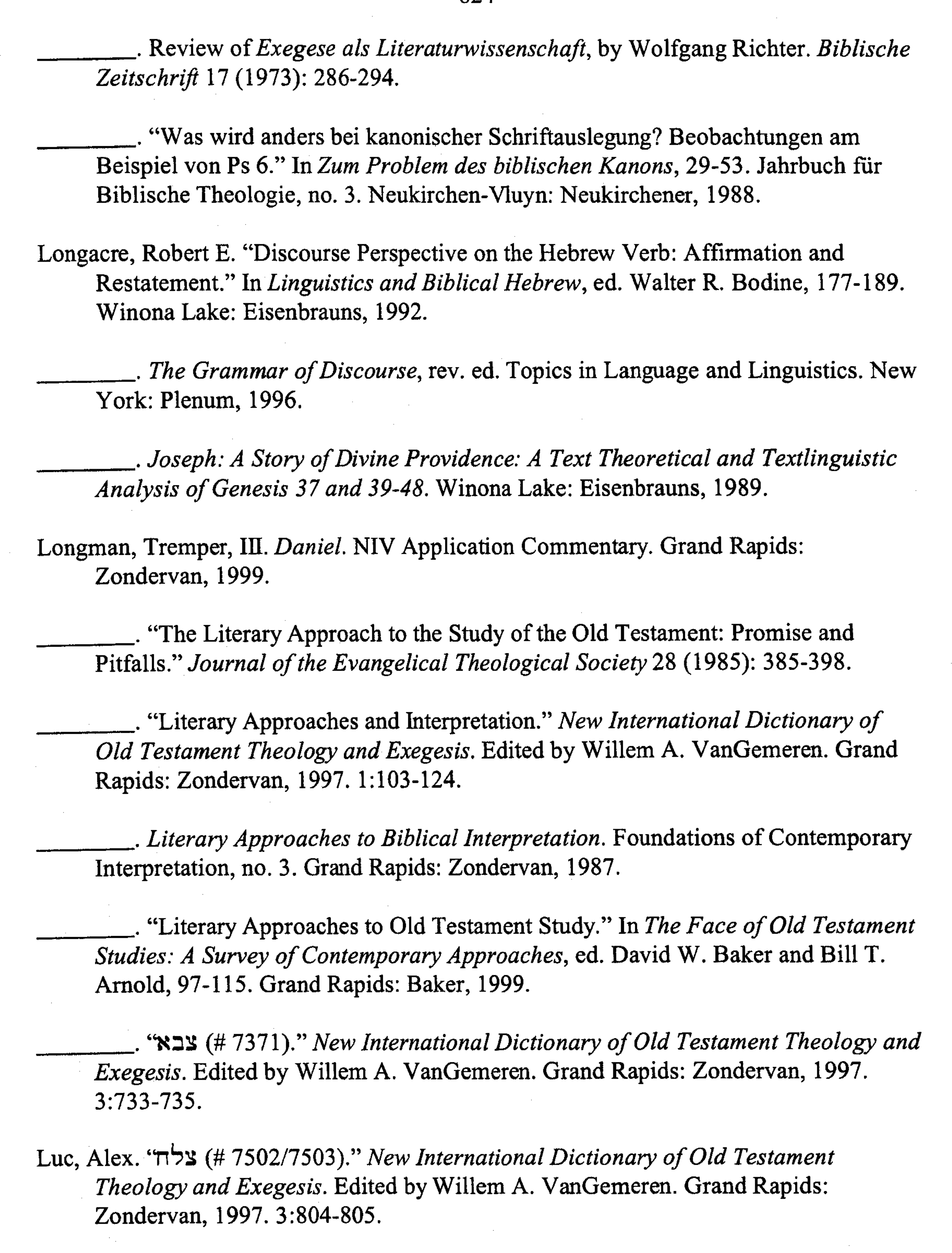
Lisowski, Gerhard. *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Alten Testament*, 2d ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1981.

Loader, James Alfred. "The Finality of the Old Testament 'Final Text.'" *Old Testament Essays* 15 (2002): 739-753.

Löfgren, Oscar. *Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Daniel.* Paris: Geuthner, 1927.

________. *Studien zu den arabischen Daniel-Übersetzungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der christlichen Texte.* Uppsala universitets årsskrift 1936, no. 4. Uppsala: Lundequist, 1936.

Lohfink, Norbert. "Der Begriff des Gottesreichs vom Alten Testament her gesehen." In *Unterwegs zur Kirche: Alttestamentliche Konzeptionen*, ed. Josef Schreiner, 33-86. Quaestiones disputatae, no. 110. Freiburg: Herder, 1987.



________. Review of *Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft*, by Wolfgang Richter. *Biblische Zeitschrift* 17 (1973): 286-294.

________. "Was wird anders bei kanonischer Schriftauslegung? Beobachtungen am Beispiel von Ps 6." In *Zum Problem des biblischen Kanons*, 29-53. Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie, no. 3. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988.

Longacre, Robert E. "Discourse Perspective on the Hebrew Verb: Affirmation and Restatement." In *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*, ed. Walter R. Bodine, 177-189. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992.

________. *The Grammar of Discourse*, rev. ed. Topics in Language and Linguistics. New York: Plenum, 1996.

________. *Joseph: A Story of Divine Providence: A Text Theoretical and Textlinguistic Analysis of Genesis 37 and 39-48.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989.

Longman, Tremper, III. *Daniel.* NIV Application Commentary. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1999.

________. "The Literary Approach to the Study of the Old Testament: Promise and Pitfalls." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 28 (1985): 385-398.

________. "Literary Approaches and Interpretation." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis.* Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 1:103-124.

________. *Literary Approaches to Biblical Interpretation.* Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation, no. 3. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1987.

________. "Literary Approaches to Old Testament Study." In *The Face of Old Testament Studies: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches*, ed. David W. Baker and Bill T. Arnold, 97-115. Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999.

________. "צבא (# 7371)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis.* Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 3:733-735.

Luc, Alex. "צלח (# 7502/7503)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis.* Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 3:804-805.

Lucas, Ernest. *Daniel.* Apollos Old Testament Commentary, vol. 20. Leicester, England: Apollos; Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2002.

________. "Daniel: Resolving the Enigma." *Vetus Testamentum* 50 (2000): 66-80.

________. "The Source of Daniel's Animal Imagery." *Tyndale Bulletin* 41 (1990): 161-185.

Lueken, Wilhelm. *Michael: Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1898.

Lundbom, Jack R. *Jeremiah 1-20.* The Anchor Bible, vol. 21A. New York: Doubleday, 1999.

Lust, Johan. "Cult and Sacrifice in Daniel: The Tamid and the Abomination of Desolation." In *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. Quaegebeur, 283-299. Orientalia lovaniensia analecta, no. 55. Leuven: Peeters and Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1993.

________. Review of *Metaphorische Grammatik*, by Harald Schweizer. *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* 60 (1984): 141-143.

Lust, J., Erik Eynikel, and K. Hauspie. *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, rev. ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003.

Lyonnet, Stanislas, and Léopold Sabourin. *Sin, Redemption and Sacrifice: A Biblical and Patristic Study.* Analecta biblica, no. 4. Rome: Biblical Institute, 1970.

Lyons, John. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

________. *Semantics*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

Lyons, William John. *Canon and Exegesis: Canonical Praxis and the Sodom Narrative.* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 352. London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.

MacDonald, Dennis R., ed. *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity.* Studies in Antiquity and Christianity. Harrisburg: Trinity, 2001.

Mach, Michael. *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabinischer Zeit.* Text und Studien zum antiken Judentum, no. 34. Tübingen: Mohr, 1992.

________. "Michael מיכאל." *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD)*, 2d ed. Edited by Karel van der Torn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. 569-572.

Macholz, Christian. "Das 'Passivum divinum', seine Anfänge im Alten Testament und der 'Hofstil.'" *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 81 (1990): 247-253.

Madl, H. "צְבִי *ṣᵉḇî*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by Douglas W. Stott. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003. 12:232-238.

Maier, Gerhard. *Der Prophet Daniel.* Wuppertaler Studienbibel. Wuppertal: Brockhaus, 1982.

Magistris, Simon de, ed. *Daniel secundum septauaginta: ex tetraplis Origenis* (Rome: Typis Propagandae Fidei, 1772

Marböck, Johannes. "Gottes Plan und Herrschaft: Zu den Anfängen apokalyptischen Schrifttums." *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift* 137 (1989): 335-345.

Marguerat, Daniel. "L'exégèse biblique: éclatement ou renouveau?" *Foi et vie* 93, no. 3 (July 1994): 7-24.

Marti, Karl. *Das Buch Daniel.* Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament, vol. 18. Tübingen: Mohr, 1901.

________. *Das Buch Jesaja.* Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament, vol. 10. Tübingen: Mohr, 1900.

________. *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der biblisch-aramäischen Sprache: Literatur, Paradigmen, Texte und Glossar*, 2d ed. Porta linguarum orientalium, no. 18. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1911.

Martin, W. J. "'Dischronologized' Narrative in the Old Testament." In *Congress Volume: Rome 1968*, 179-186. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 17. Leiden: Brill, 1969.

________. "The Hebrew of Daniel." In *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel*, ed. D. J. Wiseman et al., 28-30. London: Tyndale, 1965.

Mathews, Kenneth A. "Literary Criticism of the Old Testament." In *Foundations for Biblical Interpretation: A Complete Library of Tools and Resources*, ed. David S. Dockery, Kenneth A. Mathews, and Robert B. Sloan, 205-231. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994.

Mathews, Susan Fournier. "The Numbers in Daniel 12:11-12: Rounded Pythagorean Plane Numbers?" *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 63 (2001): 630-646.

Maurer, Franz Joseph Valentin Dominik. *Commentarius grammaticus criticus in Vetus Testamentum*. Vol. 2. Lepizig: Volckmar, 1838.

Mayers, Alexander Reid. "A Comparative Analysis of the Greek Translations with the Masoretic Text and the Qumran Texts of Daniel 8." M.A. thesis, Andrews University, 2001.

McCabe, Robert V. "The Old Testament Foundation for Separation." *Detroit Baptist Seminary Journal* 7 (2002): 3-22.

McComiskey, Thomas Edward. "The Seventy 'Weeks' of Daniel against the Background of Ancient Near Eastern Literature." *Westminster Theological Journal* 47 (1985): 18-45.

McKnight, Edgar V. "Reader-Response Criticism." In *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application*, rev. and expanded, ed. Steven L. McKenzie and Stephen R. Haynes, 230-252. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999.

McLain, Charles E. "Daniel's Prayer in Chapter 9." *Detroit Baptist Seminary Journal* 9 (2004): 265-301.

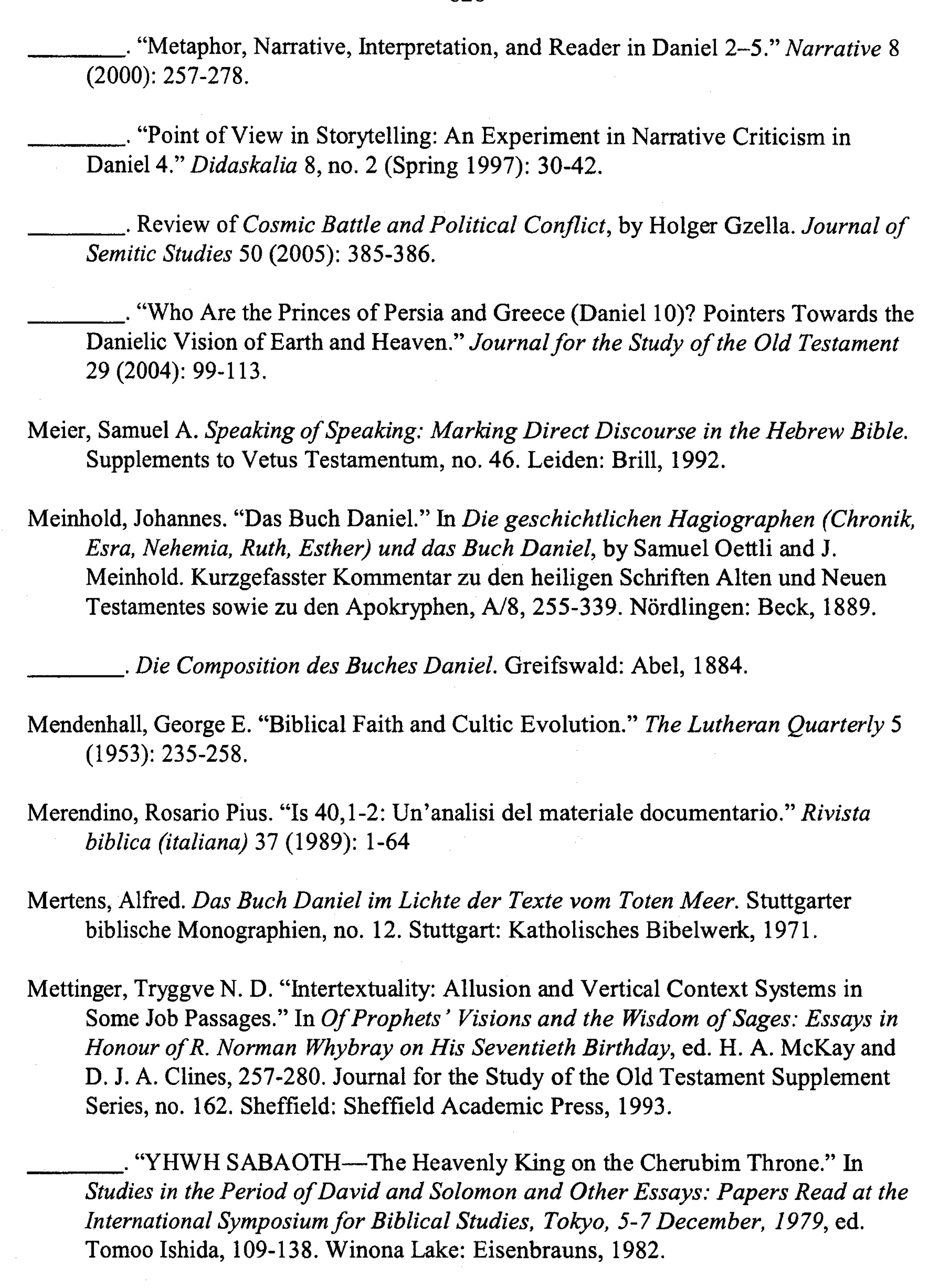
McLay, Tim. "It's a Question of Influence: The Theodotion and Old Greek Texts of Daniel." In *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th July-3rd August 1994*, ed. Alison Salvesen, 231-254. Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum, no. 58. Tübingen: Mohr, 1998.

________. *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel*. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series, no. 43. Atlanta: Scholars, 1996.

________. "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel iv-vi and the Formation of the Book of Daniel." *Vetus testamentum* 55 (2005): 304-323.

Meadowcroft, Tim. *Aramaic Daniel and Greek Daniel: A Literary Comparison*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 198. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.

________. "Exploring the Dismal Swamp: The Identity of the Anointed One in Daniel 9:24-27." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 120 (2001): 429-449.



________. "Metaphor, Narrative, Interpretation, and Reader in Daniel 2–5." *Narrative* 8 (2000): 257-278.

________. "Point of View in Storytelling: An Experiment in Narrative Criticism in Daniel 4." *Didaskalia* 8, no. 2 (Spring 1997): 30-42.

________. Review of *Cosmic Battle and Political Conflict*, by Holger Gzella. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 50 (2005): 385-386.

________. "Who Are the Princes of Persia and Greece (Daniel 10)? Pointers Towards the Danielic Vision of Earth and Heaven." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 29 (2004): 99-113.

Meier, Samuel A. *Speaking of Speaking: Marking Direct Discourse in the Hebrew Bible.* Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 46. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

Meinhold, Johannes. "Das Buch Daniel." In *Die geschichtlichen Hagiographen (Chronik, Esra, Nehemia, Ruth, Esther) und das Buch Daniel,* by Samuel Oettli and J. Meinhold. Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes sowie zu den Apokryphen, A/8, 255-339. Nördlingen: Beck, 1889.

________. *Die Composition des Buches Daniel.* Greifswald: Abel, 1884.

Mendenhall, George E. "Biblical Faith and Cultic Evolution." *The Lutheran Quarterly* 5 (1953): 235-258.

Merendino, Rosario Pius. "Is 40,1-2: Un'analisi del materiale documentario." *Rivista biblica (italiana)* 37 (1989): 1-64

Mertens, Alfred. *Das Buch Daniel im Lichte der Texte vom Toten Meer.* Stuttgarter biblische Monographien, no. 12. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1971.

Mettinger, Tryggve N. D. "Intertextuality: Allusion and Vertical Context Systems in Some Job Passages." In *Of Prophets' Visions and the Wisdom of Sages: Essays in Honour of R. Norman Whybray on His Seventieth Birthday,* ed. H. A. McKay and D. J. A. Clines, 257-280. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 162. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993.

________. "YHWH SABAOTH—The Heavenly King on the Cherubim Throne." In *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays: Papers Read at the International Symposium for Biblical Studies, Tokyo, 5-7 December, 1979,* ed. Tomoo Ishida, 109-138. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1982.

Metzger, Martin. "Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 2 (1970): 139-158.

Meyer, I. "שָׁמַם *šāmam*." *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament.* Edited by Heinz-Josef Fabry and Helmer Ringgren. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995. 8:241-251.

Meyer, Rudolf. *Hebräische Grammatik.* Bibliographic epilog by Udo Rüterswörden. De-Gruyter Studienbuch. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992.

Meyers, Carol L., and Erich M. Meyers. *Zechariah 9-14.* The Anchor Bible, vol. 25C. New York: Doubleday, 1993.

Michel, Dieter. *Grundlegung einer hebräischen Syntax.* Pt. 1, *Sprachwissenschaftliche Methodik, Genus und Numerus des Nomens*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1977.

Michel, Diethelm. "'ÄMÄT: Untersuchung über 'Wahrheit' im Hebräischen." *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 12 (1968): 30-57.

________. "Begriffsuntersuchung über *sädäq-sedaqa* und *'ämät-'ämuna.*" Habilitation, University of Heidelberg, 1965.

________. "ḥ*æsæd wæ*ʾ*æ*mæṯ." In *Studien zur hebräischen Grammatik*, ed. Andreas Wagner, 73-82. Orbis biblicus et orientalis, no. 156. Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997.

Milgrom, Jacob. "Hezekiah's Sacrifices at the Dedication Services of the Purified Temple (2 Chr 29:21-24)." In *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, ed. Ann Kort and Scott Morschauser, 159-161. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985.

________. *Leviticus 1-16.* The Anchor Bible, vol. 3. New York: Doubleday, 1991.

________. *Leviticus 17-22.* The Anchor Bible, vol. 3A. New York: Doubleday, 2000.

________. *Leviticus 23-27.* The Anchor Bible, vol. 3B. New York: Doubleday, 2001.

________. *Numbers: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation.* The JPS Torah Commentary. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1990.

________. "The *Šôq hattĕrûmâ*: A Chapter in Cultic History." In *Studies in Cultic Theology and Terminology*. Studies in Judaism and Late Antiquity, no. 36, 159-170. Leiden: Brill, 1983.

________. *Studies in Levitical Terminology, I: The Encroacher and the Levite, the Term 'Aboda*. University of California Publications Near Easter Studies, no. 14. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970.

________. "Two Biblical Hebrew Priestly Terms: *šeqeṣ* and *ṭāmē*ᵓ." *MAARAV* 8 (1992): 107-116.

Miller, Cynthia L. *The Representation of Speech in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: A Linguistic Analysis*. Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 55. Atlanta: Scholars, 1996.

Miller, James E. "Dreams and Prophetic Visions." *Biblica* 71 (1990): 401-404.

Miller, Patrick D., Jr. "Animal Names as Designation in Ugaritic and Hebrew." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 2 (1970): 177-186.

________. "Cosmology and World Order in the Old Testament: The Divine Council as Cosmic-Political Symbol." *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 9, 2 (1987): 53-78.

________. "The Divine Council and the Prophetic Call to War." *Vetus Testamentum* 18 (1968): 100-107.

________. *The Divine Warrior in Early Israel.* Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 5. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.

________. "Holy War and Cosmic War in Early Israel." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1963.

________. "Meter, Parallelism, and Tropes: The Search for Poetic Style." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 28 (1984): 99-106.

________. "Prayer and Sacrifice in Ugarit and Israel." In *Text and Context: Old Testament and Semitic Studies for F. C. Fensham*, ed. W. Claassen, 139-155. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, 48. Sheffield: JSOT, 1988.

________. "The Theological Significance of Biblical Poetry." In *Language, Theology, and the Bible: Essays in Honour of James Barr*, ed. Samuel E. Balentine and John Barton, 213-230. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.

Miller, Stephen R. *Daniel*. New American Commentary, vol. 18. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1994.

Milne, Pamela J. *Vladimir Propp and the Study of Structure in Biblical Hebrew Narrative*. Bible and Literature Series, no. 13. Sheffield: Almond, 1988.

Minor, Mark. *Literary-Critical Approaches to the Bible: A Bibliographical Supplement.* West Cornwall: Locust Hill, 1996.

________. *Literary-Critical Approaches to the Bible: An Annotated Bibliography.* West Cornwall: Locust Hill, 1992.

Miscall, Peter D. "Isaiah: New Heavens, New Earth, New Book." In *Reading between Texts: Intertextuality and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Danna Nolan Fewell. Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation, 41-56. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992.

________. "Texts, More Texts, a Textual Reader and a Textual Writer." *Semeia* 69/70 (1995): 247-260.

Mitchell, Gordon. *Together in the Land: A Reading of the Book of Joshua.* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 134. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993.

Moberly, R. W. L. *At the Mountain of God: Story and Theology in Exodus 32-34.* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 22. Sheffield: JSOT, 1983.

Montgomery, James A. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel.* International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: Clark, 1927.

Moor, Johannes C. de, ed. *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel: Papers Read at the Tenth Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and Het Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland en België Held at Oxford, 1997.* Oudtestamentische Studiën, no. 40. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

________. *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis.* Oudtestamentische studiën, no. 34. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Moore, G. F. "Daniel viii.9-14." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 15 (1896): 193-197.

Mora, Carlos Elías. "Principios de interpretación escatológica aplicados a Daniel 10–12." *DavarLogos* 2 (2003): 105-121.

Morag, Shelomo. *The Book of Daniel: A Babylonian-Yemenite Manuscript.* Jerusalem: Kiryat-Sepher, 1973.

Morenz, Siegfried. "Das Tier mit den Hörnern, ein Beitrag zu Dan 7,7f." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 63 (1951): 151-154.

Morgan, Robert, with John Barton. *Biblical Interpretation*. Oxford Bible Series. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Morris, Charles W. *Foundations of the Theory of Signs*. International Encyclopedia of Unified Science, vol. 1, no. 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Mosca, Paul G. "Ugarit and Daniel 7: A Missing Link." *Biblica* 67 (1986): 496-517.

Moskala, Jiří. *Kniha Daniel: a makabejská teze* (The book of Daniel: and the Maccabean thesis). Orličky: HOPE, 1995.

Moyise, Steve. "Intertextuality and the Study of the Old Testament in the New Testament." In *The Old Testament in the New Testament: Essays in Honour of J. L. North*, ed. S. Moyise, 14-41. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series, no. 189. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.

Muilenburg, James. "Form Criticism and Beyond." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 88 (1969): 1-18.

________. "Holiness." *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*. Edited by George Arthur Buttrick. Nashville: Abingdon, 1962. 2:616-625.

Mullen, E. Theodore, Jr. *The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature*. Harvard Semitic Monographs, 24. Chico: Scholars, 1980.

Müller, Augustin R. "Zu den Artikelfunktionen im Hebräischen." In *Text, Methode und Grammatik: Wolfgang Richter zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Walter Groß, Hubert Irsigler, and Theodor Seidl, 313-329. St. Ottilien, EOS, 1991.

Müller, Hans-Peter. "Der Aufbau des Deboraliedes." *Vetus Testamentum* 16 (1966): 446-459.

________. "Der Begriff 'Rätsel' im Alten Testament." *Vetus Testamentum* 20 (1970): 465-489.

________. "Formgeschichte/Formkritik I." *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1983. 11:271-285.

________. "Der Gottesname *B'L* und seine Phraseologien im Hebräischen und im Phönizisch-Punischen." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 50 (2005): 281-296.

________. "קדשׁ *qdš* holy." *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997. 3:1103-1118.

Munnich, Olivier. "Les versions grecques de Daniel et leurs substrats sémitiques." In *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Paris 1992*, ed. Leonard J. Greenspoon and Olivier Munnich, 291-308. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series, no. 41. Atlanta: Scholars, 1995.

Munnich, Olivier. "Texte massorétique et Septante dans le livre de *Daniel*." In *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*, ed. Adrian Schenker, 93-120. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies, no. 52. Atlanta: SBL, 2003.

Muraoka, Takamitsu. Review of *Die hebräischen Präpositionen*. Vol. 1, *Die Präposition Beth*, by Ernst Jenni. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 53 (1996): 761-763.

________. "'Three of Them' and 'the Three of Them' in Hebrew." *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 38 (2001): 215-216.

Murphy, Roland E. *Proverbs*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 22. Nashville: Nelson, 1998.

Mutius, Hans-Georg. "Der hebräische Text von Genesis 2,1 im Licht der Septuaginta und der rabbinischen Schriftauslegung." In *Sachverhalt und Zeitbezug: Semitische und alttestamentliche Studien Adolf Denz zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Rüdiger Bartelmus and Norbert Nebes, 107-112. Jenaer Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient, no. 4. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001.

Nardoni, Enrique. *Los que buscan la justicia: Un estudio de la justicia en el mundo bíblico*. Estella: Verbo Divino, 1997.

Naudé, Jacobus [Jackie] A. "Holiness in the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, 2:171-199. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

________. "קדשׁ (# 7727)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 3:877-887.

Neef, Heinz-Dieter. *Deboraerzählung und Deboralied: Studien zu Jdc 4,1-5,31*. Biblisch-theologische Studien, 49. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2002.

Nel, Malan. "Literêre genre van die Daniëlverhale." *In die Skriflig* 35 (2001): 591-606.

Nel, Philip. "Philosophical Presuppositions of a Literary Approach to the Old Testament." *Old Testament Essays* 7, no. 4 (1994): 65-71.

Nelis, J. T. *Daniel: uit de grondtekst vertaald en uitgelegd.* De Boeken van het Oude Testament, vol. 11, no. 2. Roermond: Romen & Zonen, 1954.

Nelson, Richard D. *Joshua: A Commentary.* Old Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster John Knox John Knox, 1997.

Nestle, E. "Zu Daniel." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 4 (1884): 247-248.

Newman, Robert C. "כּוֹכָב (# 3919)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis.* Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 2:609-614.

Niccacci, Alviero. *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose.* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 86. Sheffield: JSOT, 1990.

Nicholl, Colin. "Michael, the Restrainer Removed (2 Thess. 2:6-7)." *Journal of Theological Studies* 51 (2000): 27-53.

Nickelsburg, George W. E. *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36; 81-108.* Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001.

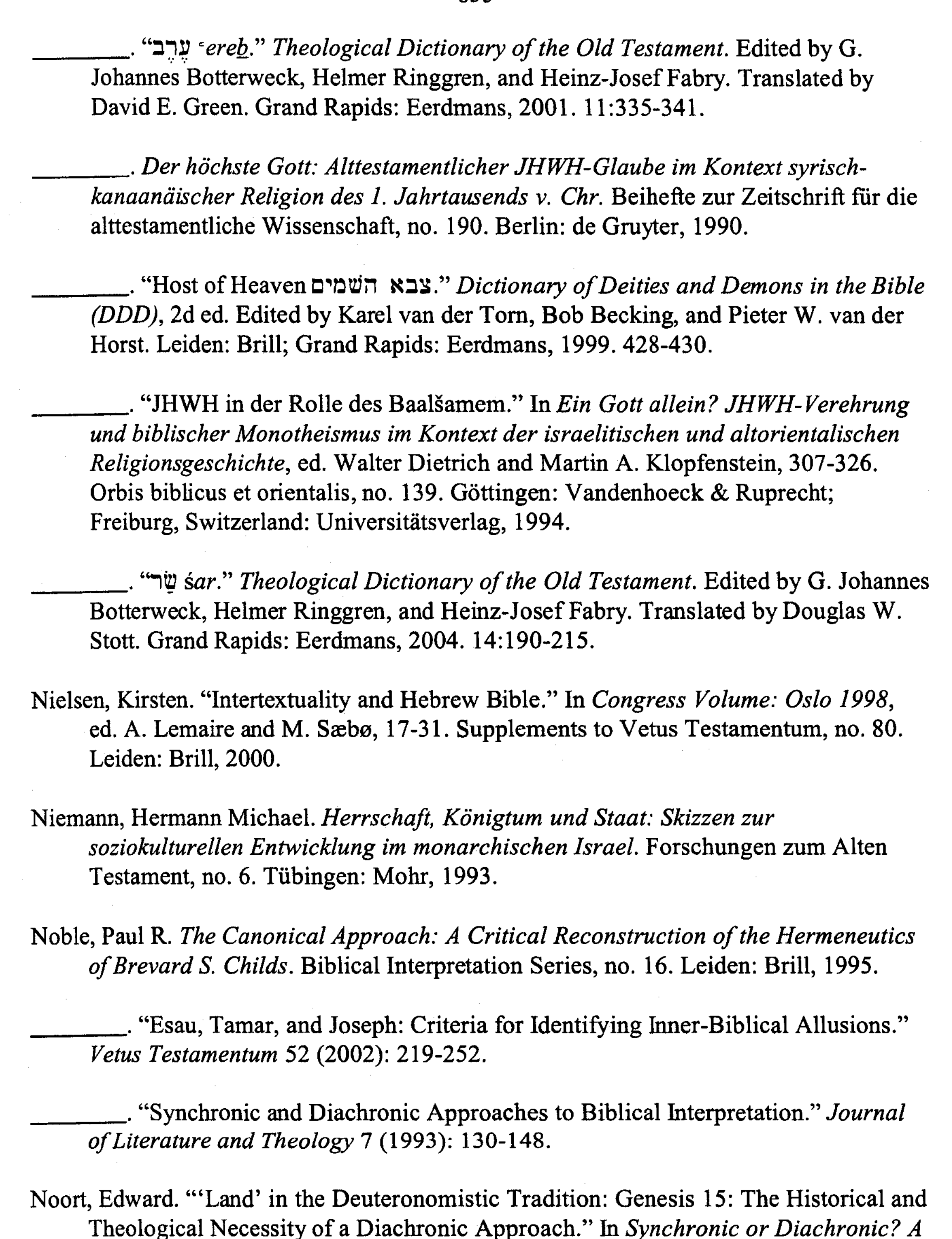
________. *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction.* Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981.

________. *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism.* Harvard Theological Studies, no. 26. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Nicole, Emile, and Eugene Carpenter. "חתך (# 3155)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis.* Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 2:323.

Niditch, Susan. *The Symbolic Vision in Biblical Tradition.* Harvard Semitic Monographs, 30. Chico: Scholars, 1983.

Niehr, Herbert. *Ba'alšamem: Studien zu Herkunft, Geschichte und Rezeptionsgeschichte eines phönizischen Gottes.* Orientalia lovaniensia analecta, no. 123. Studia Phoenicia, no. 17. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.



________. "עֶרֶב ʿereḇ." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by David E. Green. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001. 11:335-341.

________. *Der höchste Gott: Alttestamentlicher JHWH-Glaube im Kontext syrisch-kanaanäischer Religion des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, no. 190. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990.

________. "Host of Heaven צבא השמים." *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD)*, 2d ed. Edited by Karel van der Torn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. 428-430.

________. "JHWH in der Rolle des Baalšamem." In *Ein Gott allein? JHWH-Verehrung und biblischer Monotheismus im Kontext der israelitischen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. Walter Dietrich and Martin A. Klopfenstein, 307-326. Orbis biblicus et orientalis, no. 139. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1994.

________. "שַׂר śar." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by Douglas W. Stott. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004. 14:190-215.

Nielsen, Kirsten. "Intertextuality and Hebrew Bible." In *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø, 17-31. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 80. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

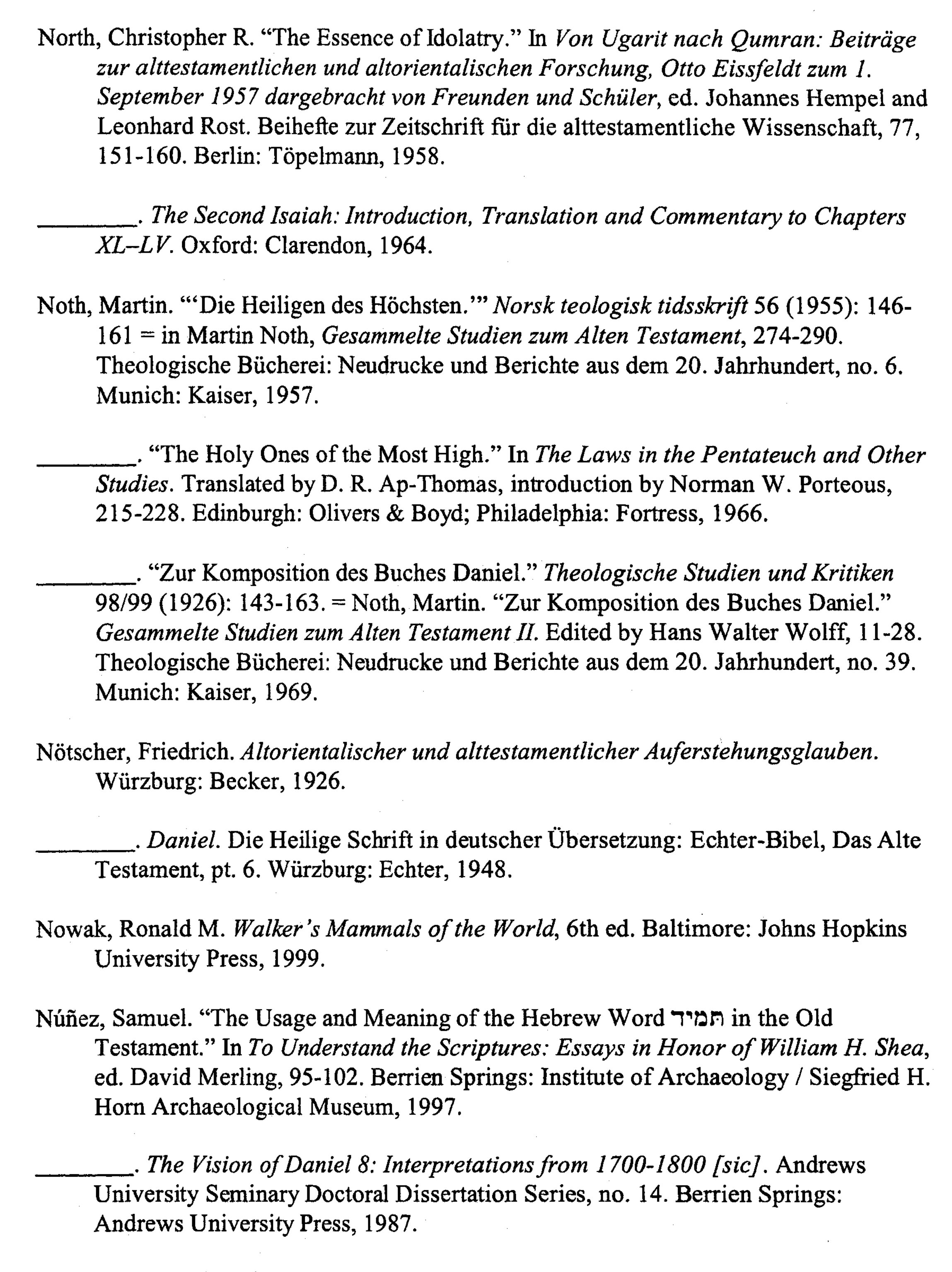
Niemann, Hermann Michael. *Herrschaft, Königtum und Staat: Skizzen zur soziokulturellen Entwicklung im monarchischen Israel.* Forschungen zum Alten Testament, no. 6. Tübingen: Mohr, 1993.

Noble, Paul R. *The Canonical Approach: A Critical Reconstruction of the Hermeneutics of Brevard S. Childs.* Biblical Interpretation Series, no. 16. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

________. "Esau, Tamar, and Joseph: Criteria for Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions." *Vetus Testamentum* 52 (2002): 219-252.

________. "Synchronic and Diachronic Approaches to Biblical Interpretation." *Journal of Literature and Theology* 7 (1993): 130-148.

Noort, Edward. "'Land' in the Deuteronomistic Tradition: Genesis 15: The Historical and Theological Necessity of a Diachronic Approach." In *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, 129-144. Oudtestamentische studiën, no. 34. Leiden: Brill, 1995.



North, Christopher R. “The Essence of Idolatry.” In *Von Ugarit nach Qumran: Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Forschung, Otto Eissfeldt zum 1. September 1957 dargebracht von Freunden und Schüler*, ed. Johannes Hempel and Leonhard Rost. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 77, 151-160. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1958.

________. *The Second Isaiah: Introduction, Translation and Commentary to Chapters XL–LV*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1964.

Noth, Martin. “‘Die Heiligen des Höchsten.’” *Norsk teologisk tidsskrift* 56 (1955): 146-161 = in Martin Noth, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*, 274-290. Theologische Bücherei: Neudrucke und Berichte aus dem 20. Jahrhundert, no. 6. Munich: Kaiser, 1957.

________. “The Holy Ones of the Most High.” In *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*. Translated by D. R. Ap-Thomas, introduction by Norman W. Porteous, 215-228. Edinburgh: Olivers & Boyd; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1966.

________. “Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel.” *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 98/99 (1926): 143-163. = Noth, Martin. “Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel.” *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament II.* Edited by Hans Walter Wolff, 11-28. Theologische Bücherei: Neudrucke und Berichte aus dem 20. Jahrhundert, no. 39. Munich: Kaiser, 1969.

Nötscher, Friedrich. *Altorientalischer und alttestamentlicher Auferstehungsglauben*. Würzburg: Becker, 1926.

________. *Daniel.* Die Heilige Schrift in deutscher Übersetzung: Echter-Bibel, Das Alte Testament, pt. 6. Würzburg: Echter, 1948.

Nowak, Ronald M. *Walker's Mammals of the World*, 6th ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

Núñez, Samuel. “The Usage and Meaning of the Hebrew Word תמיד in the Old Testament.” In *To Understand the Scriptures: Essays in Honor of William H. Shea*, ed. David Merling, 95-102. Berrien Springs: Institute of Archaeology / Siegfried H. Horn Archaeological Museum, 1997.

________. *The Vision of Daniel 8: Interpretations from 1700-1800 [sic]*. Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, no. 14. Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1987.

Nyberg H. S. *Hebreisk Grammatik.* Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1952.

O'Connor, M. "Cardinal-Direction Terms in Biblical Hebrew." In *Semitic Studies: In Honour of Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of His Eighty-fifth Birthday, November 14th, 1991*, ed. Alan S. Kaye, 2:1140-1157. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991.

________. "Discourse Linguistics and the Study of Biblical Hebrew." In *Congress Volume: Basel 2001*, ed. A. Lemaire, 17-42. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 92. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

________. *Hebrew Verse Structure.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1980.

________. *Hebrew Verse Structure.* [With "The Contours of Biblical Hebrew Verse: An Afterword to *Hebrew Verse Structure.*"] Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997.

Obbink, H. W. *Daniël.* Tekst en uitleg: Praktische Bijbelverklaring. Groningen: Wolters, 1932.

Oden, R. A., Jr. "*Baʿal Šamēm* and ʾĒ*l*." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 39 (1977): 457-473.

Oeming, Manfred. *Biblische Hermeneutik: Eine Einführung.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998.

________. "Kanonische Schriftauslegung: Vorzüge und Grenzen eines neuen Zugangs zur Bibel." *Bibel und Liturgie* 69 (1996): 199-208.

Oeming, Manfred, and Anne-Ruth Pregla. "New Literary Criticism." *Theologische Rundschau* 66 (2001): 1-23.

Ólafsson, Sverrir. "Late Biblical Hebrew: Fact or Fiction?" In *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Jósef Tadeusz Milik*, ed. Zdzisław J. Kapera, 135-147. Qumranica Mogilanensia, no. 6. Kraków: Enigma, 1992.

Orr, Mary. *Intertextuality: Debates and Contexts.* Cambridge: Polity; Oxford: Blackwell, 2003.

Oswalt, John N. "משח (# 5417)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis.* Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 2:1123-1127.

Otzen, Benedikt. "Michael and Gabriel: Angelological Problems in the Book of Daniel." In *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honor of A. S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. F. Garcia Martínez, A. Hilhorst and C. J. Labuschagne, 114-124. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 49. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

Owczarek, Susanne. *Die Vorstellung vom "Wohnen Gottes inmitten seines Volkes" in der Priesterschrift: Zur Heiligtumstheologie der priesterlichen Grundschrift.* Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 23, Theologie, no. 625. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998.

Owusu-Antwi, Brempong. *The Chronology of Daniel 9:24-27.* Adventist Theological Society Dissertation Series, no. 2. Berrien Springs: Adventist Theological Society, 1995.

Ozanne, C. G. "Three Textual Problems in Daniel." *Journal of Theological Studies* 16 (1965): 445-448.

Palache, J. L. *Semantic Notes on the Hebrew Lexicon.* Translated by Zwi Werblowsky. Leiden: Brill, 1959.

Paran, Meir. דרכי הסגנון הכוהני בתורה = *Forms of the Priestly Style in the Pentateuch: Patterns, Linguistic Usages, Syntactic Structures.* With an introduction by Menahem Haran. Publication of the Perry Foundation for Biblical Research in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989.

Pardee, Dennis. Review of *Metaphorische Grammatik*, by Harald Schweizer. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46 (1987): 156-157.

Parker, Simon B. "Saints קדושים." *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD)*, 2d ed. Edited by Karel van der Torn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. 718-720.

Parmentier, Elisabeth. "Le texte en jeu." *Études Théologiques et Religieuses* 73 (1998): 503-521.

Paschen, Wilfried. *Rein und unrein: Untersuchung zur biblischen Wortgeschichte.* Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, no. 2. Munich: Kösel, 1970.

Patterson, Richard D. "The Key Role of Daniel 7." *Grace Theological Journal* 12 (1991): 245-261.

Pedersen, Johannes. *Der Eid bei den Semiten: In seinem Verhältnis zu verwandten Erscheinungen sowie die Stellung des Eides im Islam.* Studien zur Kultur und Geschichte des islamischen Orients, no. 3. Strassburg: Trübner, 1914.

Perlitt, Lothar. Review of *Biblica Hebraica transcripta* BH^t by Wolfgang Richter. *Theologische Rundschau* 59 (1994): 456-458.

Péter, René. "L'imposition des mains dans l'Ancien Testament." *Vetus Testamentum* 27 (1977): 48-55.

Péter-Contesse, René. "Quels animaux Israël offrait-il en sacrifice? Etude de lexicographie hébraïque." In *Studien zu Opfer und Kult im Alten Testament*, ed. Adrian Schenker, 67-77. Forschungen zum Alten Testament, no. 3. Tübingen: Mohr, 1992.

Péter-Contesse, René, and John Ellington. *A Handbook on the Book of Daniel.* UBS Handbook Series. New York: United Bible Societies, 1993.

Petersen, David L., and K. H. Richards. *Interpreting Hebrew Poetry.* Guides to Biblical Scholarship. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.

Petersen, Paul Birch. "The Theology and the Function of the Prayers in the Book of Daniel." Ph.D. diss., Andrews University, 1998.

Peterson, Erik. "Die geschichtliche Bedeutung der jüdischen Gebetsrichtung." *Theologische Zeitschrift* 3 (1947):1-15.

Pfandl, Gerhard. *Daniel: The Seer of Babylon.* Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 2004.

________. *The Time of the End in the Book of Daniel.* Adventist Theological Society Dissertation Series, no. 1. Berrien Springs: Adventist Theological Society, 1992.

Pfister, Manfred. "Konzepte der Intertextualität." In *Intertextualität: Formen, Funktionen, anglistische Fallstudien*, ed. Ulrich Broich, Manfred Pfister, and Bernd Schulte-Middelich, 1-30. Konzepte der Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft, no. 35. Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1985.

Plett, Heinrich F. "Intertextualities." In *Intertextuality*, ed. H. F. Plett, 3-29. Research in Text Theory = Untersuchungen zur Texttheorie, no. 15. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991.

Plöger, Josef G. *Literarkritische, formgeschichtliche und stilkritische Untersuchungen zum Deuteronomium.* Bonner Biblische Beiträge, no. 26. Bonn: Hanstein, 1967.

Plöger, Otto. *Das Buch Daniel.* Kommentar zum Alten Testament, vol. 18. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1965.

________. *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia).* Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament, vol. 17. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1984.

Polaski, Donald C. *Authorizing an End: The Isaiah Apocalypse and Intertextuality.* Biblical Interpretation Series, no. 50. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Polzin, Robert M. *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose.* Harvard Semitic Monographs, no. 12. Missoula: Scholars, 1976.

________. "Literary and Historical Criticism of the Bible: A Crisis in Scholarship." In *Orientation by Disorientation: Studies in Literary Criticism and Biblical Literary Criticism, Presented in Honor of William A. Beardslee*, ed. Richard A. Spencer, 99-114. Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series, no. 35. Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1980.

________. *Moses and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomic History.* Pt. 1, *Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges.* New York: Seabury, 1980.

Pope, Marvin H. "The Timing of the Snagging of the Ram, Genesis 22:13." *Biblical Archaeologist* 49/2 (1986): 114-117.

Porteous, Norman. *Daniel*, 2d rev. ed. Old Testament Library. London: SCM, 1979.

Porter, Paul A. *Metaphors and Monsters: A Literary-Critical Study of Daniel 7 and 8.* Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series, no. 20. Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1983.

Porter, Stanley E. "Literary Approaches to the New Testament: From Formalism to Deconstruction and Back." In *Approaches to New Testament Study*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and David Tombs, 77-128. Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series, no 120. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.

Porúbčan, Štefan. *Sin in the Old Testament: A Soteriological Study.* Slovak Studies, no. 3. Rome: Herder, 1963.

Powell, Mar Allan. *What Is Narrative Criticism?* Guides to Biblical Scholarship. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990.

Poythress, V. S. "The Holy Ones of the Most High in Daniel vii." *Vetus Testamentum* 26 (1976): 208-213.

Pratt, Richard L., Jr. *1 and 2 Chronicles.* Fearn, Ross-shire: Mentor, 1998.

Preuß, Horst Dietrich. "יָצָא *yāṣāʾ*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by David E. Green. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990. 6:225-250.

________. "Linguistik – Literaturwissenschaft – Altes Testament." *Verkündigung und Forschung* 27 (1982): 2-28.

________. *Verspottung fremder Religionen im Alten Testament.* Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, no. 92. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1971.

Prince, J. Dyneley. *A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel: Designed Especially for Students of the English Bible.* Leipzig: Hinrichs; London: Williams & Norgate; New York: Lemcke & Buechner, 1899.

________. "On Daniel 8:11, 12." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 17 (1898): 203-204.

Prinsloo, G.T.M. "Two Poems in a Sea of Prose: The Content and Context of Daniel 2.20-23 and 6.27-28." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 59 (1993): 93-108.

Pröbstle, Martin. "Deixis and the Linear Ordering of Sentence Constituents in Biblical Hebrew Verbal Clauses." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the SBL, Denver, Colorado, 18 November 2001.

________. "A Linguistic Analysis of Daniel 8:11, 12." *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 7/1 (1996): 81-106.

________. Review of *Prophetische Visionsschilderungen im Alten Testament: Sprachliche Eigenarten, Funktion und Geschichte einer Gattung*, by Achim Behrens. *Review of Biblical Literature* (2004). Available from http://bookreviews.org; Internet; accessed 31 August 2005.

Procksch, Otto. "Christus im Alten Testament." *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 44 (1933): 57-83.

________. "Der Menschensohn als Gottessohn." *Christentum und Wissenschaft* 3 (1927): 425-443, 473-481.

Pusey, E. B. *Daniel the Prophet: Nine Lectures Delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford*, 3d ed. Oxford: Parker, 1876.

Pyeon, Yohan. *You Have Not Spoken What Is Right About Me: Intertextuality and the Book of Job.* Studies in Biblical Literature, no. 45. New York: Lang, 2003.

Qimron, Elisha. "Consecutive and Conjunctive Imperfect: The Form of the Imperfect with *Waw* in Biblical Hebrew." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 77 (1986-1987): 149-161.

________. *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Harvard Semitic Studies, no. 29. Atlanta: Scholars, 1986.

________. "A New Approach to the Use of Forms of the Imperfect without Personal Endings." In *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Leiden University, 11-14 December 1995*, ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde, 174-181. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, no. 26. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Raabe, Paul R. "Daniel 7: Its Structure and Role in the Book." *Hebrew Annual Review* 9 (1985): 267-275.

Raban, N. "לפני־יהוה." *Tarbiz* 1 (1930): 1-8 (Hebrew).

Rabenau, Merten. *Studien zum Buch Tobit*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, no. 220. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994.

Rad, Gerhard von. *Holy War in Ancient Israel*. Translated by Marva J. Dawn. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991.

________. *Old Testament Theology*. Vol. 2, *The Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions*. Translated by D. M. G. Stalker. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

Rashi and Moshe Alshich. *The Book of Daniel* = ספר דניאל = *Shield of the Spirit: The Commentaries of Rashi and Rabbi Moshe Alshich on Sefer Daniel*. Translated by Ravi Shahar in collaboration with Ephraim Oratz and Yitzchak Hirshfeld. The Alshich Tanach Series. Jerusalem: Feldheim, 1994.

Rast, Walter E. "Daniel 9: Its Form and Theological Significance." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1966.

Ratner, Robert Jeffrey. "Gender Problems in Biblical Hebrew." Ph.D. diss., Hebrew Union College, 1983.

Read, W. E. "Further Observations on *ṢĀḎAQ*." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 4 (1966): 29-36.

Rebić, Adalbert. "Der Gerechtigkeitsbegriff im Alten Testament." *Internationale katholische Zeitschrift* 19 (1990): 390-396.

Rechenmacher, Hans. *Jungfrau, Tochter Babel: Eine Studie zur sprachwissenschaftlichen Beschreibung althebräischer Texte am Beispiel von Jes 47*. Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, no. 44. St. Ottilien: EOS, 1994.

Rechenmacher, Hans, and Christo H. J. van der Merwe. "The Contribution of Wolfgang Richter to Current Developments in the Study of Biblical Hebrew." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 50 (2005): 59-82.

Redditt, Paul L. *Daniel: Based on the New Revised Standard Version*. New Century Bible Commentary. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.

Reid, Stephen Breck. *Enoch and Daniel: A Form Critical and Sociological Study of Historical Apocalypses*. BIBAL Monograph Series, no. 2. Berkeley: BIBAL, 1989.

Reider, Joseph, and Nigel Turner. *An Index to Aquila: Greek-Hebrew, Hebrew-Greek, Latin-Hebrew, with the Syriac and Armenian Evidence*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 12. Leiden: Brill, 1966.

Reimer, David J. "A Problem in the Hebrew Text of Jeremiah x 13, li 16." *Vetus Testamentum* 38 (1988): 348-354.

________. "צדק (# 7405)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 3:744-769.

Reiterer, Friedrich Vinzenz. *Gerechtigkeit als Heil: צדק bei Deuterojesaja, Aussage und Vergleich mit der alttestamentlichen Tradition*. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1976.

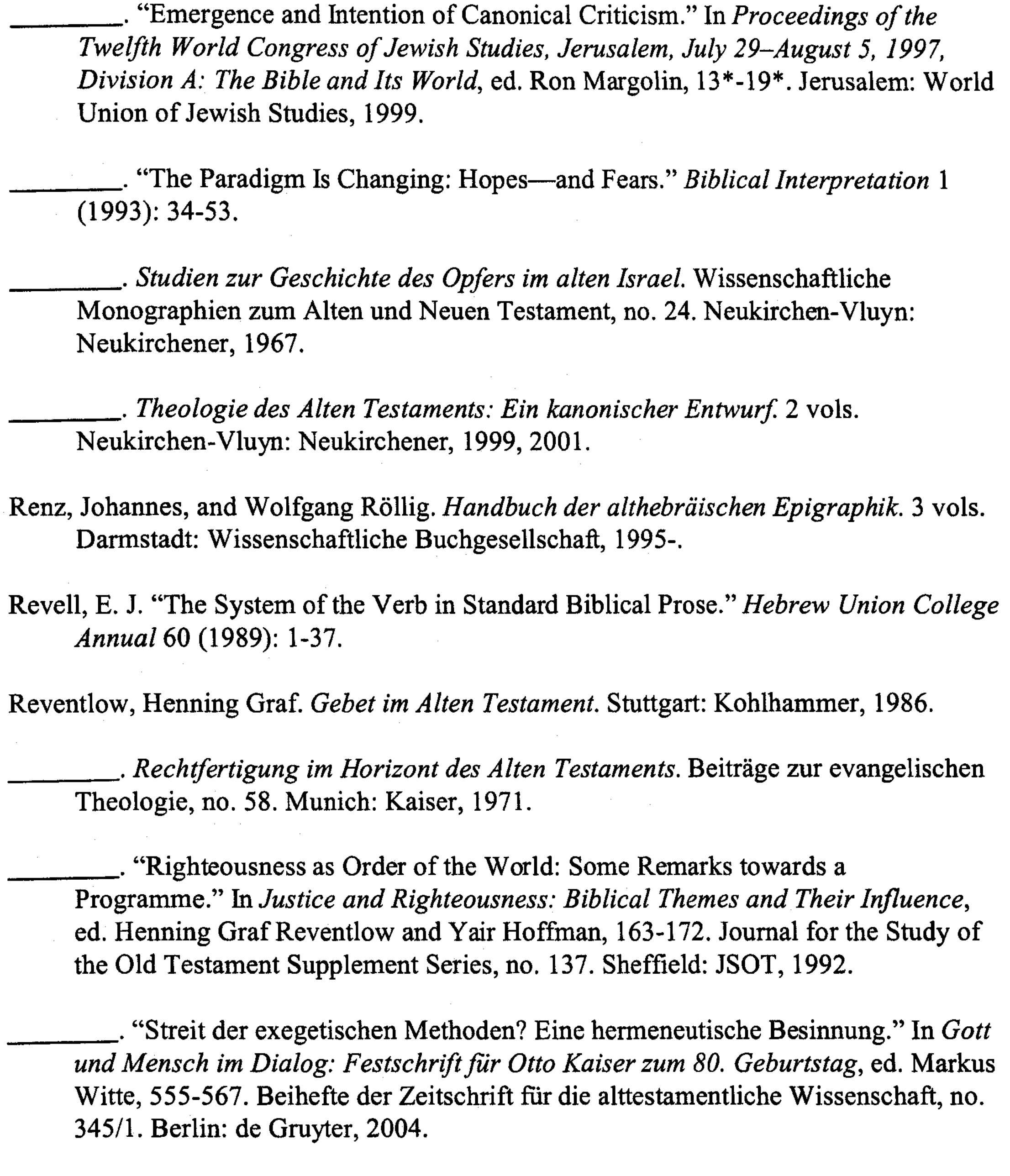
Rendsburg, Gary A. *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew*. American Oriental Series, no. 72. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1990.

________. "Late Biblical Hebrew and the Date of 'P.'" *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 12 (1980): 65-80.

Rendtorff, Rolf. "Between Historical Criticism and Holistic Interpretation: New Trends in Old Testament Exegesis." In *Congress Volume: Jerusalem 1986*, ed. J. A. Emerton, 298-303. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 40. Leiden: Brill, 1988.

________. *Canon and Theology: Overtures to an Old Testament Theology*. Overtures to Biblical Theology. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.

________. "'Canonical Interpretation': A New Approach to Biblical Texts." *Studia theologica* 48 (1994): 3-14.



________. “Emergence and Intention of Canonical Criticism.” In *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, July 29–August 5, 1997, Division A: The Bible and Its World*, ed. Ron Margolin, 13*-19*. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1999.

________. “The Paradigm Is Changing: Hopes—and Fears.” *Biblical Interpretation* 1 (1993): 34-53.

________. *Studien zur Geschichte des Opfers im alten Israel.* Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, no. 24. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1967.

________. *Theologie des Alten Testaments: Ein kanonischer Entwurf.* 2 vols. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1999, 2001.

Renz, Johannes, and Wolfgang Röllig. *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik.* 3 vols. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995-.

Revell, E. J. “The System of the Verb in Standard Biblical Prose.” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 60 (1989): 1-37.

Reventlow, Henning Graf. *Gebet im Alten Testament.* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1986.

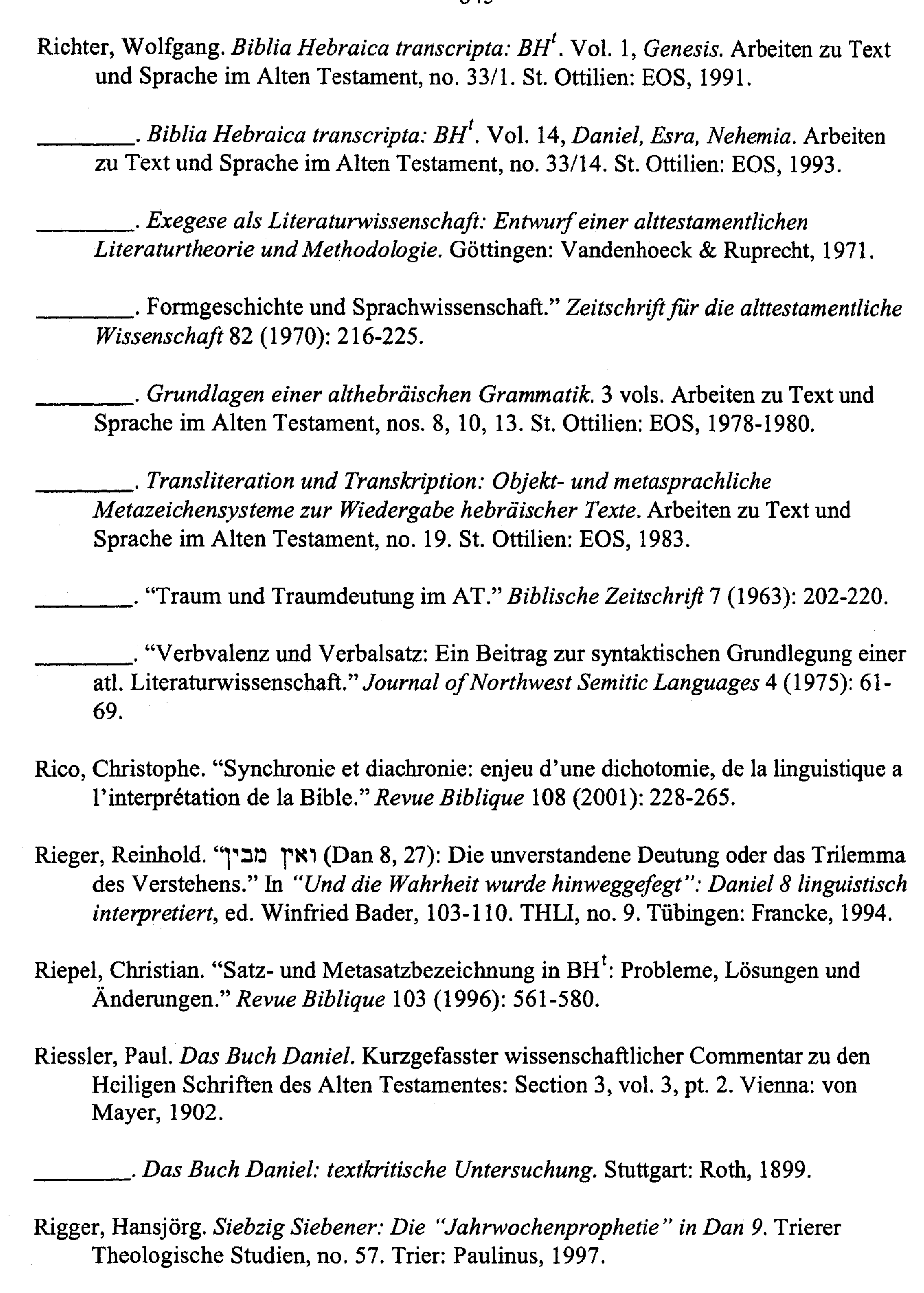
________. *Rechtfertigung im Horizont des Alten Testaments.* Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie, no. 58. Munich: Kaiser, 1971.

________. “Righteousness as Order of the World: Some Remarks towards a Programme.” In *Justice and Righteousness: Biblical Themes and Their Influence*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow and Yair Hoffman, 163-172. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 137. Sheffield: JSOT, 1992.

________. “Streit der exegetischen Methoden? Eine hermeneutische Besinnung.” In *Gott und Mensch im Dialog: Festschrift für Otto Kaiser zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Markus Witte, 555-567. Beihefte der Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, no. 345/1. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004.

Rezetko, Robert. “Dating Biblical Hebrew: Evidence from Samuel–Kings and Chronicles.” In *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young, 215-250. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 369. London: Clark, 2003.

Rhode, Joachim. Review of *Biblische Texte verstehen*, by Harald Schweizer. *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 113 (1988): 424-425.



Richter, Wolfgang. *Biblia Hebraica transcripta: BH^t*. Vol. 1, *Genesis.* Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, no. 33/1. St. Ottilien: EOS, 1991.

________. *Biblia Hebraica transcripta: BH^t*. Vol. 14, *Daniel, Esra, Nehemia.* Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, no. 33/14. St. Ottilien: EOS, 1993.

________. *Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft: Entwurf einer alttestamentlichen Literaturtheorie und Methodologie.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971.

________. Formgeschichte und Sprachwissenschaft." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 82 (1970): 216-225.

________. *Grundlagen einer althebräischen Grammatik.* 3 vols. Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, nos. 8, 10, 13. St. Ottilien: EOS, 1978-1980.

________. *Transliteration und Transkription: Objekt- und metasprachliche Metazeichensysteme zur Wiedergabe hebräischer Texte.* Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, no. 19. St. Ottilien: EOS, 1983.

________. "Traum und Traumdeutung im AT." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 7 (1963): 202-220.

________. "Verbvalenz und Verbalsatz: Ein Beitrag zur syntaktischen Grundlegung einer atl. Literaturwissenschaft." *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 4 (1975): 61-69.

Rico, Christophe. "Synchronie et diachronie: enjeu d'une dichotomie, de la linguistique a l'interprétation de la Bible." *Revue Biblique* 108 (2001): 228-265.

Rieger, Reinhold. "ואין מבין (Dan 8, 27): Die unverstandene Deutung oder das Trilemma des Verstehens." In *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert*, ed. Winfried Bader, 103-110. THLI, no. 9. Tübingen: Francke, 1994.

Riepel, Christian. "Satz- und Metasatzbezeichnung in BH^t: Probleme, Lösungen und Änderungen." *Revue Biblique* 103 (1996): 561-580.

Riessler, Paul. *Das Buch Daniel.* Kurzgefasster wissenschaftlicher Commentar zu den Heiligen Schriften des Alten Testamentes: Section 3, vol. 3, pt. 2. Vienna: von Mayer, 1902.

________. *Das Buch Daniel: textkritische Untersuchung.* Stuttgart: Roth, 1899.

Rigger, Hansjörg. *Siebzig Siebener: Die "Jahrwochenprophetie" in Dan 9.* Trierer Theologische Studien, no. 57. Trier: Paulinus, 1997.

Rignell, Lars G. *A Study of Isaiah Ch. 40–55*. Lund: Gleerup, 1956.

Ringgren, Helmer. "בִּין *bîn*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975. 2:99-107.

________. "מָתַי *māṯay*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by David E. Green. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998. 9:101-103.

________. *The Prophetical Conception of Holiness*. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1948: 12. Uppsala: Lundequistska; Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1948.

________. "צָבָא *ṣāḇāʾ*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by Douglas W. Stott. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003. 12:211-215.

Ringgren, Helmer, and Bo Johnson. "צָדַק *ṣāḏaq*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by Douglas W. Stott. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003. 12:239-264.

Ringgren, Helmer, and Horst Seebass. "פָּשַׁע *pāšaʿ*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by Douglas W. Stott. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003. 12:133-151.

Rodríguez, Angel M. "Daniel 8, 9: The Sanctuary and Its Cleansing." Supplement to the *Adventist Review* 171, no. 35 (September [1], 1994).

________. "The Sanctuary." In *Handbook of Seventh-day Adventist Theology*, ed. Raoul Dederen, 375-417. Commentary Reference Series, vol. 12. Hagerstown: Review and Herald, 2000.

________. "Significance of the Cultic Language in Daniel 8:9-14." In *Symposium on Daniel: Introductory and Exegetical Studies*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, 527-549. Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 2. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986.

Rogerson, John W. "Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft: Revisited." In *Text, Methode und Grammatik: Wolfgang Richter zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Walter Groß, Hubert Irsigler, and Theodor Seidl, 379-386. St. Ottilien, EOS, 1991.

Rogland, Max. *Alleged Non-past Uses of* Qatal *in Classical Hebrew*. Studia semitica neerlandica, no. 44. Assen: Van Gorcum, 2003.

Rohland, Johannes Peter. *Der Erzengel Michael, Arzt und Feldherr: Zwei Aspekte des vor- und frühbyzantinischen Michaelskultes*. Beihefte der Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte, no. 19. Leiden: Brill, 1977.

Rohling, Aug[ust]. *Das Buch des Propheten Daniel: Uebersetzt und erklärt*. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1876.

________. "Über den Jehovaengel des Alten Testaments." *Theologische Quartalschrift* 48 (1866): 415-458, 527-570.

Röllig, Wolfgang. "Baal-Shamem בעל־שמם, בעל־שמין." *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD)*, 2d ed. Edited by Karel van der Torn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999. 149-151.

Rose, H. J., and J. M. Fuller. "Daniel: Introduction, Commentary, Critical Notes and Excursus." In *The Holy Bible according to the Authorized Version (A.D. 1611) with an Explanatory and Critical Commentary and a Revision of the Translation*. Vol. 6, *Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets*, ed. F. C. Cook, 210-397. London: Murray, 1900.

Rosenbaum, Michael. *Word-Order Variation in Isaiah 40-55: A Functional Perspective*. Studia semitica neerlandica, no. 35. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1997.

Rosenberg, Joel. *King and Kin: Political Allegory in the Hebrew Bible*. Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

Rosenmüller, Ernst Friedrich Karl. *Scholia in Vetus Testamentum*. Vol. 10, *Daniel: Latine vertit et annotatione perpetua*. Leipzig: Barth, 1832.

Rosenthal, Franz. *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*. Porta linguarum orientalium: Neue Serie, no. 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983.

Rowley, H. H. "The Bilingual Problem of Daniel." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 50 (1932): 256-268.

________. *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel: A Historical Study of Contemporary Theories*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1959.

Rubinstein, A. "A Finite Verb Continued by an Infinitive Absolute in Biblical Hebrew." *Vetus Testamentum* 2 (1952): 362-367.

Russell, D. S. *Daniel.* The Daily Study Bible. Edinburgh: Saint Andrew; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1981.

Rüterswörden, Udo. *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit: Eine Studie zu śr und vergleichbaren Begriffen.* Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, no. 117 = Folge 6, no. 17. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1985.

________. "שָׁמַע šāmaᶜ." *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament.* Edited by Heinz-Josef Fabry and Helmer Ringgren. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995. 8:255-279.

Ryken, Leland, and Tremper Longman III. "Introduction." In *A Complete Literary Guide to the Bible*, ed. Leland Ryken and Tremper Longman III, 15-39. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1993.

Ryou, Daniel Hojoon. *Zephaniah's Oracles against the Nations: A Synchronic and Diachronic Study of Zephaniah 2:1-3:8.* Biblical Interpretation Series, no. 13. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Sacon, Kiyoshi Kinoshita. "Isaiah 40:1-11: A Rhetorical-Critical Study." In *Rhetorical Criticism: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*, ed. Jared J. Jackson and Martin Kessler, 99-116. Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series, no. 1. Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1974.

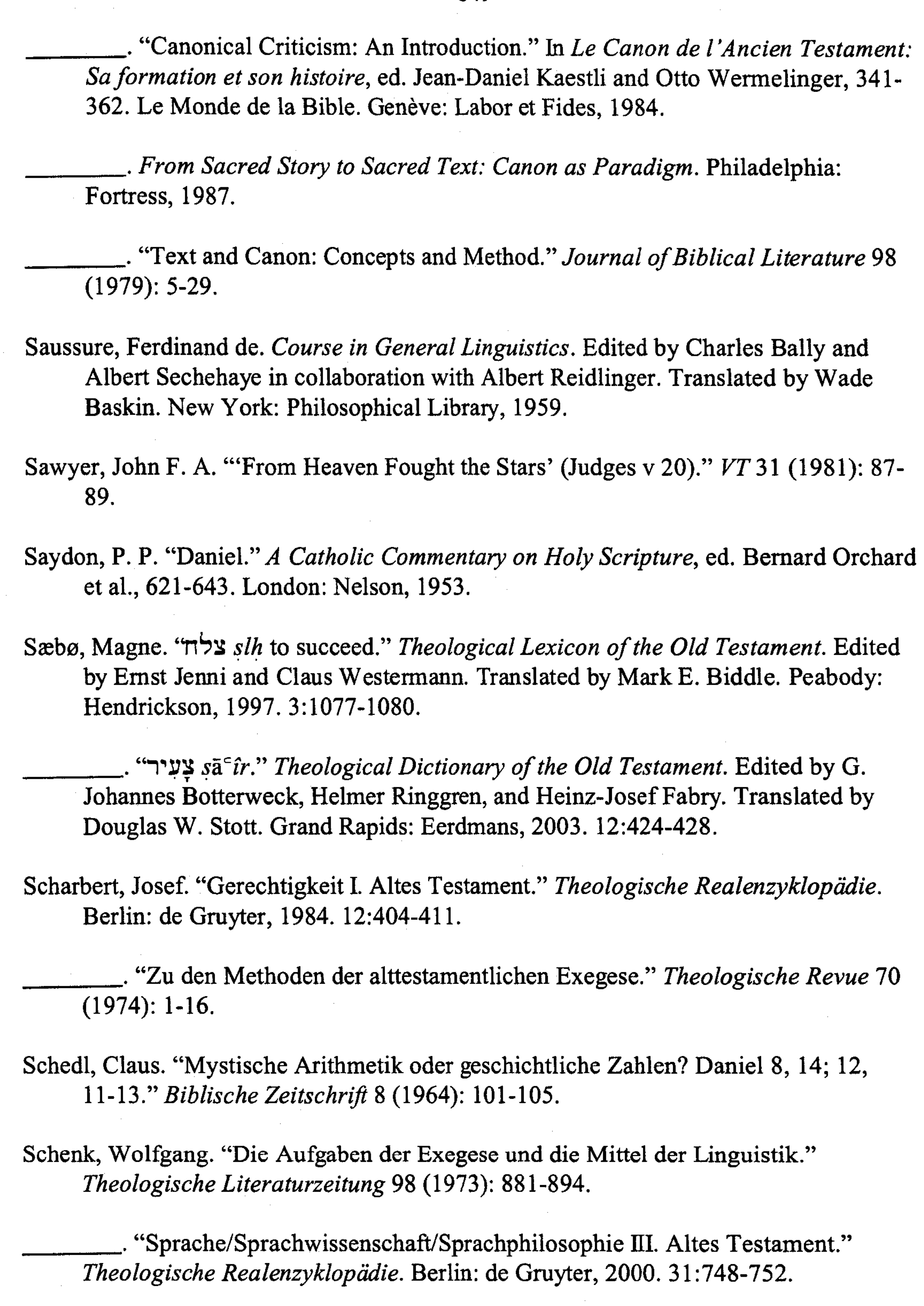
Safren, Jonathan D. "Jubilee and the Day of Atonement." In *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, July 29–August 5, 1997, Division A: The Bible and Its World*, ed. Ron Margolin, 107*-113*. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1999.

Sahlin, Harald. "Antiochus IV. Epiphanes und Judas Mackabäus: Einige Gesichtspunkte zum Verständnisse des Danielbuches." *Studia theologica* 23 (1969): 41-68.

Sanders, James A. "Biblical Criticism and the Bible as Canon." *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 32 (1977): 157-165.

________. *Canon and Community: A Guide to Canonical Criticism.* Guides to Biblical Scholarship. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984.

________. "Canonical Context and Canonical Criticism." *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 2 (1980): 173-197.



________. "Canonical Criticism: An Introduction." In *Le Canon de l'Ancien Testament: Sa formation et son histoire*, ed. Jean-Daniel Kaestli and Otto Wermelinger, 341-362. Le Monde de la Bible. Genève: Labor et Fides, 1984.

________. *From Sacred Story to Sacred Text: Canon as Paradigm*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987.

________. "Text and Canon: Concepts and Method." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98 (1979): 5-29.

Saussure, Ferdinand de. *Course in General Linguistics*. Edited by Charles Bally and Albert Sechehaye in collaboration with Albert Reidlinger. Translated by Wade Baskin. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959.

Sawyer, John F. A. "'From Heaven Fought the Stars' (Judges v 20)." *VT* 31 (1981): 87-89.

Saydon, P. P. "Daniel." *A Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*, ed. Bernard Orchard et al., 621-643. London: Nelson, 1953.

Sæbø, Magne. "צלח *ṣlḥ* to succeed." *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997. 3:1077-1080.

________. "צָעִיר *ṣāᶜîr*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by Douglas W. Stott. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003. 12:424-428.

Scharbert, Josef. "Gerechtigkeit I. Altes Testament." *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984. 12:404-411.

________. "Zu den Methoden der alttestamentlichen Exegese." *Theologische Revue* 70 (1974): 1-16.

Schedl, Claus. "Mystische Arithmetik oder geschichtliche Zahlen? Daniel 8, 14; 12, 11-13." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 8 (1964): 101-105.

Schenk, Wolfgang. "Die Aufgaben der Exegese und die Mittel der Linguistik." *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 98 (1973): 881-894.

________. "Sprache/Sprachwissenschaft/Sprachphilosophie III. Altes Testament." *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000. 31:748-752.

Schicklberger, Franz. "Biblische Literarkritik und linguistische Texttheorie: Bemerkungen zu einer Textsyntax von hebräischen Erzähltexten." *Theologische Zeitschrift* 34 (1978): 65-81.

Schindele, Martin. "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen maschineller Befunderhebung zur Untersuchung von Formeln und geprägten Wendungen mit Beispielen aus Daniel 8." In *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert*, ed. Winfried Bader, 31-38. THLI, no. 9. Tübingen: Francke, 1994.

________. "Textkonstituierung zu Daniel 8." In *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert*, ed. Winfried Bader, 3-16. THLI, no. 9. Tübingen: Francke, 1994.

Schmid, Hans Heinrich. "בין *bîn* to understand." *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997. 1:1230-232.

________. *Gerechtigkeit als Weltordnung: Hintergrund und Geschichte des alttestamentlichen Gerechtigkeitsbegriffes*. Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, no. 40. Tübingen: Mohr, 1968.

Schmid, Konrad. Review of *Prophetische Visionsschilderungen im Alten Testament: Sprachliche Eigenarten, Funktion und Geschichte einer Gattung*, by Achim Behrens. *Review of Biblical Literature* (2004). Available from http://bookreviews.org; Internet; accessed 31 August July 2005.

Schmidt, Werner H. "Grenzen und Vorzüge historisch-kritischer Exegese." *Evangelische Theologie* 45 (1985):469-481.

________. *Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Priesterschrift: Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte von Genesis 1 1–2 4a und 2 4b–3 24*, 2d ed. Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, no. 17. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1967.

________. "Zur Theologie und Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments: Erinnerungen und Erwägungen zur Exegese." *Evangelische Theologie* 62 (2002): 11-25.

Schmitt, Armin. "Die Danieltexte aus Qumran und der masoretische Text (M)." In *Der Gegenwart verpflichtet: Studien zur biblischen Literatur des Frühjudentums*, 124-142. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, no. 292. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000.

________. „Die griechischen Danieltexte ('θ´' und o´) und das Theodotionproblem." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 36 (1992): 1-29.

Schneider, Heinrich. *Das Buch Daniel. Das Buch der Klagelieder. Das Buch Baruch: übersetzt und erklärt.* Herders Bibelkommentar: Die Heilige Schrift für das Leben erklärt, vol. 9, no. 2. Freiburg: Herder, 1954.

Schneider, Wolfgang. *Grammatik des biblischen Hebräisch: ein Lehrbuch.* Munich: Claudius, 2001.

________. *Grammatik des biblischen Hebräisch: ein Lehrbuch; völlig neue Bearbeitung der "Hebräischen Grammatik für den akademischen Unterricht" von Oskar Grether.* Munich: Claudius, 1974.

Schoors, Antoon. "(Mis)use of Intertextuality in Qoheleth Exegesis." In *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø, 45-59. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 80. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Schroer, Silvia. *In Israel gab es Bilder: Nachrichten von darstellender Kunst im Alten Testament.* Orbus biblicus et orientalis, no. 74. Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987.

Schult, Hermann. "Akkusativ mit Partizip bei Verben der Wahrnehmung im Bibelhebräischen." *Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament* 12 (1977): 7-13.

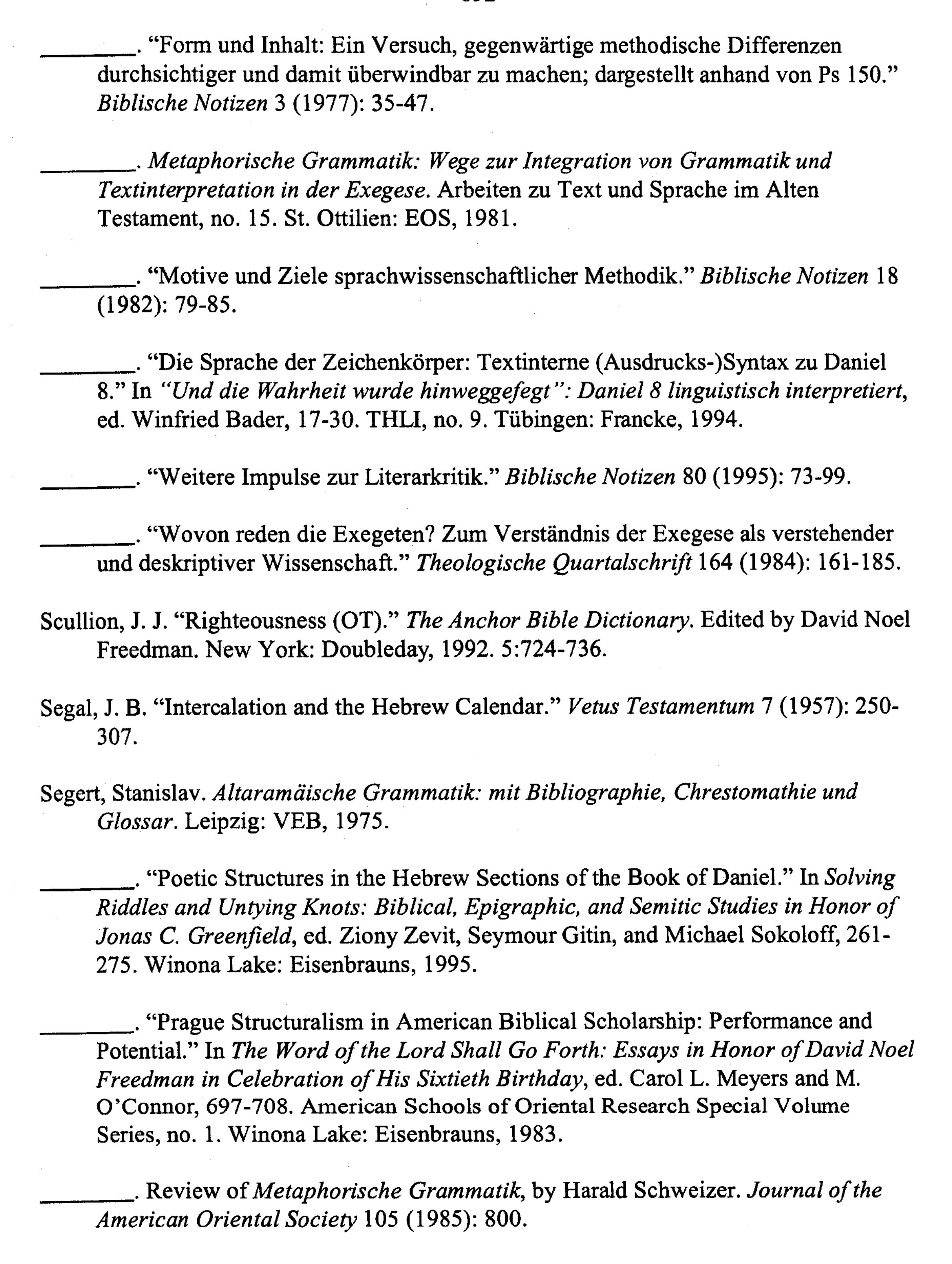
Schultz, Richard L. "The Ties That Bind: Intertextuality, the Identification of Verbal Parallels, and Reading Strategies in the Book of the Twelve." In *Society of Biblical Literature 2001 Seminar Papers.* Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers Series, no. 40, 39-57. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001.

Schwantes, S[iegfried] J. "*ᶜereb bōqer* of Dan 8:14 Re-examined." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 16 (1978): 375-385.

Schweizer, Harald. *Biblische Texte verstehen: Arbeitsbuch zur Hermeneutik und Methodik der Bibelinterpretation.* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1986.

________. *Computerunterstützte Textinterpretation: Die Josefsgeschichte beschrieben und interpretiert im Dreischritt: Syntax, Semantik, Pragmatik.* 3 vols. Textwissenschaft, Theologie, Hermeneutik, Linguistik, Literaturanalyse, Informatik (THLI), no. 7. Tübingen: Francke, 1995.

________. *Elischa in den Kriegen: Literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung von 2 Kön 3; 6,8–23; 6,24–7,20.* Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, no. 37. Munich: Kösel, 1974.



________. "Form und Inhalt: Ein Versuch, gegenwärtige methodische Differenzen durchsichtiger und damit überwindbar zu machen; dargestellt anhand von Ps 150." *Biblische Notizen* 3 (1977): 35-47.

________. *Metaphorische Grammatik: Wege zur Integration von Grammatik und Textinterpretation in der Exegese.* Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, no. 15. St. Ottilien: EOS, 1981.

________. "Motive und Ziele sprachwissenschaftlicher Methodik." *Biblische Notizen* 18 (1982): 79-85.

________. "Die Sprache der Zeichenkörper: Textinterne (Ausdrucks-)Syntax zu Daniel 8." In *"Und die Wahrheit wurde hinweggefegt": Daniel 8 linguistisch interpretiert*, ed. Winfried Bader, 17-30. THLI, no. 9. Tübingen: Francke, 1994.

________. "Weitere Impulse zur Literarkritik." *Biblische Notizen* 80 (1995): 73-99.

________. "Wovon reden die Exegeten? Zum Verständnis der Exegese als verstehender und deskriptiver Wissenschaft." *Theologische Quartalschrift* 164 (1984): 161-185.

Scullion, J. J. "Righteousness (OT)." *The Anchor Bible Dictionary.* Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992. 5:724-736.

Segal, J. B. "Intercalation and the Hebrew Calendar." *Vetus Testamentum* 7 (1957): 250-307.

Segert, Stanislav. *Altaramäische Grammatik: mit Bibliographie, Chrestomathie und Glossar.* Leipzig: VEB, 1975.

________. "Poetic Structures in the Hebrew Sections of the Book of Daniel." In *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, ed. Ziony Zevit, Seymour Gitin, and Michael Sokoloff, 261-275. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995.

________. "Prague Structuralism in American Biblical Scholarship: Performance and Potential." In *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor, 697-708. American Schools of Oriental Research Special Volume Series, no. 1. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1983.

________. Review of *Metaphorische Grammatik*, by Harald Schweizer. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1985): 800.

Seidel, H. Review of *Von Weltengagement zu Weltüberwindung*, by Rainer Stahl. *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 91 (1996): 39-41.

Seidl, Theodor. "Die literaturwissenschaftliche Methode in der alttestamentlichen Exegese: Erträge, Erfahrungen, Projekte; ein Überblick." *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 40 (1989): 27-37.

________. "Volk Gottes und seine Zukunft nach Aussagen des Buches Daniel." In *Unterwegs zur Kirche: Alttestamentliche Konzeptionen*, ed. Josef Schreiner, 168-200. Quaestiones disputatae, no. 110. Freiburg: Herder, 1987.

Selman, Martin J. *2 Chronicles: A Commentary*. Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries. Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity, 1994.

Seow, C. L. *Daniel*. Westminster Bible Companion. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003.

________. "From Mountain to Mountain: The Reign of God in Daniel 2." In *A God So Near: Essays on Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller*, ed. Brent A. Strawn and Nancy R. Bowen, 355-374. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003.

________. "The Rule of God in the Book of Daniel." In *David and Zion: Biblical Studies in Honor of J. J. M. Roberts*, ed. Bernardo F. Batto and Kathryn L. Roberts, 219-246. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2004.

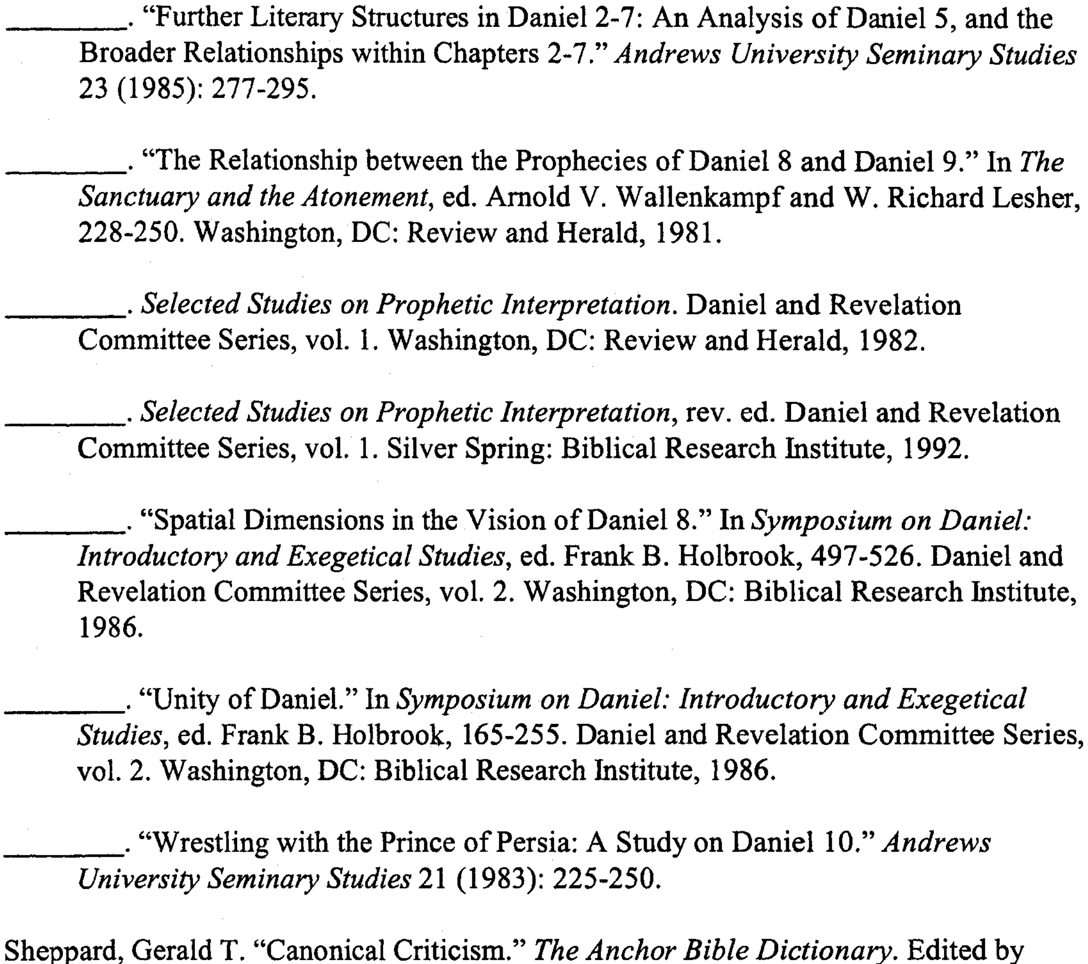
Seven, F. "Offene Frage an ein literaturwissenschaftliches Konzept der Exegese: zu Wolfgang Richter, Exegese als Literaturwissenschaft." *Linguistica Biblica* 2 (1972): 23-27.

Seybold, Klaus. "כְּ *k*ᵉ." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by David E. Green. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995. 7:1-7.

Shea, William H. *Daniel 7-12: Prophecies of the End Time*. The Abundant Life Bible Amplifier. Boise: Pacific, 1996.

________. "Daniel and the Judgment, 1980." TMs (photocopy). James White Library, Andrews University, Berrien Springs.

________. "Further Literary Structures in Daniel 2-7: An Analysis of Daniel 4." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 23 (1985): 193-202.



________. "Further Literary Structures in Daniel 2-7: An Analysis of Daniel 5, and the Broader Relationships within Chapters 2-7." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 23 (1985): 277-295.

________. "The Relationship between the Prophecies of Daniel 8 and Daniel 9." In *The Sanctuary and the Atonement*, ed. Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Lesher, 228-250. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1981.

________. *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation*. Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 1. Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1982.

________. *Selected Studies on Prophetic Interpretation*, rev. ed. Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 1. Silver Spring: Biblical Research Institute, 1992.

________. "Spatial Dimensions in the Vision of Daniel 8." In *Symposium on Daniel: Introductory and Exegetical Studies*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, 497-526. Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 2. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986.

________. "Unity of Daniel." In *Symposium on Daniel: Introductory and Exegetical Studies*, ed. Frank B. Holbrook, 165-255. Daniel and Revelation Committee Series, vol. 2. Washington, DC: Biblical Research Institute, 1986.

________. "Wrestling with the Prince of Persia: A Study on Daniel 10." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 21 (1983): 225-250.

Sheppard, Gerald T. "Canonical Criticism." *The Anchor Bible Dictionary.* Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992. 1:862-863

Sherlock, Charles. *The God Who Fights: The War Tradition in Holy Scripture.* Rutherford Studies in Contemporary Theology, no. 6. Edinburgh: Rutherford; Lewiston: Mellen, 1993.

Shimasaki, Katsuomi. *Focus Structure in Biblical Hebrew: A Study of Word Order and Information Structure*. Bethesda: CDL, 2002.

Siebesma, P. A. *The Function of the Niph'al in Biblical Hebrew: In Relationship to Other Passive-Reflexive Verbal Stems and to the Pu'al and Hoph'al in Particular*. Studia semitica neerlandica, no. 28. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1991.

Siegman, Edward F. "The Stone Hewn from the Mountain (Daniel 2)." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 18 (1956): 364-379.

Simon, Uriel. *Reading Prophetic Narratives.* Translated by Lenn J. Schramm. Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.

Sims, James H. *A Comparative Literary Study of Daniel and Revelation: Shaping the End.* Lewiston: Mellen, 1994.

Ska, Jean Louis. *"Our Fathers Have Told Us": Introduction to the Analysis of Hebrew Narratives.* Subsidia biblica, no. 13. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1990.

Slonim, Mayer G. "The Deliberate Substitution of the Masculine for the Feminine Pronominal Suffixes in the Hebrew Bible." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 32 (1941-1942): 139-158.

________. "Masculine Predicates with Feminine Subjects in the Hebrew Bible." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 63 (1944): 297-302.

________. "The Substitution of the Masculine for the Feminine Hebrew Pronominal Suffixes to Express Reverence." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 29 (1938-1939): 397-403.

Slotki, Judah J. *Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah: Hebrew Text & English Translation with an Introduction and Commentary.* Soncino Books of the Bible. London: Soncino, 1951.

________. *Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah: Hebrew Text & English Translation with Introductions and Commentary*, 2d ed. Edited by Ephraim Oratz. Soncino Books of the Bible, vol. 13. London: Soncino, 1992.

Smend, Rudolf. "Anmerkungen zu Jes. 24-27." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 4 (1884): 161-224.

Smith-Christopher, Daniel L. "The Book of Daniel: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections." *The New Interpreter's Bible.* Edited by Leander E. Keck. Nashville: Abingdon, 1996. 7:17-194.

Snaith, Norman H. *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament.* London: Epworth, 1944.

Soesilo, Daud. "Translating the Poetic Sections of Daniel 1-6." *The Bible Translator* 41 (1990): 432-435.

Soggin, J. Alberto. "Bemerkungen zum Deboralied, Richter Kap. 5: Versuch einer neuen Übersetzung und eines Vorstoßes in die älteste Geschichte Israels." *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 106 (1981): 625-639.

________. *Joshua: A Commentary*. Old Testament Library. London: SCM; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1972.

Sokoloff, Michael. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, 2d ed. Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Sommer, Benjamin D. "Exegesis, Allusion and Intertextuality in the Hebrew Bible: A Response to Lyle Eslinger." *Vetus Testamentum* 46 (1996): 479-489.

________. *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66*. Contraversions: Jews and Other Differences. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Spaller, Christina. "Wenn zwei das Gleiche lesen, ist es doch nicht dasselbe! Überlegungen zur gegenwärtigen hermeneutischen Diskussion." *Biblische Notizen* 98 (1999): 72-85.

Sperber, Alexander. *The Bible in Aramaic: Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*. Vol. 1, *The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos*. Leiden: Brill, 1959.

________. *The Bible in Aramaic: Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*. Vol. 2, *The Former Prophets according to Targum Jonathan*. Leiden: Brill, 1959.

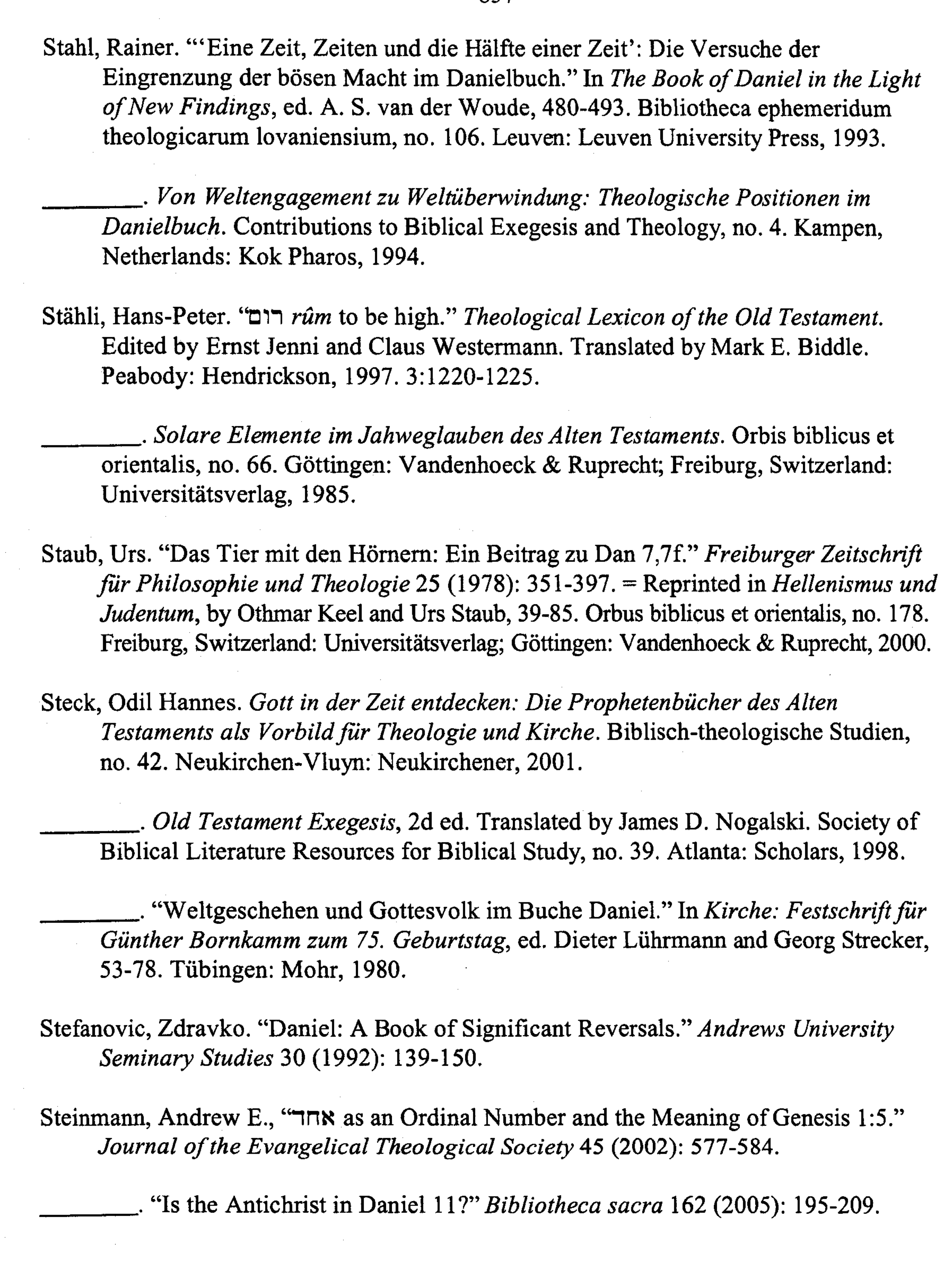
________. *The Bible in Aramaic: Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*. Vol. 3, *The Latter Prophets according to Targum Jonathan*. Leiden: Brill, 1962.

________. *The Bible in Aramaic: Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*. Vol. 4A, *The Hagiographa: Transition from Translation to Midrash*. Leiden: Brill, 1968.

________. *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew: A Presentation of Problems with Suggestions to Their Solutions*. Leiden: Brill, 1966.

Spieckermann, Hermann. *Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit*. Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, no. 129. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982.

Spina, F. A. "Canonical Criticism: Childs versus Sanders." In *Interpreting God's Word for Today: An Inquiry into Hermeneutics from a Biblical Theological Perspective*, ed. J. E. Hartley and R. L. Shelton, 165-194. Wesleyan Theological Perspectives, no. 2. Anderson: Warner, 1982.



Stahl, Rainer. "'Eine Zeit, Zeiten und die Hälfte einer Zeit': Die Versuche der Eingrenzung der bösen Macht im Danielbuch." In *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, 480-493. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 106. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993.

________. *Von Weltengagement zu Weltüberwindung: Theologische Positionen im Danielbuch*. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology, no. 4. Kampen, Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1994.

Stähli, Hans-Peter. "רום *rûm* to be high." *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997. 3:1220-1225.

________. *Solare Elemente im Jahweglauben des Alten Testaments*. Orbis biblicus et orientalis, no. 66. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1985.

Staub, Urs. "Das Tier mit den Hörnern: Ein Beitrag zu Dan 7,7f." *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 25 (1978): 351-397. = Reprinted in *Hellenismus und Judentum*, by Othmar Keel and Urs Staub, 39-85. Orbus biblicus et orientalis, no. 178. Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000.

Steck, Odil Hannes. *Gott in der Zeit entdecken: Die Prophetenbücher des Alten Testaments als Vorbild für Theologie und Kirche*. Biblisch-theologische Studien, no. 42. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2001.

________. *Old Testament Exegesis*, 2d ed. Translated by James D. Nogalski. Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study, no. 39. Atlanta: Scholars, 1998.

________. "Weltgeschehen und Gottesvolk im Buche Daniel." In *Kirche: Festschrift für Günther Bornkamm zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. Dieter Lührmann and Georg Strecker, 53-78. Tübingen: Mohr, 1980.

Stefanovic, Zdravko. "Daniel: A Book of Significant Reversals." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 30 (1992): 139-150.

Steinmann, Andrew E., "אחד as an Ordinal Number and the Meaning of Genesis 1:5." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 45 (2002): 577-584.

________. "Is the Antichrist in Daniel 11?" *Bibliotheca sacra* 162 (2005): 195-209.

Steins, Georg. "Der Bibelkanon als Denkmal und Text: Zu einigen methodologischen Aspekten kanonischer Schriftauslegung." In *The Biblical Canons*, ed. J.-M. Auwers and H. J. de Jonge, 177-198. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 163. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters: 2003.

________. *Die "Bindung Isaaks" im Kanon (Gen 22): Grundlagen und Programm einer kanonisch-intertextuellen Lektüre; mit einer Spezialbibliographie zu Gen 22.* Herders Biblische Studien, no. 20. Freiburg: Herder, 1999.

Sternberg, Meir. *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.

Stevens, David E. "Daniel 10 and the Notion of Territorial Spirits." *Bibliotheca sacra* 157 (2000): 410-431.

Stevenson, Gregory. *Power and Place: Temple and Identity in the Book of Revelation.* Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, no. 107. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001.

Stoebe, Hans Joachim. "Überlegungen zu Jesaja 40, 1-11: Zugleich der Versuch eines Beitrages zur Gottesknechtfrage." *Theologische Zeitschrift* 40 (1984): 104-113.

Stokmann, G. *Die Erlebnisse und Gesichte des Propheten Daniel.* Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1922.

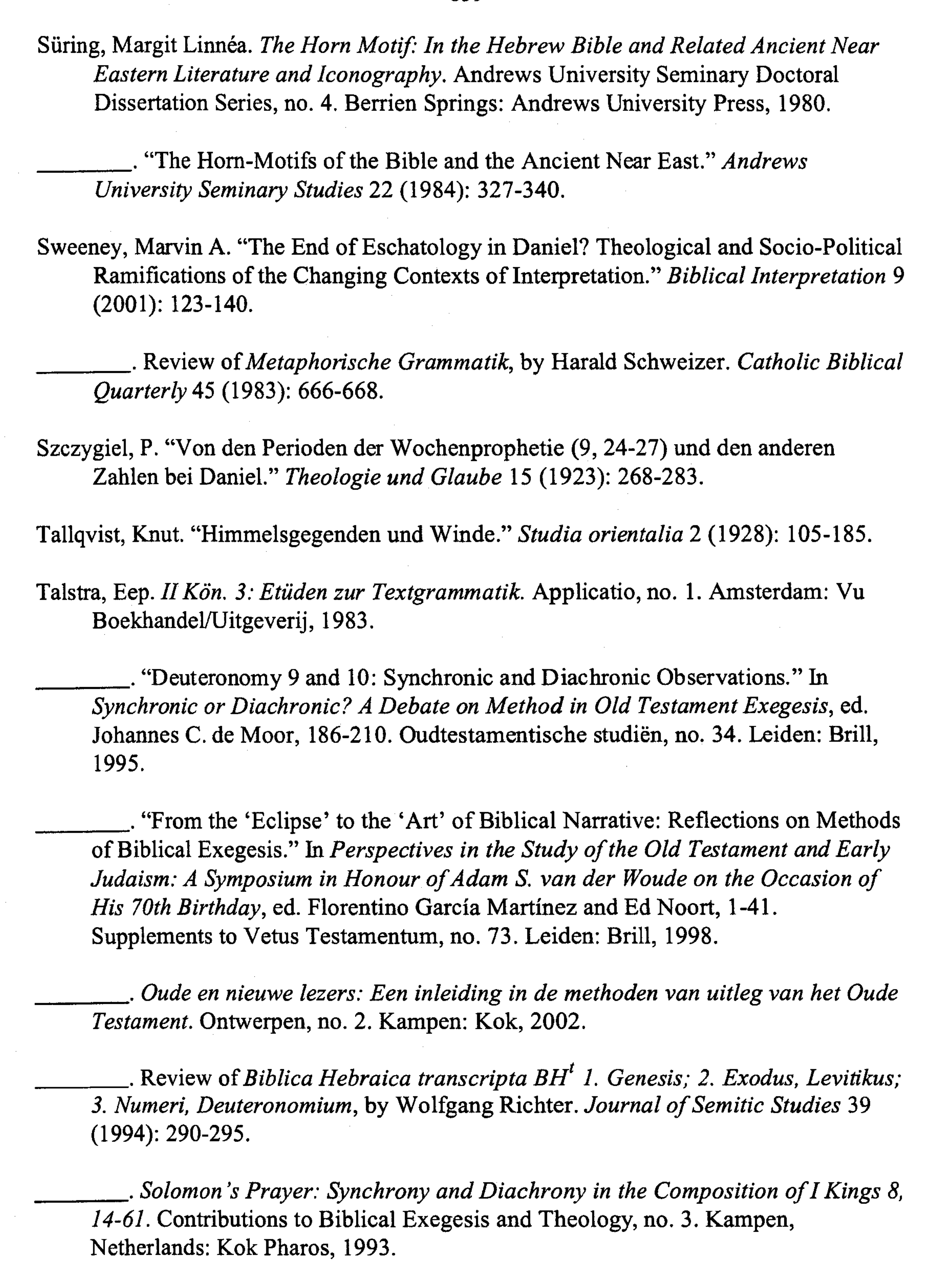
Stolz, F. "שלך *šlk* hi. to throw." *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997. 3:1335-1337.

________. "שמם *šmm* to lie deserted." *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997. 3:1372-1375.

Stone, Michael Edward. *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra.* Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990.

Stroes, H. R. "Does the Day Begin in the Evening or Morning? Some Biblical Observations." *Vetus Testamentum* 16 (1966): 460-475.

Suh, Myung Soo. *The Tabernacle in the Narrative History of Israel from the Exodus to the Conquest.* Studies in Biblical Literature, no. 50. New York: Lang, 2003.



Süring, Margit Linnéa. *The Horn Motif: In the Hebrew Bible and Related Ancient Near Eastern Literature and Iconography*. Andrews University Seminary Doctoral Dissertation Series, no. 4. Berrien Springs: Andrews University Press, 1980.

________. "The Horn-Motifs of the Bible and the Ancient Near East." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 22 (1984): 327-340.

Sweeney, Marvin A. "The End of Eschatology in Daniel? Theological and Socio-Political Ramifications of the Changing Contexts of Interpretation." *Biblical Interpretation* 9 (2001): 123-140.

________. Review of *Metaphorische Grammatik*, by Harald Schweizer. *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 45 (1983): 666-668.

Szczygiel, P. "Von den Perioden der Wochenprophetie (9, 24-27) und den anderen Zahlen bei Daniel." *Theologie und Glaube* 15 (1923): 268-283.

Tallqvist, Knut. "Himmelsgegenden und Winde." *Studia orientalia* 2 (1928): 105-185.

Talstra, Eep. *II Kön. 3: Etüden zur Textgrammatik*. Applicatio, no. 1. Amsterdam: Vu Boekhandel/Uitgeverij, 1983.

________. "Deuteronomy 9 and 10: Synchronic and Diachronic Observations." In *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis*, ed. Johannes C. de Moor, 186-210. Oudtestamentische studiën, no. 34. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

________. "From the 'Eclipse' to the 'Art' of Biblical Narrative: Reflections on Methods of Biblical Exegesis." In *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism: A Symposium in Honour of Adam S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. Florentino García Martínez and Ed Noort, 1-41. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 73. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

________. *Oude en nieuwe lezers: Een inleiding in de methoden van uitleg van het Oude Testament*. Ontwerpen, no. 2. Kampen: Kok, 2002.

________. Review of *Biblica Hebraica transcripta* BH^t *1. Genesis; 2. Exodus, Levitikus; 3. Numeri, Deuteronomium*, by Wolfgang Richter. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 39 (1994): 290-295.

________. *Solomon's Prayer: Synchrony and Diachrony in the Composition of I Kings 8, 14-61*. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology, no. 3. Kampen, Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1993.

________. "Tense, Mood, Aspect and Clause Connections in Biblical Hebrew: A Textual Approach." *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 23, no. 2 (1997): 81-103.

________. "Text Grammar and Biblical Hebrew: The Viewpoint of Wolfgang Schneider." *Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics* 5 (1992): 269-297.

________. "Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. I: Elements of a Theory." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 35 (1978): 169-174.

________. "Text Grammar and Hebrew Bible. II: Syntax and Semantics." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 39 (1982): 26-38.

Tanner, Beth LaNeel. *The Book of Psalms Through the Lens of Intertextuality*. Studies in Biblical Literature, no. 26. New York: Lang, 2001.

Tanner, J. Paul. "The Literary Structure of the Book of Daniel." *Bibliotheca sacra* 160 (2003): 269-282.

Tate, Marvin E. *Psalms 51-100*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 20. Dallas: Word, 1990.

Taylor, J. Glen. *Yahweh and the Sun: Biblical and Archaeological Evidence for Sun Worship in Ancient Israel*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 111. Sheffield: JSOT, 1993.

Taylor, Richard A. *The Peshiṭta of Daniel*. Monographs of the Peshiṭta Institute, no. 7. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Temporini, Hildegard, and Wofgang Haase, eds. *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. Pt. 2, *Principat*, 33.1. New York: de Gruyter, 1989.

Tengström, Sven. "Les visions prophétiques du trône de Dieu et leur arrière-plan dans l'Ancien Testament." In *Le Trône de Dieu*, ed. Marc Philonenko, 28-99. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 69. Tübingen: Mohr, 1993.

Terrien, Samuel. *The Psalms: Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary*. The Eerdmans Critical Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003.

Terry, Milton S. *The Prophecies of Daniel*. New York: Hunt and Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston and Curts, 1893.

Thiel, Winfried. Review of *Metaphorische Grammatik*, by Harald Schweizer. *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 109 (1984): 104-106.

________. "שָׁלַךְ *šlk*." *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*. Edited by Heinz-Josef Fabry and Helmer Ringgren. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1995. 8:84-93.

Thiering, B. E. "The Three and a Half Years of Elijah." *Novum Testamentum* 23 (1981): 41-55.

Thilo, Martin. *Die Chronologie des Danielbuches*. Bonn: Schmidt, 1926.

Thiselton, Anthony C. *New Horizons in Hermeneutics*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992.

Thomas, Gordon. "Telling a Hawk from a Handsaw? An Evangelical Response to the New Literary Criticism." *Evangelical Quarterly* 71 (1999): 37-50.

Thomson, J. E. H. *Daniel: Exposition*, new ed. The Pulpit Commentary, vol. 23. London: Funk & Wagnallis, 1913.

Tiefenthal, Fritz Salesia. *Daniel explicatus*. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1895.

Tigchelaar, Eibert. "Your Wisdom and Your Folly: The Case of 1-4QMysteries." In *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, ed. F. García Martínez, 69-88. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 168. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2003.

Tomasino, Anthony. "תָּמִיד (# 9458)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 4:302-305.

Tournay, Raymond Jacques. Review of *Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis*, by Bernhard Hasslberger. *Revue Biblique* 86 (1979): 293-294.

Towner, W. Sibley. *Daniel*. Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching. Atlanta: John Knox, 1984.

________. "Poetic Passages of Daniel 1-6." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 31 (1969): 317-326.

Treiyer, Alberto R. *The Day of Atonement and the Heavenly Judgment: From the Pentateuch to Revelation*. Siloam Springs: Creation Enterprises, 1992.

Trible, Phyllis. *Rhetorical Criticism: Context, Method, and the Book of Jonah*. Guides to Biblical Scholarship. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994.

Tropper, Josef. "Althebräisches und semitisches Aspektsystem." *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 11 (1998): 153-190.

Trudinger, Peter L. *The Psalms of the Tamid Service: A Liturgical Text from the Second Temple Period.* Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 98. Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature, no. 3. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

Tschuggnall, Peter. "'Das Wort ist kein Ding': Eine theologische Einübung in den literaturwissenschaftlichen Begriff der Intertextualität." *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 116 (1994): 160-178.

Tuell, Steven S. *First and Second Chronicles.* Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching. Louisville: John Knox, 2001.

Tull, Patricia K. "Intertextuality and the Hebrew Scriptures." *Currents in Research: Biblical Studies* 8 (2000): 59-90.

________. *Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Previous Texts in Second Isaiah.* Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, no. 161. Atlanta: Scholars, 1997.

________. "The Rhetoric of Recollection." In *Congress Volume: Oslo 1998*, ed. A. Lemaire and M. Sæbø, 71-78. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 80. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

________. "Rhetorical Criticism and Intertextuality." In *To Each Its Own Meaning: An Introduction to Biblical Criticisms and Their Application*, rev. and expanded, ed. Steven L. McKenzie and Stephen R. Haynes, 156-180. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999.

Ulrich, Eugene. "Daniel Manuscripts from Qumran, Part 2: Preliminary Editions of 4QDan[b] and 4QDan[c]." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 274 (1989): 3-26.

________. "Orthography and Text in 4QDan[a] and 4QDan[b] and in the Received Masoretic Text." In *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins presented to John Strugnell on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin, 29-42. College Theology Society Resources in Religion, no. 5. Lanham: University Press of America, 1990.

________. "The Text of Daniel in the Qumran Scrolls." In *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, 573-585. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, 83/2. Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature, no. 2/2. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Ulrich Eugene, et al., eds. *Qumran Cave 4*. Vol. 11. *Psalms to Chronicles*. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, vol. 16. Oxford: Clarendon, 2000.

Utzschneider, Helmut. "Die Renaissance der alttestamentlichen Literaturwissenschaft und das Buch Exodus." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 106 (1994): 197-223.

________. "Text—Leser—Autor: Bestandsaufnahme und Prolegomena zu einer Theorie der Exegese." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 43 (1999): 224-238.

________. "Text - Reader - Author: Towards a Theory of Exegesis, Some European Views." *The Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 1 (1996). Journal on-line. Available from http://www.jhsonline.org; Internet; accessed 31 August 2005.

Utzschneider, Helmut, and Stefan Ark Nitsche. *Arbeitsbuch literaturwissenschaftliche Bibelauslegung: Eine Methodenlehre zur Exegese des Alten Testaments*. Gütersloh: Kaiser and Gütersloher, 2001.

Valentine, James. "Theological Aspects of the Temple Motif in the Old Testament and Revelation." Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1985.

Van der Lingen, Anton. "*bwʾ-yṣʾ* ('To Go Out and To Come In') as a Military Term." *Vetus Testamentum* 42 (1992): 59-66.

Van der Merwe, Christo H. J. "Discourse Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew Grammar." In *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics*, ed. Robert D. Bergen, 13-49. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1994.

________. "The Elusive Biblical Hebrew Term ויהי: A Perspective in Terms of Its Syntax, Semantics, and Pragmatics in 1 Samuel." *Hebrew Studies* 40 (1999): 83-114.

________. *The Old Hebrew Particle* gam*: A Syntactic-Semantic Description of* gam *in Gn-2Kg*. Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament, no. 34. St. Ottilien: EOS, 1990.

________. "Some Recent Trends in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics: A Few Pointers towards a More Comprehensive Model of Language Use." *Hebrew Studies* 44 (2003): 7-24.

________. "Towards a Better Understanding of Biblical Hebrew Word Order." *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 25, no. 1 (1999): 277-300.

Van der Merwe, Christo H. J., and Eep Talstra. "Biblical Hebrew Word Order: The Interface of Information Structure and Formal Features." *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 15/16 (2002/2003): 68-107.

Van der Merwe, Christo H. J., Jackie A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze. *Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999.

Van Henten, Jan Willem. "Antiochus IV as a Typhonic Figure in Daniel 7." In *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, 223-243. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 106. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993.

van Wieringen, Archibald L. H. M. "Form and Function — Some Hermeneutic Remarks on Semantics and Analogies: An Answer to Prof. Schweizer." *Biblische Notizen* 95 (1998): 30-32.

Vance, Donald R. *The Question of Meter in Biblical Hebrew Poetry*. Studies in Bible and Early Christianity, no. 46. Lewiston: Mellen, 2001.

VanderKam, James C. "Hanukkah: Its Meaning and Significance according to 1 and 2 Maccabees." *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 1 (1987): 23-40.

Vasholz, Robert I. "'Evening and Morning' in Genesis 1." *Presbyterion* 28 (2002): 110.

Vaucher, Alfred-Félix. "Daniel 8:14 en Occident jusqu'au Cardinal Nicolas de Cusa." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 1 (1963): 139-151.

Vaux, Roland de. *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*. Translated by John McHugh. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1961.

Venter, P. M. "The Function of Poetic Speech in the Narrative in Daniel 2." *Hervormde teologiese studies* 49 (1993): 1009-1020.

Verheij, Arian J. C. Review of *Biblica Hebraica transcripta BH^t 6. 1. und 2. Könige; 7. Jesaja; 15. 1. und 2. Chronik*, by Wolfgang Richter. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 40 (1995): 103-105.

Verhoef, P. A. "יוֹם (# 3427)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 2:419-424.

Vincent, Jean Marcel. "Un regard sur la 'justice' dans l'Ancien Testament." *Études théologiques et religieuses* 74 (1999): 321-333.

________. *Studien zur literarischen Eigenart und zur geistigen Heimat von Jesaja, Kap. 40–55*. Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie, no. 5. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1977.

Vogel, Winfried. "The Cultic Motif in Space and Time in the Book of Daniel." Th.D. diss., Andrews University, 1999.

________. "The Cultic Motifs and Themes in the Book of Daniel." *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 7/1 (1996): 21-50.

Volz, Paul. *Jesaia II: übersetzt und erklärt.* Kommentar zum Alten Testament, vol. 9. Leipzig: Scholl, 1932.

von Gall, August. *Die Einheitlichkeit des Buches Daniel: Eine Untersuchung.* Giessen: Ricker, 1895.

von Lengerke, Caesar. *Das Buch Daniel.* Königsberg: Bornträger, 1835.

von Soden, Wolfram. *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch.* 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965-1981.

________. "Der Genuswechsel bei *rû*ªḥ und das grammatische Geschlecht in den semitischen Sprachen." *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 5 (1992): 57-63.

Vriezen, Th. C. *An Outline of Old Testament Theology*, 2d ed. Oxford: Blackwell, 1970.

Wächter, Ludwig. Review of *Hoffnung in der Bedrängnis*, by Bernhard Hasslberger. *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 77 (1982): 565-567.

Wade, Loron. "'Son of Man' Comes to the Judgment in Daniel 7:13." *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society* 11/1-2 (2000): 277-281.

Wagenaar, Jan A. "Passover and the Firs Day of the Festival of Unleavened Bread in the Priestly Festival Calendar." *Vetus Testamentum* 54 (2004): 250-268.

Wakely, Robin. "אַיִל (# 380)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis.* Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 1:372-379.

Walsh, Jerome T. "Summons to Judgement: A Close Reading of Isaiah xli 1-20." *Vetus Testamentum* 43 (1993): 351-371.

Walther, Fritz Rudolf. "Bovids: Introduction." In *Grzimek's Encyclopedia of Mammals.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990. 5:290-324.

Waltke, Bruce K., and Michael O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990.

Walton, John. "The *Anzu* Myth as Relevant Background for Daniel 7?" In *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint, 69-89. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 83/1. Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature, no. 2/1. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Walvoord, John F. *Daniel: The Key to Prophetic Revelation*. Chicago: Moody, 1971.

Walters, Stanley D. "Wood, Sand, and Stars: Structure and Theology in Gn 22:1-19." *Toronto Journal of Theology* 3 (1987): 301-330.

Wambacq, B. N. *L'épithète divine Jahvé Sᵉba'ôt: Étude philologique, historique et exégétique*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1947.

Waschke, E.-J. "רָמַס *rāmas*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry. Translated by David E. Green. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004. 13:509-511.

Wastling, Mildrid A. Nilsen. "Can Covenant Theology Be Found in Daniel Chapter 8? A Study of Daniel Chapter 8 in the Light of the Covenant." M.A. thesis, Andrews University Extension Campus, Newbold College, 1997.

Watson, Duane F., and Alan J. Hauser. *Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible: A Comprehensive Bibliography with Notes on History and Method*. Biblical Interpretation Series, no. 4. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Watson, Nigel M. "Some Observations on the Use of ΔΙΚΑΙΟΩ in the Septuagint." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 79 (1960): 255-266.

Watson, Wilfred G. E. *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 26. Sheffield: JSOT, 1984.

________. "Gender-Matched Synonymous Parallelism in the OT." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 99 (1980): 321-341.

________. *Traditional Techniques in Classical Hebrew Verse*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 170. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994.

Watts, James W. *Psalm and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 139. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992.

Watts, John D. W. *Isaiah 1-33*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 24. Waco: Word, 1985.

________. *Isaiah 34–66.* Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 25. Waco: Word, 1987.

Weber, Robert, ed. *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem.* 4th ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994.

Wegner, Judith Romney. "'*Coming Before the Lord*': The Exclusion of Women from the Public Domain of the Israelite Priestly Cult." In *The Book Leviticus: Composition and Reception*, ed. Rolf Rendtorff and Robert A. Kugler, 451-465. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, no. 93. Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature, no. 3. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Weinel, H. "משח und seine Derivate." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 18 (1898): 1-82.

Weinfeld, Moshe. "בְּרִית *b^erîth*." *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975. 2:253-279.

________. "Divine Intervention in War in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East." In *History, Historiography and Interpretation: Studies in Biblical and Cuneiform Literatures*, ed. H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld, 121-147. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1983.

________. "'Justice and Righteousness'—מִשְׁפָּט וּצְדָקָה—The Expression and Its Meaning." In *Justice and Righteousness: Biblical Themes and Their Influence*, ed. Henning Graf Reventlow and Yair Hoffman, 228-246. JSOTSup, no. 137. Sheffield: JSOT, 1992.

________. "'Justice and Righteousness' in Ancient Israel against the Background of 'Social Reforms' in the Ancient Near East." In *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn: Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im Alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr*, ed. Hans-Jörg Nissen and Johannes Renger, 491-519. Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient, no. 1, pt. 2. Berlin: Reimer, 1982.

________. *Justice and Righteousness in Israel and the Nations: Equality and Freedom in Ancient Israel in Light of Social Justice in Ancient Near East.* Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985.

________. *Social Justice in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East.* Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995.

________. "The Worship of Molech and of the Queen of Heaven and Its Background." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 4 (1972): 133-154.

Weinrich, Harald. *Tempus: Besprochene und erzählte Welt*, 6th rev. ed. Munich: Beck, 2001.

Weitzman, Steven. "The Shifting Syntax of Numerals in Biblical Hebrew: A Reassessment." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55 (1996):177-185.

Wells, Jo Bailey. *God's Holy People: A Theme in Biblical Theology*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 305. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.

Wenham, Gordon J. *Genesis 16–50*. Word Biblical Commentary, vol. 1B. Dallas: Word, 1994.

Werline, Rodney Alan. *Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism: The Development of a Religious Institution*. Early Judaism and Its Literature, no. 13. Atlanta: Scholars, 1998.

Wernberg-Møller, P. Review of *Metaphorische Grammatik*, by Harald Schweizer. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 28 (1983): 364-366.

Wesselius, Jan-Wim. "Discontinuity, Congruence and the Making of the Hebrew Bible." *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 13 (1999): 24-77.

________. "Language and Style in Biblical Aramaic: Observations on the Unity of Daniel ii-vi." *Vetus Testamentum* 38 (1988): 194-209.

Westermann, Claus. *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary*. The Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969.

Westphal, G. "צבא השמים." In *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag (2. März 1906) gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern*, ed. Carl Bezold, 2:719-728. Gießen: Töpelmann, 1906.

Wevers, John William. *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus*. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series, no. 44. Atlanta: Scholars, 1997.

Wildberger, H. "אמן *ᵓmn* firm, secure." *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997. 1:134-157.

Willey, Patricia Tull. [See under Tull, Patricia K.]

Williams, Ronald J. *Hebrew Syntax: An Outline*, 2d ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.

Williams, Tyler F. "שמם (# 9037)." *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Edited by Willem A. VanGemeren. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997. 4:167-171.

Williamson, H. G. M. *1 and 2 Chronicles*. New Century Bible Commentary. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1982.

Willmes, Bernd. *Bibelauslegung — genau genommen: Syntaktische, semantische und pragmatische Dimensionen und Kategorien für die sprachliche Analyse hebräischer und griechischer Texte auf Wort- und Satzebene*. Biblische Notizen Beihefte, no. 5. Munich: Institut für biblische Exegese, 1990.

________. "'Extreme Exegese': Überlegungen zur Reihenfolge exegetischer Methoden." *Biblische Notizen* 53 (1990): 68-99.

Wilson, Ian. *Out of the Midst of the Fire: Divine Presence in Deuteronomy*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series, no. 151. Atlanta: Scholars, 1995.

Wilson, Robert R. "Creation and New Creation: The Role of Creation Imagery in the Book of Daniel." In *God Who Creates: Essays in Honor of W. Sibley Towner*, ed. William P. Brown and S. Dean McBride Jr., 190-203. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.

Winterbotham, Rayner. "The Angel-Princes of Daniel." *The Expositor* 1 (1911): 50-58.

Winther-Nielsen, Nicolai. *A Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua: A Computer-Assisted Rhetorical Structure Analysis*. Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series, no. 40. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1995.

Wolde, Ellen van. "Texts in Dialogue with Texts: Intertextuality in the Ruth and Tamar Narratives." *Biblical Interpretation* 5 (1997): 1-28.

________. *Words Become Worlds: Semantic Studies of Genesis 1-11*. Biblical Interpretation Series, no. 6. Leiden: Brill, 1994.

Wood, John A. *Perspectives on War in the Bible*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998.

Wood, Leon. *A Commentary on Daniel*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1973.

Woodward, Branson L., Jr. "Literary Strategies and Authorship in the Book of Daniel." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 37 (1994): 39-53.

Wordsworth, Chr. *The Book of Daniel: With Notes and Introduction*, 2d ed. Holy Bible: With Introduction and Notes: Old Testament, vol. 6, pt. 1. London: Rivingtons, 1871.

Worschech, Udo. "Der assyrisch-babylonische Löwenmensch und der 'menschliche' Löwe aus Daniel 7,4." In *Ad bene et fideliter seminandum: Festgabe für Karlheinz Deller zum 21. Februar 1987*, ed. Gerlinde Maurer and Ursula Magen, 321-333. Alter Orient und Altes Testament, no. 220. Kevalaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988.

Woude, A. S. van der. "צָבָא *ṣābāʾ* army." *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Edited by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997. 2:1039-1046.

________. "Zu Daniel 6,11." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 106 (1994): 123-124.

Woude, A. S. van der, ed. *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*. Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium, no. 106. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993.

Wright, David P. "Holiness (OT)." *The Anchor Bible Dictionary.* Edited by David Noel Freedman. New York: Doubleday, 1992. 3:237-249.

Xeravits, Géza G. "Poetic Passages in the Aramaic Part of the Book of Daniel." *Biblische Notizen* 124 (2005): 29-40.

Young, Edward J. *The Book of Isaiah: The English Text, with Introduction, Exposition, and Notes; Volume III: Chapters 40 through 66.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972.

________. *The Prophecy of Daniel: A Commentary.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949.

Zatelli, Ida. "Astrology and the Worship of the Stars in the Bible." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 103 (1991): 86-99.

Zehnder, Markus. "Variation in Grammatical Gender in Biblical Hebrew: A Study on the Variable Gender Agreements of דֶּרֶךְ, 'Way.'" *Journal of Semitic Studies* 49 (2004): 21-45.

Zeitlin, Solomon. "The Beginning of the Jewish Day during the Second Commonwealth." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 36 (1945-1946): 403-414.

________. "The Cryptic Numbers in Daniel." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 39 (1948-1949): 321-324.

________. "Hanukkah: Its Origin and Its Significance." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 29 (1938-1939): 1-36.

Zerweck, N. *Die hebräische Präposition* "min." Leipzig: Akademische Buchhandlung, 1894.

Zevit, Ziony. "The Structure and Individual Elements of Daniel 7." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 80 (1968): 385-396.

________. "The Exegetical Implications of Dan viii 1, ix 21." *Vetus Testamentum* 28 (1978): 488-492.

Ziegler, Joseph, ed. *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, 2d ed. Versionis iuxta LXX interpres textum plane novum constituit Olivier Munnich. Versionis iuxta "Theodotionem" fragmenta adiecit Detlef Fraenkel. Septuaginta: vetus testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum, vol. 16/2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999.

Zimmerli, W. "Bildverkleidete und bildlos erzählte Geschichte bei Ezechiel und Daniel." In *Isac Leo Seligmann Volume: Essays on the Bible and the Ancient World.* Vol. 3, *Non-Hebrew Section*, ed. Alexander Rofé and Yair Zakovitch, 221-247. Jerusalem: Rubinstein, 1983.

Zimmermann, Frank. "The Aramaic Origin of Daniel 8-12." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 57 (1938): 255-272.

________. "Hebrew Translation in Daniel." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 51 (January 1961): 198-208.

________. "Some Verses in Daniel in the Light of a Translation Hypothesis." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 58 (1939): 349-354.

Zöckler, Otto. *The Book of the Prophet Daniel: Theologically and Homiletically Expounded.* Edited by John Peter Lange. Translated, enlarged, and edited by James Strong. A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, vol. 13, pt. 2. New York: Scribner, 1876.

Zündel, David. *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Abfassungszeit des Buches Daniel.* Basel: Bahnmaier, 1861.